THE

HISTORY

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS.

BY THE EDITORS OF THE

MODERN UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

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CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

From the earlieſt authentic Accounts of Ireland to the Acceſſion of Edward III. Page 1

CHAP. II.

From the Acceſſion of Edward III. to the Arrival of Poynings, appointed Lord-Deputy by Henry VII. 59

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions from the Year 1494, *to* 1582, 112

CHAP. IV.

Tranſactions from the Year 1582, *to the Death of Queen Elizabeth,* 161

CHAP. V.

From the Acceſſion of James to the Engliſh Crown, to the Battle of Kilruſh, in the Reign of Charles I. 212

CHAP. VI.

From the Battle of Kilruſh, to the Departure of the Marquis of Ormond, 278

CHAP. VII.

From the Departure of the Marquis of Ormond, to the Reſtoration of Charles II. 328

CHAP. VIII.

From the Reſtoration to the End of the Hiſtory, 373

Appendix, containing the Articles of Limerick, 455

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

CHAP. I.

From the earlieſt authentic Accounts of Ireland to the Acceſſion of Edward III.

THE Iriſh, more than the inhabitants of any other nation, appear to be zealous for the antiquity of their country, and pretend to trace their origin from the ages almoſt immediately ſubſequent to the deluge. According to their traditions, the firſt inhabitants of that iſland came from Spain; though the more probable accounts are, that it was originally peopled from Britain. But whether from one or the other, and at whatever period, it is certain, that the Iriſh hiſtory, before the reign of Henry II. of England, is involved in fable and perplexity; and with that epoch, therefore, in conformity to the moſt judicious of the Iriſh Hiſtorians, we ſhall begin the preſent work.

The ſmall principalities, into which Ireland was anciently divided, exerciſed perpetual rapine and violence

Ancient ſtate of Ireland.

againſt each other; the uncertain ſucceſſion of their princes was a continual ſource of domeſtic convulſions; the uſual title of each petty ſovereign was the murder of his predeceſſor; courage and force, though exerciſed in the commiſſion of crimes, were more honoured than any pacific virtues; and the moſt ſimple arts of life, even that of agriculture, were almoſt wholly unknown among them. They had experienced the invaſions of the Danes and the other northern tribes; but theſe inroads, which had ſpread barbariſm in other parts of Europe, tended rather to improve the Iriſh; and the only towns, which were to be found in the iſland, had been planted along the coaſt by the freebooters of Norway and Denmark. The other inhabitants exerciſed paſturage in the open country; ſought, in their foreſts and moraſſes, for protection from any danger; and being divided by the fierceſt animoſities againſt each other, were ſtill more intent on the means of mutual injury, than on the expedients for common or even for private intereſt.

Beſide many ſmall tribes, there were in the age of Henry II. five principal ſovereignties in the iſland. Theſe were Munſter, Leinſter, Meath, Ulſter, and Connaught; and as it had been uſual for one or the other of theſe to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly ſome prince, who ſeemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any meaſures, either for the eſtabliſhment of order, or for defence againſt foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved, by the proſpect of thoſe advantages, to attempt the ſubjecting of Ireland; and a pretence was only wanting to invade a people, who being always confined to their own iſland, had never given any reaſon of complaint to any of their neighbours. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to Rome, which aſſumed a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms and empires; and not foreſeeing the dangerous diſputes, which he was one day to maintain with that ſee, he contributed, for preſent, or rather for an imaginary, convenience, to give ſanction to claims which were now become dangerous to all ſovereigns. Adrian III. who then filled

filled the papal chair, was by birth an Engliſhman; and being, on that account, the more diſpoſed to oblige Henry, he was eaſily perſuaded to make, without any hazard or expence, the acquiſition of a great iſland to his ſpiritual juriſdiction *. The Iriſh had, by preceding miſſionaries from the Britons, been imperfectly converted to Chriſtianity; and, what the pope regarded as the ſureſt mark of their imperfect converſion, they followed the doctrines of their firſt teachers, and had never acknowledged any ſubjection to the ſee of Rome. Adrian, therefore, in the year 1156, iſſued a bull in favour of Henry; in which, after premiſing, that this prince had ever ſhown an anxious care to enlarge the church of God on earth, and to increaſe the number of his ſaints and elect in heaven; he repreſents his deſign of ſubduing Ireland as derived from the ſame pious motives: he conſiders Henry's care of previouſly applying for the apoſtolic ſanction as a ſure earneſt of ſucceſs and victory; and having eſtabliſhed it as a point inconteſtible, that all Chriſtian kingdoms belong to the patrimony of St. Peter, he acknowledges it to be his own duty to ſow among them the ſeeds of the Goſpel: he exhorts the king to invade Ireland, in order to extirpate the vice and wickedneſs of the natives, and oblige them to pay yearly, from every houſe, a penny to the ſee of Rome: he gives him entire right and authority over the iſland, and commands all the inhabitants to obey him as their ſovereign. Henry, though armed with this authority, did not immediately put his deſign in execution; but being detained by more intereſting buſineſs on the continent, waited for a favourable opportunity of invading Ireland.

A.D. 1156.

The pope grants Henry II. a bull for ſubduing Ireland.

Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, had, by his licentious tyranny, rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects, who ſeized with alacrity the firſt occaſion that offered, of throwing off the yoke, which they found to be extremely oppreſſive. This prince had formed a deſign on Dovergilda, wife of Ororic, prince of Breſſiny; and taking advantage of her huſband's abſence, who, being obliged to viſit a diſtant part of his territory, had left his wife ſecure, as he thought, in an iſland, ſurrounded by a

* Brompton, Neubrig.

bog, he ſuddenly invaded the place, and carried off the princeſs. This exploit provoked the reſentment of the huſband; who having collected forces, and being ſtrengthened by the alliance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince had recourſe to Henry, who was at this time in Guienne, craved his aſſiſtance in reſtoring him to his ſovereignty, and offered, on that event, to hold his kingdom in vaſſalage under the crown of England *. Henry, whoſe views were already turned towards making acquiſitions in Ireland, readily accepted the offer; but being at that time embarraſſed by the rebellions of his French ſubjects, as well as by his diſputes with the ſee of Rome, he declined, for the preſent, embarking in the enterprize, and gave Dermot no farther aſſiſtance than letters-patent, by which he empowered all his ſubjects to aid the Iriſh prince in the recovery of his dominions †. Dermot, ſupported by this authority, came to Briſtol; and, after endeavouring, though for ſome time in vain, to engage adventurers in the enterprize, he at laſt formed a treaty with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul. This nobleman, who was of the houſe of Clare, had impaired his fortune by expenſive pleaſures; and being ready for any deſperate undertaking, he promiſed aſſiſtance to Dermot, on condition that he ſhould eſpouſe Eva, daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was aſſembling his ſuccours, Dermot went into Wales; and meeting with Robert Fitz-Stephens, conſtable of Abertivi, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, he alſo engaged them in his ſervice, and obtained their promiſe of invading Ireland. Being now aſſured of ſuccour, he returned privately to his own ſtate; and lurking in the monaſtery of Fernes, which he had
A D 1169 founded, waited impatiently for the return of ſpring, when the Engliſh auxiliaries were to arrive. The intelligence was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, and ſerved to animate his adherents. As the ſecret of his return could not be long concealed, he aſſumed the appearance of the utmoſt confidence; and marching at the head of his adherents, poſſeſſed himſelf of a part of his dominions called Hi-Kenſelah. Yet ſecretly tormented by delay, and dreading

* Girald. Camb. † Ibid.

dreading a diſappointment, he diſpatched a meſſenger to England, to haſten the promiſed ſuccours, and to ſolicit others, with an aſſurance of rich ſettlements and large rewards to all adventurers.

Conqueſt of Ireland.

Fitz-Stephen, whoſe troops were firſt ready, landed in Ireland with thirty knights, ſixty eſquires, and three hundred archers; and this ſmall body, being brave men, not unacquainted with diſcipline, and completely armed, a thing almoſt unknown in Ireland, ſtruck a great terror into the barbarous inhabitants. The conjunction of Maurice de Pendergaſt, who, about the ſame time, brought over ten knights and ſixty archers, enabled Fitz-Stephen to attempt the ſiege of Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes; and, after gaining an advantage, he made himſelf maſter of the place. Soon after, Fitz-Gerald arrived with ten knights, thirty eſquires, and an hundred archers; and being joined by the former adventurers, compoſed a force which nothing in Ireland was able to withſtand. Roderic, the chief monarch of the iſland, was defeated in ſeveral actions; the prince of Oſſory was obliged to ſubmit, and give hoſtages for his peaceable behaviour; and Dermot, not content with being reſtored to his kingdom of Leinſter, projected the dethroning of Roderic, and aſpired to the ſole dominion over the Iriſh.

In proſecution of theſe views, he ſent over to the earl of Strigul a meſſenger, challenging the performance of his promiſe, and diſplaying the mighty advantages which might now be reaped by a reinforcement of warlike troops from England. Richard, not ſatisfied with the general allowance given by Henry to all his ſubjects, went to that prince, then in Normandy; and having obtained a cold or ambiguous permiſſion, prepared for the execution of his deſigns. He firſt ſent over Raymond, one of his retinue, with ten knights and ſeventy archers, who, landing near Waterford, defeated a body of three thouſand Iriſh, that had ventured to attack him; and as Richard himſelf, who brought over two hundred horſe, and a body of archers, joined, a few days after, the victorious Engliſh, they made themſelves maſters of Waterford, and proceeded to Dublin, which was taken by aſſault. Roderic, in revenge, cut off the head of Dermot's natural ſon, who had been left as a hoſtage in his hands; and Richard, marrying Eva, became ſoon after, by the death of Dermot,

mot, maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, and prepared to extend his authority over Ireland. Roderic, and the other Iriſh princes, were alarmed at the danger; and combining together, beſieged Dublin with an army of thirty thouſand men. But earl Richard, making a ſally at the head of ninety knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chaſed them off the field, and purſued them with great ſlaughter *.

Henry, jealous of the progreſs made by his own ſubjects, ſent orders to recall all the Engliſh, and he made preparations to attack Ireland in perſon †. But Richard, and the other adventurers, found means to appeaſe him, by making him the moſt humble ſubmiſſions, and offering to hold all their acquiſitions in vaſſalage to his crown.

A. D. 1172. That monarch landed in Ireland at the head of five hundred knights, beſides other ſoldiers: he found the Iriſh ſo diſpirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progreſs which he made through the iſland, he had no other occupation than to receive the homages of his new ſubjects. He left moſt of the Iriſh chieftains or princes in poſſeſſion of their ancient territories; beſtowed ſome lands on the Engliſh adventurers; gave earl Richard the commiſſion of ſeneſchal of Ireland; and, after a ſtay of a few months, returned in triumph to England. By theſe exploits, important only in their conſequences, was Ireland annexed to the Engliſh crown.

Henry lands in Ireland.

He ſettles the government of the country.

For the better execution of the laws of England, it appears that Henry made a diviſion of the diſtricts, now ſubject to him, into ſhires or counties, which was afterwards enlarged, as the extenſion of the Engliſh ſettlements, and the circumſtances of the country, required. Sheriffs were appointed both for the counties and cities, with judges itinerant, and other miniſters of juſtice, and officers of ſtate. To complete the ſyſtem, a chief governor, or repreſentative of the king, was appointed.

Notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſions which Henry had received in all parts of Ireland, he left not in that country one true ſubject more than he found on coming over. The Iriſh chieftains, who had ſo readily ſubmitted to become his vaſſals, were little ſcrupulous of adhering to their engagements any longer than neceſſity might oblige them.

* Girald. Camb. † Regan.

them. But as the impreſſion made by the power and greatneſs of their new ſovereign was yet lively and forcible; as their inteſtine feuds and jealouſies had never been ſuſpended; and as the Engliſh ſettlers had not as yet diſcovered any deſign of extending their acquiſitions, the territories of the new adventurers were for a while unmoleſted, and ſeemed to wear the appearance of ſecurity. Strongbow found himſelf at leiſure to retire to Fernes, in order to ſolemnize the marriage of his daughter with Robert de Quiny, one of the nobles who had engaged in the Iriſh war, whom he created conſtable and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter, with a conſiderable grant of lands. But Quiny did not long enjoy his honours and eſtate; for the earl, ſome time after, being obliged to march into Ofally, to exact his tribute from a refractory vaſſal, his forces, on their return, were attacked in the rear, and the ſtandard-bearer with ſome others fell in the firſt aſſault.

Lacy, in conſequence of his late grant, proceeded to make ſuch diſpoſitions in Meath as might ſecure the ſubjection of this diſtrict. He parcelled out his lands to his friends and adherents, in order to eſtabliſh a powerful Engliſh ſettlement, and began to erect forts to keep the old inhabitants in awe. In the provinces ceded to Henry or his ſubjects, or afterwards gained by their arms, certain Iriſh natives, of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families, were ſuffered to reſide and enjoy certain portions of their old poſſeſſions, for which they were to pay tribute to the crown, but were not as ſubjects governed by the law of England. Between thoſe and the Engliſh ſettlers, diſputes frequently broke forth; and every day produced complaints of the injuſtice, cruelty, and oppreſſion of the latter, wherever they had any intercourſe with the natives. In many inſtances, ſuch complaints muſt have been juſt; for ſeveral of the Engliſh leaders were proud, indigent, and rapacious; but whether juſt or not, at the ſame time that they diſcovered the enmity of the Iriſh, they ſerved to confirm and inflame it.

The Iriſh chieftains received with joy the accounts of a powerful confederacy being formed againſt Henry; and no ſooner had earl Richard and the other Engliſh lords departed, than they openly diſavowed their late ſubmiſſions,

ſions, and boldly denounced vengeance againſt the invaders. The Engliſh army was not only weakened, but mutinous. It had been entruſted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres, to whom Raymond le Groſs was ſecond in authority; and theſe leaders were by no means united with that firmneſs and cordiality which their common intereſt required. Their mutual jealouſies prevented any effectual oppoſition to the ſpirit now raiſed among the Iriſh chieftains, and might have proved fatal to the Engliſh intereſt, had not Henry been ſoon enabled to provide a remedy for the evil. He ſummoned earl Strongbow to attend him at Rouen, and communicated his intentions of committing the affairs of Ireland to his ſole direction. The earl expreſſed the utmoſt alacrity to ſerve his royal maſter; but obſerved, that he had already experienced the envy and malignity of his ſecret enemies, and that, if he ſhould appear in ſo diſtinguiſhed a character as that of the king's deputy in Ireland, their inſidious practices would be renewed, and his conduct miſrepreſented. He therefore requeſted, that a colleague might be joined with him in the commiſſion, and for this purpoſe recommended Raymond, as a perſon of approved loyalty and abilities, as well as highly acceptable to the ſoldiery. Henry replied, that he had his free conſent to employ Raymond in any ſervice he ſhould deem neceſſary, not as a colleague, but an aſſiſtant; that he relied entirely on the earl, and entruſted every thing to his direction, To reward his ſervices, and enliven his zeal, he granted him the town of Wexford, with a fort erected at Wicklow, and thus diſmiſſed him with the moſt gracious expreſſions of favour.

The earl immediately returned to Dublin, where he was received with the reſpect due to his royal commiſſion. He ſignified the king's pleaſure that Robert Fitz-Bernard, with the garriſon of Waterford, ſhould inſtantly embark, and repair to Normandy; and that Robert Fitz-Stephen, and Maurice de Pendergaſt, ſhould attend the king's ſervice in England; whither alſo Hugh de Lacy, and Milo de Cogan, were commanded to repair. While the forces which were to ſupport the government of earl Strongbow were thus conſiderably weakened, their diſcontents were inflamed to the utmoſt, and he had the mortification to hear the boldeſt remonſtrances againſt the conduct of his

uncle

uncle Mountmorres. The ſoldiers preſented themſelves in a body before the earl, requiring that Raymond le Groſs ſhould be appointed to command them; if not, they threatened to return to their native country, or to engage in the ſervice of the Iriſh chiefs, who were now in arms, and ready for hoſtilities. Strongbow found himſelf under a neceſſity of complying with their demands; and not only granted them their favourite general, but engaged them in ſome expeditions which might afford plunder, as he had improvidently diſſipated the money aſſigned for their pay. Raymond being therefore employed to chaſtiſe the defection of ſome petty lords of this diſtrict, over-ran and ravaged the country without reſiſtance; and proceeding with his booty to Liſmore, committed the like depredations in that city and the adjacent lands. On his return by the ſea-ſide, he found ſome veſſels at anchor, which he directed to be laden with the ſpoil, in order to convey it to the town of Waterford. The wind was for ſome time contrary, which encouraged the men of Corke, who had received intelligence of thoſe tranſactions, to form the deſign of deſtroying this little fleet of tranſports. The neceſſities of Henry having obliged him to withdraw the Engliſh garriſon from this city, it had been re-taken by Mac Arthy of Deſmond; and now the inhabitants, to manifeſt their zeal againſt his enemies, haſtily fitted out thirty barks, and fell with the utmoſt fury upon the Engliſh detachment, which had not yet weighed anchor. Their aſſault, though unexpected, was ſuſtained with ſpirit; and the death of their commander, who fell by the arm of a gallant Welchman, ſoon decided the conteſt in favour of the Engliſh. The took eight veſſels from the enemy, and ſailed in triumph to their place of deſtination. Raymond had been informed of this action, and was haſtening to the ſupport of his party with a ſelect body of twenty knights and ſixty horſemen, when he ſuddenly found himſelf encountered by the prince of Deſmond, who on his part was no leſs ſolicitous to ſupport his vaſſals of Corke. The Iriſh chief, however, was ſoon obliged to retire; and Raymond, after ſome inconſiderable attempts to diſturb him in his march, and to ſeize his prey, entered Waterford in all the triumph of a conqueror.

Trivial as theſe exploits were, they ſerved to confirm the opinion

opinion which the ſoldiery had conceived of their new general, and filled them with hopes of more important ſucceſſes. * Raymond himſelf appears to have entertained no indifferent opinion of his own ſervices. He was now in the height of popularity, and determined to avail himſelf of this advantage. He had conceived a paſſion for Baſilia, ſiſter to earl Richard, and took the preſent occaſion to demand her in marriage, with the poſt of conſtable, and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter, during the minority of Robert de Quiny, the late ſon-in-law of Strongbow. The earl, probably from a jealouſy of the riſing power and influence of this lord, received his overture with a coldneſs which marked his diſapprobation. Raymond, provoked, and mortified, retired abruptly into Wales, under pretence of taking poſſeſſion of ſome lands devolved to him by the death of his father; and the army was once more entruſted to the command of Hervey of Mountmorres *.

Hervey, on reſuming his ſtation, determined to engage in ſome brave enterprize, which might regain him the affections of the ſoldiery, and emulate the ſucceſs of their former general. He repreſented to earl Strongbow the neceſſity of repreſſing that ſpirit of revolt which had appeared among the Iriſh princes; and as the diſpoſitions lately made in Meath ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed an effectual barrier againſt the king of Connaught, he adviſed him to bend his whole force againſt the inſurgents of Munſter, and by chaſtiſing their revolt, to ſtrike terror into thoſe who were meditating to follow their example. The earl readily yielded to the propoſal, and in conjunction with Mountmorres, led a conſiderable body of forces to the city of Caſhel. On receiving information of the poſture, and numbers of the enemy, Hervey prevailed upon him to diſpatch his orders to Dublin, that a conſiderable party of the garriſon, conſiſting of Oſtmen, who had engaged in the ſervice of the Engliſh, ſhould inſtantly join their main body. As this detachment advanced, the fame of its motions ſpread through the country, and reached the quarters of the enemy. O'Brien of Thomond, a valiant and ſagacious chieftain, and implacably averſe to the Engliſh intereſts, conceived the deſign of cutting off this body: he ſuffered the Oſtmen to advance as far as Thurles, and there

* Ibid.

there to encamp in a ſtate of careleſs ſecurity; after which, falling ſuddenly upon them, he killed four hundred of the detachment, with their four principal commanders. Richard, on receiving intelligence of this diſaſter, retired into Waterford with great precipitation.

This incident ſerved as a ſignal to the diſaffected Iriſh to riſe up in arms. Several of the Leinſter chieftains, who had lately made their ſubmiſſions, openly diſclaimed all their engagements with Henry. Even Donald Cavanagh, ſon of the late king Dermot, who had hitherto adhered to the Engliſh, now declared againſt them, and aſſerted a title to the kingdom of Leinſter; while Roderic, on his part, was active in uniting the princes of Ulſter, the native lords of Meath, and other chiefs, againſt their common enemy.

Strongbow was well acquainted with the ficklenes of the Iriſh; and juſtly ſenſible of the conſequences of being reduced to act on the defenſive, inſtead of ſeeking his enemies in their own territories: he had alſo reaſon to apprehend a mutiny of his own ſoldiers. He therefore immediately ſent into Wales, intreating Raymond to return, with ſuch forces as he could procure, and freely offering to gratify him in his late demands. Nothing could be more flattering to Raymond than this application; and he accordingly made his preparations with the utmoſt alacrity. Collecting thirty leaders of his own kindred, one hundred horſemen, and three hundred archers, all hardy and well appointed, he embarked in twenty tranſports, and ſteered his courſe to Waterford.

His arrival was extremely critical. The townſmen, naturally averſe to the Engliſh invaders, and farther provoked by their oppreſſions, are ſaid to have formed the deſperate reſolution of freeing themſelves from their maſters by a general maſſacre; but at the very moment of execution, Raymond's fleet appeared in the harbour, and ſuſpended the attempt. At the firſt interview between Raymond and earl Richard, it was agreed to march without delay to Wexford, in order to check the ſpirit of rebellion, which had broke forth in Leinſter. The garriſon left at Waterford, little ſuſpecting any conſpiracy within the walls, acted with the confidence of men ſurrounded with their friends and adherents, and thus favoured the

deſigns

deſigns of their ſecret enemies. Their commander croſſing the Sure in a ſmall bark, was, with his few attendants, murdered by the mariners; and no ſooner had the news of this maſſacre reached the town, than all the Engliſh who could be found unarmed, were ſuddenly aſſailed, and ſlaughtered without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. Thoſe of the garriſon, who had opportunity to take arms, joined their aſſociates in the citadel, where they not only defended themſelves, but ſo much annoyed the beſiegers, as to drive them from the city, and reduce them to ſue for peace with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion *.

Meanwhile Wexford was a ſcene of joy and feſtivity. Baſilia had arrived there with a magnificent train from Dublin, and was ſolemnly eſpouſed by Raymond, who received a large portion of lands as her dowry, and was inveſted with the office of conſtable, and ſtandard-bearer of Leinſter. But in the midſt of the nuptial rites, intelligence arrived, that Roderic, at the head of a numerous body of troops, had ſuddenly paſſed the Shannon, entered the territory of Meath, expelled the Engliſh coloniſts, laid waſte their ſettlements, obliged Tyrrel, who then commanded in that province, to abandon the forts lately erected, and burned them to the ground. The occaſion was too preſſing to admit of the leaſt delay; ſo that, the very morning after the celebration of his nuptials, the bridegroom was obliged to put on his armour. He led his troops to Dublin, determined to ſeek the inſurgents; but the Iriſh chieftains were contented with the devaſtation committed in Meath, and by no means inclined to continue their hoſtilities. Roderic found himſelf obliged to retreat into his own province, and leave the enemy to repair the havock he had made. The earl of Raymond arrived time enough to precipitate the flight of ſome of the Iriſh parties, by falling on their rear, and killing one hundred and fifty.

This ſucceſs, with the death of Donald Cavanagh, who had been killed in an engagement with a party of his countrymen in the Engliſh ſervice, awed the ſpirit of diſaffection in Leinſter, and eſtabliſhed an appearance of tranquillity through the Engliſh territories, ſo as to leave earl Richard at leiſure to attend to the affairs of Munſter, where

* Grat. Luc.

where the prince of Thomond had poſſeſſed himſelf of Limerick, and continued to bid defiance to the Engliſh power. The ſiege of this place was undertaken by Raymond, who, with a choſen body of ſix hundred, marched againſt the revolted chieftain. They arrived without oppoſition at the banks of the Shannon, which ſurrounds this city; but the bridges here being broken, and the ſtream very rapid, their progreſs was ſtopped. Two of their boldeſt knights, however, ventured to paſs where they conceived the river to be fordable, and with ſucceſs; but returning to encourage and conduct their aſſociates, one of them was drowned: a third paſſed ſafely, but found himſelf unſupported, and expoſed to the enemy. At laſt Raymond, advancing from the rear, ſpurred boldly through the river; and his forces, thus encouraged, followed their leader without farther heſitation, and gained the oppoſite bank, with the loſs of two only of their body. The enemy, who were pouring down to oppoſe their paſſage, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at this intrepidity, and fled without ſtriking a blow. They were purſued with conſiderable ſlaughter by the Engliſh, who thus became maſters of the city without reſiſtance *.

Meantime, Roderic, convinced by repeated experience, of the fickleneſs and perfidy of his ſubordinate chieftains, and deſpairing of being able to maintain the conteſt with any probability of ſucceſs, determined to ſave his own province, at leaſt, from the depredations of an incenſed and victorious enemy, by a ſubmiſſion. He, however, declined all application to earl Strongbow, and reſolved to treat immediately with the king of England alone. The affairs of this monarch were returned to a proſperous ſtate, and he was forming ſchemes for the improvement of his kingdom, when he was attended at Windſor by three deputies from Roderic. Theſe were, the archbiſhop of Tuam, the abbot of St. Brandan, and the chancellor to the king of Connaught. Roderic conſented to do homage, and pay tribute, to the king of England; on which conditions he was allowed to hold the kingdom of Connaught, as well as his other lands and ſovereignties, in as ample a manner as he had enjoyed them before the arrival of Henry in Ireland. The Engliſh laws and government were to

* Regan.

to be inforced only in the Engliſh pale; and even within this diſtrict, the Iriſh tenant might live in peace, as ſubject to the Iriſh monarch, bound only to pay his quota of tribute, and not to take arms againſt the king of England.

This ſubmiſſion of Roderic, and his ſolemn recognition of Henry's ſovereignty, promiſed additional ſtrength to the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland. But the jealouſy which the king entertained of his barons in this kingdom, threatened to involve them in new diſtreſs. Hervey of Mountmorres, by marrying the daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, and couſin-german of Raymond, ſeemed to have formed a more ſtrict connexion with this lord; a daughter of Strongbow's was alſo given in marriage, to a youth of the houſe of Fitz-Gerald. Maurice himſelf had lately returned from Wales, and was indulged with a grant of Wicklow-caſtle, beſide a diſtrict which Henry had already given him in Ofally. Other leaders of reputation were rewarded with valuable poſſeſſions; ſo that the Engliſh lords ſeemed to be united more firmly than ever, and all of them intereſted in extending and ſecuring their ſettlements. While things were in this ſituation, Hervey, it is ſaid, ſtill rankling with envy and diſcontent, employed his emiſſaries to impreſs Henry with the moſt unfavourable repreſentations of Raymond's conduct. They aſſured the king that this lord aſpired to an independent ſovereignty in Ireland; that for this purpoſe he had practiſed all the arts of factious popularity with great ſucceſs; that he had ſecured in his intereſts the city of Limerick, in which, and in other towns, he had ſtationed garriſons devoted to his ſervice; and that the infection had ſpread through the whole army, which only waited the command of Raymond to engage in any enterpriſe, however repugnant to the authority of their prince. Theſe plauſible repreſentations, countenanced by the known attachment of the army to Raymond, made an impreſſion on the mind of Henry. Four commiſſioners were immediately diſpatched to Dublin; two of whom were to conduct Raymond to the king, and two to remain in that city, in order to watch the conduct of Strongbow, and to learn the diſpoſitions of the other lords.

The commiſſioners having arrived, Raymond, who ſaw the machinations of his ſecret enemy, declared his readi-

neſs

neſs to obey the king's pleaſure, and prepared to ſet out for England; but was for ſome time detained by contrary winds. During this interval, intelligence was received that O'Brien, of Thomond, the formidable enemy of the Engliſh power, had laid ſiege to Limerick, and that the garriſon, if not immediately relieved, muſt fall a ſacrifice to his vengeance. This information gave earl Strongbow the greater uneaſineſs, as he himſelf at that time labour-ed under bodily infirmity. The occaſion, however, be-ing preſſing, he muſtered his forces, and prepared for the relief of Limerick, with all the alacrity in his power, when the ſoldiers once more clamoured for Raymond, ob-ſtinately refuſing to march againſt O'Brien, unleſs their favourite general were to command. The king's com-miſſioners being conſulted, they readily agreed that they ſhould delay their departure, and that Raymond ſhould undertake the conduct of this expedition. He, at firſt af-fected reluctance, but, at length, yielded to the earneſt entreaties of the earl and the commiſſioners *.

His forces were compoſed of fourſcore knights, two hundred cavalry, and three hundred archers, with the Iriſh troops of Rinſelah and Offory, whoſe chieftains united with the Engliſh on this occaſion, from a violent per-ſonal hatred and jealouſy of O'Brien. As he advanced to Munſter, he was informed, that the prince of Thomond had abandoned the ſiege of Limerick, and leading his forces to Caſhel, had ſtrongly intrenched himſelf in a de-file, through which the Engliſh were to paſs, and there waited their approach. When Raymond came in ſight of the enemy, who were advantageouſly poſted behind ſome works which they had erected, he diſpoſed his troops, and prepared for an aſſault. His Iriſh troops were ſtruck with the appearance of the enemy, and began to ſuſpect the reſolution of their own allies. But the prince of Of-ſory remonſtrating with them on the neceſſity of exerting themſelves, and declaring that if they ſhould preſume to give way, he and his countrymen would inſtantly join the enemy; they made a bold and vigorous onſet, which though received with ſpirit, was finally ſucceſsful. The men of Thomond were driven from their intrenchments with conſiderable ſlaughter; and in their flight ſpread the utmoſt

* Ibid.

utmoſt terror and diſmay through the Iriſh of Munſter. O'Brien, wearied out by an unſucceſsful conteſt, determined to make his peace, and to this end propoſed an interview with the Engliſh general. At the ſame time, Roderic, in purſuance of his late treaty, repaired to Raymond, to deliver his hoſtages, and take the oaths of fealty; ſo that in one day this lord had the honour of receiving the ſubmiſſions of the king of Connaught, and of the prince of Thomond, who renewed his engagements to the king of England, and his heirs, and gave hoſtages as a ſecurity for his future allegiance.

An unnatural quarrel in the family of Mac Arthy, prince of Deſmond, not unuſual among the Iriſh chieftains, afforded Raymond a fair occaſion of continuing his progreſs in Munſter, and added to the honour he had already acquired. Cormac, eldeſt ſon of this prince, had riſen in rebellion againſt his father, deprived him of his territory, and impriſoned him. Mac Arthy, who had ſworn allegiance to the king of England, repreſented his wrongs to Raymond, and ſolicited his protection, promiſing conſiderable advantages to this general and his aſſociates, if, by their aſſiſtance, he ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. His arguments prevailed: the Engliſh entered the territories of Deſmond in a hoſtile manner, ravaging and plundering without mercy, until Cormac was compelled to ſtop their progreſs by a ſubmiſſion. His father was reinſtated in his territories; and, to requite the baſeneſs of his ſon, caſt him into that priſon from which he himſelf had been reſcued, and ſoon after put him to death.

In the midſt of this ſucceſs, Raymond received intelligence of the death of earl Strongbow. The fickleneſs of the Iriſh, and their real abhorrence of their invaders, notwithſtanding their pretended ſubmiſſions, rendered it neceſſary for the Engliſh government to conceal this event, until their forces were collected from the diſtant quarters of the kingdom; and leſt the ſecret ſhould be diſcovered, by any miſcarriage of the letter, which Baſilia now ſent to her huſband, it was conceived in myſterious terms. She informed him, that her great tooth, which had ached ſo long, was at laſt fallen out, and therefore entreated him to return to Dublin with all poſſible ſpeed.

Raymond,

Raymond, who perfectly understood the meaning of this expression, went instantly to Limerick, and held a secret consultation with a few select friends. It was readily agreed, that the death of the chief governor, at a time when the man next in command was summoned into England, required an immediate attention to the peace and security of the English province; and that no troops could be spared from this first and necessary service. Raymond, therefore, being obliged to withdraw the troops which garrisoned Limerick, proposed to Donald O'Brien, that as he was now become one of the king's barons, and entitled to the confidence of his liege lord, he should be intrusted with the custody of that city, which might give him an occasion of approving his attachment, and meriting additional rewards. The Irish chieftain received this proposal with secret exultation, concealed under the appearance of the most dutiful allegiance. He was solemnly sworn, with the most horrid dissimulation, to take custody of Limerick for the king of England, and to restore it peaceably at the royal will and pleasure. Raymond and his troops proceeded to evacuate the town; but they had scarcely passed over one end of the bridge, when the other was broken down; and they had the mortification to behold the city, which they had taken much pains to fortify, and supply with stores of every kind, set on fire in four different quarters, by order of O'Brien, who declared that Limerick should be no longer the nest of foreigners.

Upon the death of earl Strongbow, the English council at Dublin, who had the power of electing a chief governor, in any exigency, until the king's pleasure should be known, conferred this office upon Raymond, the favourite of the army, and the terror of their Irish enemies. The king's commissioners readily concurred in this choice, and embarked in full persuasion that they had provided effectually for the interests of their royal master, by leaving them to the direction of this lord.

But the jealousies of Henry were not allayed by the most favourable representations which these commissioners could make of Raymond and his conduct. He therefore determined to entrust the government of Ireland to William Fitz-Andelm, a nobleman allied to him by blood,

and of approved allegiance. The new governor with his attendants landed at Wexford, where Raymond was at hand to receive him, with all the reſpect that was due to his rank. Having aſſumed the reins of government, he began his adminiſtration by a ſtately progreſs along the coaſt. An aſſembly of the Iriſh clergy was convened at Waterford, in which the brief, lately granted by Alexander, and the bull of Adrian, were ſolemnly promulged,
A.D.1177. and the king's title to the ſovereignty of Ireland aſſerted in form, with dreadful denunciations of the ſevereſt cenſures of the church, againſt all thoſe who ſhould impeach the grant made by the holy ſee, or reſiſt the ſovereign authority of Henry, thus conſtituted rightful lord of Ireland *.

But whatever might be the influence of ſuch denunciations, in a ſuperſtitious age, a vigorous and reſolute commander was ſtill neceſſary to defend the intereſts of the Engliſh monarch againſt a turbulent and incenſed army. The territory of Meath had lately been the ſcene of deſperate hoſtilities. Richard Fleming, an Engliſhman, who commanded the caſtle of Slany, wantonly preſuming on his ſtrength, had, by his depredations, provoked the neighbouring chiefs, who in revenge fell ſuddenly upon him, made great ſlaughter among his followers, and purſued the remains of his garriſon to the very walls of Dublin. Fitz-Andelm was little ſuited for repreſſing, or revenging ſuch incurſions. The object of his adminiſtration was to enrich himſelf, not by the force and terror of his arms, but by the leſs hazardous and baſer means of fraud and circumvention. To preſerve peace with the Iriſh chiefs, he had recourſe to affected courteſy and flattery, which they had diſcernment enough to diſcover, and conſequently deſpiſed. He entertained, at the ſame time, a ſtrong jealouſy of the original adventurers, whom he early impreſſed with prejudices againſt him. He had, however, the addreſs to prevail upon ſome of the firſt ſettlers, to exchange their poſſeſſions for land, which were more expoſed to the incurſions of the natives; and where he could not induce them by artifice, he had recourſe to compulſion. Thus while all advantages were engroſſed by the governor and his dependants, the perilous and laborious duties of defence

* Hanmer.

defence were impoſed on the original adventurers, who became impatient at ſeeing the fruits of their toil ſeized by theſe new ſettlers. Inſurrections and depredations, in various parts, attended the government of Fitz-Andelm. The imperfect accounts which remain of the local diſſenſions, and provincial conteſts in Ireland, at the preſent period, give a ſhocking idea of the ſtate of this unhappy country. Deſmond and Thomond, in the ſouthern province, were diſtracted by the jealouſies of contending chiefs, and the whole land waſted by unnatural and bloody quarrels. Treachery and murder were revenged by treachery and murder, ſo as to perpetuate a ſucceſſion of outrages, the moſt horrid and diſgraceful to humanity. The northern province was a ſcene of the like enormities, though the new Engliſh ſettlers, who were conſidered as a common enemy, ſhould have forced the natives to mutual union *.

The complaints occaſioned by an indolent and corrupt adminiſtration were too loud to be long concealed from the Engliſh monarch, and determined him to remove Fitz-Andelm from the government of Ireland. Hugh de Lacy was therefore appointed to this ſtation, for which he had already approved himſelf eminently qualified. The king now found himſelf at leiſure to make ſeveral regulations relative to his new dominions, and for this purpoſe he ſummoned the principal adventurers to attend him in England. He is ſaid to have made a formal appointment of his ſon John to the lordſhip of Ireland; an appointment which has been the ſubject of much diſcuſſion; writers of different parties repreſenting it as might beſt ſuit their particular purpoſes. It appears, from the ſeveral grants of territories, which Henry made at this time, that he conferred upon his ſon John ſomething more than a mere title of honour, or temporary authority; but that it was by no means his intention to reſign the entire ſovereignty of Ireland, or to transfer the rights he had there acquired, fully and abſolutely to his ſon. His Iriſh ſubjects were to hold not of John only as their ſole rightful lord, but as a ſubordinate power.

Henry appoints John lord of Ireland.

It is not clear by what right Henry now diſpoſed of the ſouthern provinces, and other parts of Ireland, or how the

* Hanmer.

grants he had lately made were reconcilable to the treaty which he had concluded with Roderic.

Hugh de Lacy proceeded to the adminiſtration of his government with abilities and vigour. The Iriſh, no leſs than his own countrymen, had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his conduct; for his influence, as far as it extended, was employed in protecting them from oppoſition, ſoftening their averſion to the new ſettlers, and teaching them the arts of peace. At the ſame time, he was careful to guard againſt the inſidious and turbulent ſpirit of thoſe natives. He ſtationed ſome of the braveſt of the original adventurers where they might be moſt ſerviceable in warding off incurſions. He was indefatigable in raiſing forts in every part of Leinſter, as he had formerly in Meath; and theſe were entruſted to Engliſh lords of aſſured courage and fidelity. He adminiſtered juſtice with lenity and impartiality; and is ſaid to have ſet the example of a politic coalition between the natives of each kingdom, by marrying the daughter of Roderic O'Connor.

But the popularity naturally ariſing from his prudent adminiſtration, ſerved to render him the object of envy. Suſpicions were ſuggeſted to Henry, and but too favourably received. His jealouſy of a powerful ſubject, which had operated in the caſe of all the great adventurers in Ireland, diſpoſed him to apprehend that Lacy might ſhake off his allegiance, and erect himſelf into an independent ſovereign. The king, therefore, ſuddenly recalled this lord, and appointed to the government of Ireland two men, who were ſtrangers to the country, and little qualified for ſo important a truſt. Theſe were, John, conſtable of Cheſhire, and Richard de Peach, biſhop of Coventry. This miſtaken policy might have proved prejudicial to the intereſts of Henry, had not the error been corrected within the ſpace of three months. The readineſs with which Lacy reſigned his ſtate, and appeared before his royal maſter, the ingenuous account of his conduct, and the conviction which it afforded of his zeal and loyalty, diſſipated at once all Henry's ſuſpicions; and Lacy was again remanded to his government. Robert of Shrewſbury, a domeſtic chaplain, in whom the king placed peculiar confidence, attended him as a coadjutor, or rather an inſpector of his actions; which Lacy himſelf is ſaid to have

have requeſted, that the king might be thus authentically informed of all his conduct.

Lacy, on reſuming his government, purſued the ſame meaſures which had hitherto been attended with ſuch good effects; and while he was buſily employed in ſtrengthening and ſettling the province of Leinſter, John de Courcey, with equal diligence, continued to extend and ſecure his ſettlements in the northern province, notwithſtanding the vigorous and obſtinate reſiſtance of the natives.

Some incurſions from Thomond threatened to diſturb the peace of the Engliſh province, but were quickly repelled, without any conſiderable loſs *. In Deſmond, the late partition of lands was ſtill maintained, without any apparent diſcontent; and in Connaught, the attention of the Iriſh chieftains was confined to their own factious quarrels.

Henry, with an inſtability unworthy of ſo great a character, once more liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of thoſe who repreſented the dangerous power of his vice-gerent in Ireland, his ambition, and his connexion with the king of Connaught. He, therefore, again recalled Lacy from his government, and appointed for his ſucceſſor Philip de Braoſa, or Philip of Worceſter, as he is called; a man whoſe ſole object was to enrich himſelf by plunder and oppreſſion. His firſt act of power was to wreſt ſome valuable lands from proprietors who had purchaſed of Lacy, under pretence of appointing them for the king's proviſions. He marched through different parts of the kingdom with a formidable body of troops, enforcing his exactions with the utmoſt rigour. At Armagh he ſpent ſix days feaſting and revelling in mid-lent, to the great ſcandal of this ſeat of piety, and extorting money from the clergy with inſatiable rapaciouſneſs. But the power which Philip exerciſed with ſuch odious violence, was not of long duration; for prince John now prepared to aſſume that authority in Ireland, which Henry's late donation had conferred upon him. He received the honour of knighthood from his father's hand; and to attend him to his ſeat of government, a ſplendid train was appointed. This conſiſted chiefly of Norman youths, luxurious and inſolent; with a number of Engliſhmen, ſtrangers to the country, deſperate in

A. D. 1185. John arrives in Ireland.

* Ann. Anon MSS.

in their fortunes, and filled with vaſt expectations of advantage from their preſent ſervice. Glanville, an eminent lawyer, had been ſent by Henry to aſſiſt and direct his ſon. Several grave eccleſiaſtics were alſo appointed to accompany him; and among theſe Cambrenſis, who had acquired ſome knowledge of the ſtate of Ireland. But men of ſage and reverend characters were conſidered only as the formal appendages of a court, where a prince, yet in his boyiſh years, was engroſſed by young aſſociates, who flattered his levity, and miniſtered to his pleaſures. The whole retinue embarked in a fleet of ſixty ſhips, and, after a proſperous voyage, arrived at Waterford.

The fame of this embarkation had a happy influence upon the Iriſh chieftains, of whom ſeveral, the moſt refractory, now determined to do homage to the king's ſon; but thoſe native lords of Leinſter, who had ever adhered to the Engliſh government, were the firſt to pay their duty to the prince, and to congratulate his arrival. They quickly flocked to Waterford, and exhibited to the Norman courtiers a ſpectacle, which could not fail to excite their contempt and ridicule. They ſaw men cloathed in a manner totally different from the inhabitants of their own country, and rendered more uncouth by their beards, which they wore in the natural ſtate. Theſe unfaſhionable figures, who neither ſpoke their language, nor were acquainted with their manners, advanced with great alacrity through the ſurrounding courtiers, and, according to their own cuſtoms and notions of reſpect, attempted to kiſs the young prince. His attendants ſtepped in, and prevented this unbecoming freedom, by rudely thruſting away the Iriſh chieftains. The aſſembly burſt into peals of laughter, plucked the beards, and committed many perſonal indignities upon the provincial viſitors, to ſhew their own ſuperiority, and gratify the childiſh petulance of their maſter.

But the Iriſh lords, amidſt all the plainneſs of their appearance and behaviour, were not deſtitute of national pride, and were of all men moſt impatient of the ſlighteſt mark of contempt: they quitted the court with indignation *. Meeting with others of their countrymen haſtening

* Girald.

ening to the prince, they related the manner of their own reception, and inflamed them to the higheſt pitch of reſentment. On returning to their habitations, they repaired, ſome to the chiefs of Connaught, others to thoſe of Thomond and Deſmond; repeated the indignities they had ſuſtained, and entreated the more powerful lords to unite bravely againſt an enemy poſſeſſed with an obſtinate and implacable averſion to their whole nation. The chieftains agreed, inſtead of doing homage to prince John, to forget their private animoſities, and join themſelves in ſolemn league for exerting their utmoſt endeavours to free their country from theſe imperious foreigners.

This dangerous ſpirit was farther increaſed by the indiſcretion of John's attendants, who every where exerciſed oppreſſion over the natives. Even in the maritime towns, which Henry had peculiarly reſerved to himſelf, new grants were pretended, and new claims advanced againſt the citizens, to deprive them of their poſſeſſions. The Iriſh, who had peaceably ſubmitted to live under Engliſh lords, and held the lands aſſigned to them for their ſervices by Engliſh tenures, were treated with ſtill leſs reſerve. They were at once driven from their ſettlements with the moſt diſdainful inſolence, to make way for theſe courtiers, or their minions. The moſt rancorous averſion to their oppreſſors now ſeized this numerous claſs of inhabitants. They fled to the other malcontents; informed them of the ſituation and circumſtances of the Engliſh ſettlements; taught them the arts of war, which they had learned by a long intercourſe with the foreigners, and directed where their attacks on the common enemy might be moſt ſucceſsful.

While the ſtorm was thus gathering, John kept his court in idle pomp, and his attendants indulged in their uſual exceſſes; but the noiſe of inſurrection ſoon became formidable. The alarm of hoſtilities and diſaſters poured in from every quarter. The lately erected caſtles, and other places of ſtrength occupied by the Engliſh, were ſuddenly attacked. The government was aſtoniſhed at the intelligence of multiplied incurſions; and affecting reports were every day received of ſome dreadful carnage or commotion. The only vigorous oppoſition to theſe incurſions was made by the original adventurers; for the

Engliſh

Engliſh who had lately arrived ſhrunk into their fortified towns, where they lived in riot, while the open country was a ſcene of havock and confuſion.

Eight months of diſorder had elapſed, before Henry was fully informed of the dangerous ſituation of his Iriſh intereſts, and determined to recall young John from a government ſo weakly adminiſtered. The king had about this time been unhappily deprived of the ſervices of Hugh de Lacy. This lord had lately been proceeding to erect a fort at Dorrowe, or Derwarth, upon the ſite of a venerable abbey. The Iriſh were ſhocked at ſuch profanation of this ancient ſeat of devotion; and the animoſity of the natives, inflamed by this ſuperſtition, operated upon one of the workmen even to a degree of phrenſy: he ſeized the moment when that nobleman was employed in the trenches; and drawing out his battle-ax, which had been concealed under his long mantle, as Lacy was ſtooping, at one vigorous blow ſmote off his head.

The boiſterous valour of De Courcey ſeemed now to be Henry's beſt reſource in his dangerous ſituation of affairs. A. D. 1186. This lord was therefore entruſted with the Iriſh government; and John returned to England with his giddy train, who ſeemed pleaſed to eſcape from a country of turbulence and danger. De Courcey, thus left with the old adventurers, proceeded with indefatigable labour to the buſineſs of war, for which he was beſt calculated. In conjunction with young Lacy, ſon to the late lord, he is ſaid to have taken ſevere vengeance for the murder of his gallant countryman. He kept his forces in continual action, repelling his aſſailants, and terrifying them by the vigour of his operations. In this defenſive war he was favoured by the natural temper of the Iriſh, who, in all the miſchiefs they had wrought, acted from ſudden fits of violence, which abated by time. Thoſe who in the provinces moſt diſtant from the ſeat of the Engliſh government, felt leaſt from their invaders, ſoon forgot the common enemy, and turned their attention to thoſe quarrels which ſtill raged among themſelves *.

John quits Ireland.

Againſt an enemy thus divided and diſtracted, De Courcey was better able to ſupport his government. But his enterpriſing ſpirit could ill brook the reſtraint of a defenſive

* Ann. Var. MSS.

fenſive war, and he reſolved to make an attempt upon the diſordered province of Connaught. Collecting, therefore, the beſt part of his Engliſh forces, he marched thither with more valour than circumſpection; but ſoon learning that ſome chieftains in that country were, contrary to his expectation, preparing to attack him, he determined to put an end to his raſh adventure by a ſpeedy retreat into Ulſter. He had, however, ſcarcely proceeded to the execution of his purpoſe, when he was informed that another powerful army lay in an advantageous ſituation, ready to oppoſe his progreſs. He returned to his former camp, when the confederate army of Connaught and Thomond immediately appeared, and threatened to overwhelm him. The courage of the Engliſh was now put to a ſevere trial. They ſuſtained, for a time, though with conſiderable loſs, the repeated aſſaults of the enemy; but the latter preſſing upon them, their only hope was to ſecure a retreat; in effecting which, ſeveral of their brave knights were killed.

This diſaſter encouraged the chieftains of Ulſter and Argiel to attack the Engliſh ſettlements in their territories. To ſuppreſs theſe commotions, De Courcey marched once more into Ulſter, ſtormed and burnt the town of Armagh, where his enemies had aſſembled, terrified them by the violence of his execution, and re-eſtabliſhed an appearance of tranquillity through the whole province, without any oppoſition from the people of Connaught. The latter province was now involved in anarchy and ſlaughter, the conſequences of an unnatural rebellion among the ſons of Roderic. One of theſe, Conner Moienmoi, fell by the hand of an aſſaſſin, hired by his own ambitious brother, who was ſoon after ſlain in revenge by a ſon of Connor. Thus by his own vigour, and the diſſentions of his enemies, De Courcey was enabled to maintain the authority of the Engliſh government; and if not to extend, at leaſt to ſupport the acquiſitions which the natives of that country had made in Ireland.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in Ireland at the death of Henry. Richard, on his acceſſion to the throne, was too much engaged by more brilliant objects, to enquire minutely into the royal claims in that country; and too indulgent to his brother John, to queſtion the authority with

A. D. 1189. Richard.

with which he had been inveſted by his father. The ſtyle which John now aſſumed was that of John, earl of Moreton, and lord of Ireland. The deputies appointed to govern in Ireland, during the reign of Richard, were appointed by John, who appears to have then exerciſed eſſential acts of power in that country. Yet whatever ideas of power the title of lord of Ireland may convey, this prince certainly enjoyed it only in ſubordination to the Engliſh crown, in the ſame manner as was done by the ſeveral governors who had been appointed by Henry. In the parts of Ireland not immediately occupied by the Engliſh, John's authority was not acknowledged, even by foreigners.

While John reſerved to himſelf the exerciſe of certain powers, the adminiſtration of affairs in Ireland, and the ſupport of his authority in that kingdom, were entruſted to the Engliſh deputies. On the acceſſion of Richard, Hugh de Lacy the younger, had ſo effectually recommended himſelf to earl John, that he was enabled to ſupplant De Courcey, and obtained his government. The latter could not conceal his indignation to find the merit of his ſervices thus ſlighted. He retired to Ulſter, reſolving to take the advantage of the grants he had received from Henry; and by detaching himſelf from the new deputy, he betrayed the real weakneſs of the Engliſh government.

Among the ſurvivors of the rebellious houſe of Roderic O'Connor, Cathal, ſurnamed the Bloody-Handed, now ſtood higheſt in the eſteem of his countrymen; and by the aſſiſtance of a powerful faction, had been inveſted with the royal dignity of Connaught. An elevation obtained by intrigue and violence, was to be ſupported by thoſe qualities which ſtrike the multitude moſt forcibly. Cathal ſoon diſcovered an extraordinary paſſion for military glory; declared himſelf reſolved to aſſert the ancient honours of his family, and his country; and particularly breathed the moſt determined vengeance againſt thoſe foreigners, who had uſurped ſome of the faireſt poſſeſſions in the nation, and threatened to extend their inſolent and oppreſſive government over the iſland. Applauſe and popularity were the conſequence of ſuch declarations. His provincials admired him; and the chiefs of Munſter reſpected a young warrior, who promiſed to lead his countrymen to victory

and

and glory. They readily conſented to form an alliance with him. That they might act with more vigour againſt the common enemy, the lords of Thomond and Deſmond agreed to bury their old quarrels in oblivion, and to conclude a formal treaty of peace upon amicable and equitable terms *.

De Courcey, who perceived the riſing ſtorm, was ſolicitous to ſtrengthen his ſettlements in Ulſter, which were threatened with a formidable attack. He could expect no ſuccour from De Lacy, and therefore determined to collect all the forces he could command of his own immediate followers †. Armoric of St. Lawrence, his truſty friend and counſellor, was inſtantly called off from ſome petty enterpriſe, in which he had engaged, and marched without delay to the aſſiſtance of De Courcey, with a little body of two hundred foot, and thirty cavalry. Cathal, through a part of whoſe province they were to march, was informed of their motions, and reſolved to intercept them. The brave Engliſh knight ſoon found he had incautiouſly fallen into an ambuſh, where an army, vaſtly ſuperior to his own inconſiderable troop, lay in wait to deſtroy him. In this deſperate emergency, the love of life ſo far prevailed upon the cavalry, that they reſolved to truſt to the fleetneſs of their horſes before they were entirely ſurrounded, and leave their companions to their fate. The infantry was ſoon informed of this reſolution; and with the brother of Armoric at their head, gathered round their companions, and reproached them with their ignoble purpoſe; and conjured them by every tender and affecting motive not to diſgrace their former conduct, nor to abandon their fellow ſoldiers, and their brethren, to the fury of a revengeful enemy. The heroic ſpirit was already excited: Armoric drew his ſword, and plunged it into his horſe, the cavalry followed his example; and with one voice declared, that they would ſhare the fate of their companions.

Determined to meet death boldly with their weapons in their hands, they proceeded to the execution of their purpoſe with firmneſs and compoſure. Two, the youngeſt of their body, were ordered to retire to a neighbouring eminence, there to view the engagement, and to bear to John

* Innisf. MSS. † Hanmer. MSS. Lambeth. No. 628.

John De Courcey a faithful report of his friends, in this their laſt hour of deſperate encounter. The reſt marched forward with a confidence aſtoniſhing to the Iriſh army. Cathal at firſt imagined that they muſt have received a formidable reinforcement, and that he was now to engage a regular army; but ſoon found this little troop in the midſt of his collected forces, without ſupport or reſource. They ruſhed deſperately upon the enemy; they forced their way with terrible havock through the crouds of their aſſailants, of whom a thouſand are ſaid to have fallen under their furious impreſſion. As they were completely armed, they ſuſtained repeated onſets before they could be wounded; and the wounded obſtinately perſevered in ſupporting and encouraging each other, until they fell under the oppreſſion of a conteſt ſo deſperate, not one deigning to ſurvive the carnage.

The reports of inſurrections and confederacies were ſoon conveyed to England, and alarmed earl John for the ſecurity of his Iriſh government. To encreaſe the public confuſion and diſtreſs, the city of Dublin was almoſt totally deſtroyed by an accidental fire; and the neighbouring diſtricts were infeſted by robbers, who annoyed the inhabitants without reſtraint.

Public diſorders, with the alarm of wars and commotions, ſerved to caſt a ſuſpicion of ſome want of abilities and vigour on the adminiſtration of De Lacy. William Petit was ſubſtituted in his place, and was ſoon ſucceeded by William, earl marſhal of England. This nobleman had married Iſabella, daughter to earl Strongbow, by the princeſs of Leinſter; and of conſequence was inveſted with large poſſeſſions in Ireland. One ſo connected with the country was likely to be received with favour; and the dignity of his rank and character promiſed weight to his adminiſtration.

A government of extraordinary vigour was become indiſpenſable. The prince of Connaught had by his late ſucceſs, which was induſtriouſly magnified, raiſed a dangerous ſpirit among the Iriſh chiefs, his confederates. The reigning prince of Thomond, that he might not be outdone by his countryman and ally, levied a conſiderable force, and declared hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh borderers. The contending parties encountered at Thurles, where

where victory declared in favour of the troops of Thomond. This disgrace, however, did not prevent the English from continuing the war, ravaging the territories of O'Brien, and erecting several forts to keep their enemies in awe, and to secure their own settlements. They even extended their depredations into Desmond, where the Irish leaders, notwithstanding all their boasted schemes, proved unable to oppose their invaders. The death of O'Brien, which happened about this time, gave new confidence to the English, and enabled them, in the confusion of the province, and the distractions arising from a contested succession, to penetrate into the very heart of Thomond, where there are said to have exercised great cruelties*.

Cathal, the prince of Connaught, being informed of the bloody progress of his enemies, entered Munster at the head of a formidable army, which the English were utterly unable to oppose. They retired precipitately at his approach; and Cathal, with all the triumph of a victorious prince, razed their castles to the ground. But this chief, who had neither judgment to concert, nor real power to execute any masterly plan for the subversion of the English establishments, contented himself with the honour of defying and insulting the enemy, and retired to his province, leaving them to repair the havock he had made. Scarcely had they attempted this necessary work, when they found themselves again exposed to the attacks of Mac-Arthy of Desmond; who led his forces against the English upon their return to Munster, defeated them in the field, and pursued his advantage, until he had driven them out of Limerick.

Cork was now the only considerable port of strength in Munster, which remained in the possession of the English. And as the garrison was surrounded by its enemies of Desmond, it was not possible for the troops to subsist, much less to maintain their station, without some powerful support. The occasion was too urgent not to command the attention of the English government. A considerable force was detached into the South, to check the dangerous progress of the enemy; yet not sufficiently numerous to encounter the people of Desmond, now reinforced

* MS. Lambeth.

inforced by the troops of Connaught, headed by their warlike prince O'Loughlan. The Engliſh army received a total defeat; and the garriſon of Cork, cut off from all reſources, ſeemed deſtined to immediate deſtruction. But the ſecret jealouſies of their enemies ſerved to ſuſpend their fate; though they were at laſt obliged to capitulate; and Cork was ſurrendered to the prince of Deſmond.

The loſs of this important place too plainly indicated the weakneſs of the government; and the feeble attempts made to re-eſtabliſh the Engliſh intereſts in Munſter, ſerved only to diſcover the real ſuperiority of their enemies. Though diſſentions in the family of O'Brien gave the Engliſh an opportunity of again invading Thomond, and though repeated attempts were made upon the territory of Deſmond; yet the whole effect of thoſe expeditions was to waſte the country, without any acquiſition of permanent advantage.

Such was the progreſs of events, during the adminiſtration of the earl marſhal; when Hamo de Valois was appointed to ſucceed him in the year 1197, a period of the utmoſt public confuſion and diſtreſs; when John de Courcey, and Hugh de Lacy, were employed in their reſpective provinces, independent of the Engliſh government, almoſt all Munſter evacuated by the Engliſh, and the province of Leinſter with difficulty maintained. To ſupply the urgent neceſſities of a diſtreſſed and enfeebled government, Hamo could deviſe no more effectual expedient than an invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions. He began his adminiſtration with ſeizing ſeveral lands which had been granted to the ſee of Dublin; an act of violence the moſt odious and offenſive, at a time when the rights of eccleſiaſtics were accounted infinitely more ſacred than thoſe of other ſubjects *. The archbiſhop remonſtrated, expoſtulated, and even denounced the vengeance of heaven againſt the abominable ſacrilege; but without effect. He profeſſed to conſider ſuch obſtinacy as a violent expulſion from his paſtoral charge, and reſolved to abandon his dioceſe, rather than ſeem to acquieſce in the profance uſurpation of its rights. He repaired to his cathedral, in all the ſolemnity of the deepeſt affliction. Books, chalices, images, and all the gaudy apparatus of public ſervice, were removed. He ordered the crucifixes to be crowned with thorns, and

* Hoveden.

and laid proſtrate on the ground, in token of the downfal of the church; and laying upon his dioceſe the tremendous ſentence of interdict, departed the kingdom. A miracle was deviſed, to affect the minds of the ignorant and ſuperſtitious ſtill more deeply. One of thoſe proſtrate crucifixes was ſhown, with all the marks of agony impreſſed upon it; the face inflamed, the eyes dropping tears, the body covered with ſweat, and blood and water iſſuing from its ſide. The exiled prelate received this wonderful declaration of heaven in his favour, ſolemnly atteſted by his clergy, to be laid before the Roman pontiff. Yet his enemies were ſtill obdurate. His ſuffragans were too anxious for the preſervation of their own properties to provoke the civil government, by eſpouſing the quarrel of their metropolitan. His earneſt applications to earl John, and thoſe to king Richard, were equally neglected. Nor was it until ſome years after that Hamo de Valois felt compunction for his offence, and granted to the ſee of Dublin twenty carucates of land, in atonement for the depredations he had committed in the courſe of his government.

During theſe diſorders, Roderic O'Connor, laſt of the Iriſh monarchs, died in extreme old age, in the monaſtery of Cong, where he had paſſed many years in quiet, unnoticed by the contending factions of his province.

A.D. 1199. John.

John, upon his acceſſion to the throne, had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the affairs of Ireland. Some former grants, however, were renewed, as well to the church as to the lay barons *; and Hamo de Valois, who, from harraſſing the eccleſiaſtics, proceeded to commit depredations on the laity, was removed from his government with diſgrace, and obliged to pay the king one thouſand marks. Meiler Fitz-Henry, natural ſon of Henry I. and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed barons who had originally adventured into Ireland, was apppointed to ſucceed him; but he poſſeſſed not a force for any attempt worthy of his valour and abilities. John de Courcey, and Hugh de Lacy, two of the moſt powerful ſettlers in Ireland, had for ſome time affected a ſtate of independence, and entered into treaties with the neighbouring lords. William de Burgo, a baron of the family of Fitz-Andelm, now alſo roſe into eminence. He ſoon contrived

* Chart. Penes Com. Mid. MSS.

contrived to poſſeſs himſelf of Limerick, and to form a ſettlement, which threatened all Munſter, diſtracted as it was by the barbarous quarrels of rival chiefs. Tempted by the hopes of new acquiſitions, and encouraged by the weakneſs of the Engliſh government, he ſhook off his allegiance to the crown, and made war and peace by his own authority, as a ſovereign and independent chief *.

The ſpirit of independence and diſaffection which broke forth among the Engliſh barons of Ireland, had been excited not only by their large grants, and extenſive ſettlements, but by the circumſtances and ſituation of the king of England. Like the other lords of his realm, they were neither reconciled to his ſucceſſion, nor ſatisfied with his conduct. The violent and artleſs temper of John de Courcey was particularly inflamed by the unhappy fate of prince Arthur, whoſe pretenſions to the crown he had originally approved; and whoſe death he now reſented in the bittereſt terms of reproach. Hugh de Lacy, more flexible and temporiſing, and ſecretly envying the growing power of this lord, ſeized the advantage of his indiſcretion, and repreſented him to the king as extremely diſaffected to his government; urging the danger that might ariſe from a perſon, who, not contented with renouncing his allegiance, openly accuſed his ſovereign as the murderer of his nephew, and rightful liege lord.

John, ſtung with this reproach, as well as provoked at his revolt, ſummoned him to repair to his preſence, and do him homage. De Courcey treated his mandate with contempt; ſo that de Lacy, with his brother Walter, received a commiſſion to ſubdue this refractory baron, and to ſend him priſoner to the king. De Lacy led on his troops, pierced into Ulſter, and is ſaid to have come to an engagement with de Courcey at Down, in which he was forced to retire with diſgrace, and no inconſiderable loſs. The Ulſter lord, however, conſcious that he could not long maintain a war againſt ſuch forces as the Engliſh government might command, and dreading to be ſtripped of his valuable poſſeſſions, conſented to ſubmit and do homage to John; demanding a ſafe-conduct, and giving hoſtages for his peaceable departure and appearance before the

* Chart. Penes Com. Mid. MSS.

the king. He was accordingly conveyed to England, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Here he remained unnoticed, until a champion of Philip king of France appeared at the court of John, and propoſed to aſſert his maſter's claim to Normandy, or to ſome caſtle of this province (for it is variouſly related) in ſingle combat. John, mortified to find no ſubject of his realm prepared to encounter this challenger, is reminded that his priſoner De Courcey, promiſed, by his valour and bodily ſtrength, to prove more than equal to the French champion. De Courcey is invited to ſupport the honour of his country; and, after repeated denials, is at length prevailed upon, not for the ſake of John, who had treated him ſo injuriouſly, but for the honour of his crown and kingdom, to accept the challenge. He deſires his own ſword to be brought from Ireland; the rigours of his confinement are ſoftened; and his ſtrength reſtored by due care and nouriſhment. The day of this important deciſion at laſt arrives. The princes and nobles of each nation are aſſembled in the utmoſt expectation. The Frenchman firſt appears. De Courcey prepares himſelf with great compoſure; and when he enters the liſts, the Frenchman, having ſurveyed him minutely, and being terrified by the ſtern aſpect, and the gigantic ſize of his antagoniſt, declines the combat, and flies into Spain. The two kings, who are ſaid to have been witneſſes of this triumph of De Courcey, now intreated him to give ſome proof of his bodily ſtrength, as they had been diſappointed in their expectations of his hardy combat with the Frenchman. In compliance with their deſire, we are told, that he ordered ſome attendants to drive into the ground a ſtake, on which were placed a coat of mail, and a helmet. Then drawing his ſword, and looking with a ſtern and threatening aſpect on the princes, he ſtruck it through the armour ſo deeply into the ſtake, that no one but himſelf could draw it out. The princes expreſſed their aſtoniſhment not only at his vigour, but at the menacing looks which he had darted at them both. He anſwered them with a rude and ſullen violence, that, had he miſſed his blow, he ſhould have ſtruck their heads. The importance of his preſent ſervice atoned for theſe paſſionate expreſſions. John gave him his liberty, reſtored him to his poſſeſſions; and it is added, that on

this occaſion, he, at the requeſt of De Courcey, granted to him and his heirs the privilege of ſtanding covered in their firſt audience with the king of England.

Such is the romantic account delivered by Engliſh writers (upon the authority of Iriſh narratives) of this tranſaction. But beſides that the general tenor of this narrative, and the poetical colouring by which it is enlivened, render it ſuſpicious, even at firſt view, public records detect ſome part of it, the moſt authentic and inconteſted hiſtories of this reign deſtroy the credit of others, and leave nothing of the whole that claims any plauſible ſupport.

Upon the death of this lord, which ſeems to have happened ſoon after his diſgrace, the earldom of Ulſter was granted to Hugh De Lacy, in prejudice to the claim of Milo, ſon of De Courcey, and one of thoſe hoſtages he had ſent to John. His honours and poſſeſſions, thus transferred by the indiſcreet and capricious bounty of the king, ſerved to ſwell the pride, and raiſe the power of the Lacys to a formidable height. And now, as the diſtreſſes of John required the preſence and aſſiſtance of his moſt truſty and favourite barons, both Hugh De Lacy, and Meiler Fitz-Henry, were called into England, and the government of Ireland entruſted to Walter De Lacy, in conjunction with the archdeacon of Stafford *.

The vigour and activity of Meiler Fitz-Henry, in an expedition againſt De Burgo, gave the Engliſh intereſts a firmer eſtabliſhment in the ſouth part of Ireland, than they had obtained for ſome years. Not only Limerick, but Cork had been recovered; in the latter was erected a ſtrong fort, which kept the Deſmonians in ſubjection. The death, alſo, of Daniel Mac-Arthy, their warlike chief, with their own inteſtine broils, which never were ſuſpended, weakened this people, and of conſequence gave ſtrength to the Engliſh. Meaſures were concerted by Meiler for adding ſplendor and efficacy to the government. At his inſtance, and for the ſecurity of his treaſure, John's mandate was received for building in Dublin a tower, which the deputy was impowered to enlarge into a royal palace, if he ſhould find it expedient; and three hundred marks, a fine due from one of the king's barons of Ireland, were aſſigned towards defraying the edifice.

* Hanmer.

edifice. A dreadful plague, however, which had ſpread through many parts of Leinſter, raged with peculiar violence in Dublin; and as ſuch calamities are often aggravated by the outrages of the neceſſitous and deſperate, the deputy received a ſpecial order to repreſs all robbers and plunderers, and to execute the Engliſh laws on delinquents. A melancholy inſtance of ſuch outrages is recorded by hiſtorians; and the annual commemoration of it is continued to this day. During the feſtival of Eaſter, the citizens of Dublin, aſſembled for recreation at a diſtance from the town, when ſome lawleſs ſepts iſſuing from the mountains in the neighbourhood of Wicklow, fell with the utmoſt fury on the unſuſpecting multitude, and ſlaughtered three hundred of their number.

The great power of the Lacys had now tempted them to relax their attention and deference to John; and, like others of their countrymen, they had exerciſed their authority with an oppreſſive violence. Among the nobles from whom John had demanded hoſtages, at the time when the ſentence of interdict and excommunication had poſſeſſed him with apprehenſions of a conſpiracy, was William de Braoſa, lord of Brecknock, who had received conſiderable grants in Thomond. To the king's meſſengers who came for this purpoſe, the wife of Braoſa anſwered with an indiſcreet warmth, that her children never ſhould be entruſted to the man who had murdered his own nephew. Vengeance was denounced againſt William, though he is ſaid to have reproved his wife's intemperance, and promiſed obedience to the royal will. The arrears due to the king, from his lands in Ireland, were inſtantly demanded; and on the firſt default of payment, orders iſſued to ſeize his lands and caſtles, and to ſecure his perſon. William, juſtly dreading the cruelty of an incenſed and vindictive tyrant, fled with his wife and children to Ireland, where they were protected by Lacy, in defiance of the king's diſpleaſure.

John, in the meanneſs of his revenge, was not aſhamed to aſſign the neceſſity of reducing this out-law and his adherents, as the reaſon of an expedition into Ireland. He accordingly landed at Dublin in June: and the Engliſh writers affirm, that immediately on his arrival, more than A.D. 1210.

twenty Iriſh dynaſts attended to do him homage. Hugh and Walter de Lacy, dreading the conſequences of their lawleſs oppreſſion, and their embezzlement of the king's revenue, fled to France; where William de Braoſa alſo ſought ſhelter from John's reſentment, leaving his wife and children concealed in Ireland.

The Engliſh arms had by this time penetrated into every province, and overſpread the whole iſland with new ſettlements; but many who held lands of the crown were ignorant of the nature of their tenure, and the manner in which their ſervice ſhould be performed. For the more effectual information, therefore, of his Iriſh ſubjects, John now came attended by men learned in the laws of their country, by whoſe aſſiſtance a regular code of Engliſh laws was, at the general deſire of his Iriſh ſubjects, depoſited in the exchequer of Dublin. For the regular and effectual execution of thoſe laws, beſides the eſtabliſhment of the king's courts of judicature in Dublin, there was now made a more new and ample diviſion of the king's lands of Ireland into counties, where ſheriffs, and other officers, were appointed.

By the mediation of the abbot of St. Taurin, John was at laſt prevailed upon to reinſtate the Laceys in their poſſeſſions, on condition of receiving from Walter two thouſand five hundred marks for Meath; and from Hugh, four thouſand marks for Ulſter.

Upon the departure of the king, the adminiſtration of Ireland was committed to John de Grey, biſhop of Norwich, who ſeems to have conducted the government with prudence and vigour. Henry de Londres, archbiſhop of Dublin, next ſucceeded to this employment; but affairs were for the moſt part adminiſtered by his deputy Geoffry Morris, or de Mauriſco, an eminent Engliſh ſettler in Munſter; the primate himſelf being obliged to attend his royal maſter in England, where he was preſent at all the infamous ſubmiſſions which John made to the ſee of Rome.

A.D. 1216. Henry III. At the acceſſion of Henry III. the gradual progreſs of the Engliſh power had conſiderably weakened that of the old Iriſh chieftains *. Geoffry de Mauriſco was continued in the adminiſtration; and Henry de Londres, the prelate

* Ann. Innisf. MSS.

prelate of Dublin, was ſent into Ireland under the pretence of aſſuming his paſtoral charge, but really as coadjutor to Geoffry. The death of the great earl of Pembroke, in 1219, deprived Ireland of a uſeful and powerful patron: from this period, at leaſt, her diſorders ſeem to have revived. Hugh de Lacy, whoſe avarice and ambition had not been extinguiſhed by his misfortunes, deemed this incident favourable to his purpoſes, and commenced a conteſt about ſome lands which the earl had poſſeſſed, and which Hugh now claimed as his right. As the grants made to thoſe Engliſh lords had raiſed them to a degree of ſovereignty, Lacy was ſenſible that the diſpute muſt finally be brought to the deciſion of the ſword: and to be the better provided for this event, he courted the alliance of O'Nial, the turbulent chieftain of the North, and the avowed enemy of his liege lord. William, the young earl, was ſuddenly called into Ireland to defend his lands: Leinſter and Meath were expoſed to the calamities of war, by the incurſions of theſe lords, who, as each prevailed, purſued his adverſary, and laid his territories waſte. Geoffry the Engliſh governor, was in the mean time obliged to make an expedition into Deſmond, to ſuppreſs an inſurrection of the Mac-Arthys; and terrified the country by the ſeverity of his executions. Donald O'Brien of Thomond, amidſt theſe ſtorms, was ſolicitous to ſecure his own domain from the rapine of his countrymen, and the oppreſſive violence of the Engliſh; and, as the moſt effectual method, petitioned and obtained a grant from king Henry, of the kingdom of Thomond, (as it is called) to be held of the king during his minority, by a yearly rent of one hundred pounds, and a fine of one thouſand marks. With leſs attention to the tranquillity of the kingdom, Henry alſo granted to Richard de Burgo, repreſentative of that lord who had proved ſo dangerous in the reign of John, the whole kingdom of Connaught, after the death of Cathal the Bloody-handed, who ſtill maintained his ſtate in this province.

The death of Cathal ſoon gave Richard an opportunity to plead his grant. But the Iriſh according to their own cuſtoms, proceeded to elect a ſucceſſor: and by the powerful interceſſion of O' Nial, Tirlaugh, brother of the late prince, was inveſted with the royal dignity of Connaught. A.D. 1223.

A nomination

A nomination procured by the open and inveterate oppoſer of the Engliſh government, and ſupported by his arms, was particularly offenſive to Geoffry de Mauriſco. He led an army into Connaught, but without attempting directly to ſupport de Burgo in his claims, contented himſelf with expelling Tirlaugh, and eſtabliſhing Fedh, as ſon of Cathal, in his room. The uſual ſubject of contention in this diſordered province was thus revived. The ſucceſſor grew inſolent, was provoked at the demands made upon his territory by the Engliſh, reſiſted them by force, was ſupported by his countrymen, and proved ſo ſucceſsful, as to make priſoner a ſon of Geoffry, who ſeems to have marched with a conſiderable force to oppoſe him. Being ſoon reduced to extremity, he was obliged to come in perſon to treat with the governor: when a diſſention ariſing between ſome of his Iriſh train, and the domeſtics of Geoffry, Fedh was unhappily killed in the tumult. His uncle and rival reſumed the ſovereignty, but was ſoon depoſed by Richard de Burgo, who ſucceeded Mauriſco in
A. D. 1228. the government, and deemed it more conſiſtent with his views to inveſt another ſon of Cathal's, called Fedlim, with the royal title. This chief had the ſpirit to oppoſe the claims made on his territory by de Burgo, in a manner more peremptory, as he was now in the plenitude of his power. De Burgo, impatient of controul from his creature, denounced againſt him the terrors of his vengeance, commenced hoſtilities, and even made him captive. But Fedlim had the good fortune to eſcape; and collecting a conſiderable body of his adherents, marched againſt his rival, now ſupported by the Engliſh governor, defeated, ſlew him, and reſumed his authority *.

A. D. 1233. On the removal of de Burgo from the adminiſtration, Maurice Fitz-Gerald was appointed his ſucceſſor; and this favourable opportunity Fedlim determined to improve. Senſible that he could not long ſupport his dignity by any power of his own, he addreſſed himſelf to the king of England; repreſenting in the moſt humble manner his own inviolable attachment as well as that of his father to the Engliſh government; and earneſtly entreating permiſſion to repair to England, to caſt himſelf at the king's feet, that he might explain more particularly his own cruel injuries,

* Ibid. Iriſh MSS.

injuries, as well as the malverſations of his enemy de Burgo. Henry, reſolving to act with caution, did not immediately grant this requeſt, but gave ſuch an anſwer as proved ſatisfactory to Fedlim, who continued to enjoy his petty ſovereignty for a time, unmoleſted by any Iriſh rivals, or Engliſh claims; while another and a more important object engaged the attention of the great barons in Ireland, and involved the kingdom in much diſorder.

On the death of William Mariſhal, ſon to the protector, his eſtates and honours devolved on his brother Richard, a young man actuated with all the bold and independent ſpirit of an Engliſh baron. Both the king, and Hubert de Burgh, who was now in power, were acquainted with his diſpoſitions, and dreaded their effects, ſo that when he came to demand poſſeſſion of his lands, it was at firſt denied, on pretence that his brother's wife was pregnant. When this device proved ineffectual, it was, in the next place, alledged, that Richard had held a treaſonable correſpondence with the king's enemies in France; and he was therefore commanded to depart the realm within fifteen days, on pain of perpetual impriſonment. Without the leaſt heſitation, he inſtantly ſet off for Ireland, where he was readily inveſted with his lands and caſtles, and received the homage of his vaſſals. Collecting thence a conſiderable force, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Pembroke, as if reſolved to aſſert his patrimonial claims by arms; a conduct which wrought ſo forcibly on the timidity of the king, that he conſented to accept his homage and fealty, and to inveſt him peaceably in all his rights.

It ſoon appeared, that Henry's apprehenſions of the dangerous ſpirit of this lord were but too well founded. When the adminiſtration had been unhappily committed to the prelate of Wincheſter, earl Richard was the firſt to remonſtrate boldly againſt the violent and oppreſſive meaſures of that miniſter. He declared that he and others of his peers would no longer deign to attend the king's councils, while numbers of inſolent foreigners were allowed to engroſs the royal favour. A ſharp reply provoked him and his adherents to abſent themſelves from parliament. When ſummoned, they affected to be apprehenſive for their perſonal ſafety, and diſobeyed the mandate. They were proclaimed traitors, and their lands aſſigned to foreigners.

reigners. Letters, under the king's ſeal, were directed to Maurice Fitz-Gerald the Iriſh vicegerent, Hugh and Walter de Lacy, Geoffry de Mauriſco, Richard de Burgo, and ſome other inferior lords, purporting, that Richard, late earl mariſchal of England, had, for his manifeſt treaſon, by ſentence of the king's court, been baniſhed the realm, and his eſtates forfeited, yet that he ſtill perſevered in rebellion againſt his ſovereign. It was therefore ſignified to theſe the king's faithful ſubjects, that if Richard ſhould land in Ireland, they ſhould endeavour to ſecure and ſend him to the king alive or dead. In return for this ſervice, they were promiſed all the lands which Richard had enjoyed in Ireland, to be divided among them.*

The diviſion of a vaſt diſtrict in a part of Ireland the beſt improved, was a ſtrong allurement to theſe lords, whoſe darling objects were riches and influence; and who were not always ſcrupulous in regard to the means which they employed for the attainment of theſe objects. Care was taken in the firſt place, to convey intelligence to earl Richard, that the barons of Ireland had ſeized ſome of his caſtles, and ravaged his lands in Leinſter. As a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in Wales had allowed him to attend to his Iriſh intereſts, he embarked with fifteen attendants, relying on ſupport from his vaſſals and adherents in Ireland. Immediately on his arrival, he was attended by Geoffry de Mauriſco, who, aſſuming the maſk of friendſhip, affected to commiſerate his wrongs, and to applaud his generous reſolution of ſupporting, to the utmoſt, his rights, againſt the violence and injuſtice of rapacious courtiers, by whom the king was unfortunately governed. He farther encouraged Richard in thoſe ſentiments, by inſinuating that he could not fail of ſucceſs, and might even reduce all Ireland to his obedience, by a due exertion of that ſpirit which had diſtinguiſhed his illuſtrious progenitors. The earl was eaſily prevailed upon to adopt a ſcheme at once ſo flattering to his intereſts and ambition. Collecting, therefore, his forces, he immediately commenced hoſtilities; took Limerick after a ſiege of four days; and not only recovered his own caſtles, but ſeized ſeveral of thoſe belonging to the king and his barons. De Burgo, the Lacys, and other lords, who ſhould have oppoſed theſe violences,

* Hanmer.

violences, fled before him with an affected terror; while his ſucceſſes only ſerved to drive him into the toils of his enemies. They now repreſented to him by their agents, that, as faithful ſubjects to king Henry, they could not look on tamely, while he reduced the lands which had been entruſted to their cuſtody. But to prevent the effuſion of blood, they deſired a truce; promiſing that if ſuccours were not ſpeedily received from the king, they ſhould conſider him as relinquiſhing his power and authority in the iſland, and on their parts ſhould peaceably reſign it to earl Richard; at the ſame time deſiring an interview with him on the plains of Kildare, in order to adjuſt the terms of the truce, and to effect a mutual agreement. Richard conſented to appear at the place appointed, attended by a force nearly equal to that of his opponents; but by the inſidious advice of Geoffry, haughtily refuſed to grant a truce. The barons replied, that the ſword ſhould then inſtantly decide the conteſt. Both ſides prepared to engage; when in the moment of onſet, Geoffry coldly told the earl, that his only meaſure was to yield to the demands of the barons; for as Walter de Lacy was married to his ſiſter, he could by no means fight againſt ſo near a relation; and ſaying this, he inſtantly marched away with fourſcore of the earl's attendants, who had been bribed to the deſertion. Richard was now left with only fifteen brave followers from Wales, to ſupport the ſhock of a hundred and forty opponents. The laws of romantic honour, however, required, that he ſhould not fly. He turned to his young brother, and, after entreating him, as being of too tender years for a deſperate encounter, to conſult his ſafety by retiring into a neighbouring caſtle, took of him an affecting farewel. The enemy's attack was chiefly directed againſt his perſon. The barons themſelves would not appear to take any part in this unequal conteſt: their followers aſſailed the earl, and at length unhorſed him, though not without bloodſhed and difficulty; when one of them, pointing a dagger at his back, where he was not defended by his armour, plunged it into his body. The unfortunate earl was conveyed to one of his caſtles, which Fitz-Gerald had in the mean time reduced; and here he expired a few days after *. The

* Hanmer.

The news of the death of this popular nobleman excited in England the greateſt conſternation, and the moſt violent reſentment againſt the prelate of Wincheſter, who had ſacrificed the earl to his revenge. The diſcontented barons led the general clamour; affected the utmoſt indignation, and even terror, for the ſafety of their own perſons. The king juſtly dreading the effects of the preſent temper of the people, with a mean diſſimulation expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow at the death of Richard, extolled his great merits, lamented his own misfortune in the loſs of ſo valuable a ſubject, and ordered his chaplains to perform a ſolemn ſervice for the repoſe of his departed ſoul. Gilbert, brother and ſucceſſor of the late earl, was knighted, and inveſted with his lands, as well as with the office of earl marſhal.

The great lords of Ireland, in the mean time, proceeded to divide the ſpoil of earl Richard's lands with the moſt rapacious violence. Their outrages were continued with the greater boldneſs, as Gilbert, the preſent earl, had ſoon fallen under the diſpleaſure of Henry; having taken the ſame meaſures with his late brother, on the relapſe of the king into his former oppreſſions, and unjuſt partiality to foreigners. His marriage with the daughter of Alexander king of Scotland ſerved to ſwell his pride; but leſs reſpected than his brother, he was treated by Henry with greater harſhneſs, and ſoon obliged to ſue for a reconciliation; which being at laſt effected, checked the depredations committed on his Iriſh eſtates. Maurice Fitz-Gerald, dreading the conſequences of his reſentment, thought it expedient to repair to London, that by the mediation of the king he might be reconciled to ſo powerful a nobleman. In the preſence of Henry and his barons, he exculpated himſelf by oath from any part in the death of Richard; but for the ſake of peace, and reſtoration of amity between their houſes, he propoſed to found immediately a well-endowed monaſtery, furniſhed with a reverend conventual body, to offer up continual prayers for the ſoul of this unhappy earl.

A formal reconciliation was thus effected, and Maurice was preparing to depart, when Fedlim, prince of Connaught, ſuddenly appeared at the court of England, having at length obtained an opportunity of pleading his grievances,

ances, and diſplaying the oppreſſions of de Burgo. This lord, ſoon after the death of earl Richard, had, by the reſtoration of his kinſman Hubert to ſome degree of favour, been encouraged to repair to England, and attend upon the king, who received him with an appearance of favour, though not uninformed of the violence of his conduct, and the many inſtances in which he had preſumed to deſpiſe the royal authority. He only inſinuated, in a letter, with which this lord was honoured ſoon after his return, that he ſhould be careful, by a more punctual compliance with his orders for the future, to obviate all ſuſpicions which might be entertained of his diſloyalty. But regardleſs of this gentle rebuke, he continued to indulge his ambitious views, and particularly to extend his ſettlements in Connaught, with an inſolent contempt of the rights and claims of the Iriſh natives. Pretences for hoſtilities were readily found or invented; and de Burgo had the addreſs to gain Fitz-Gerald, the chief governor, to ſupport his intereſted ſchemes. Under the pretence of ſuppreſſing inſurrections, or enforcing the demands of the government, they united in an invaſion of the territories of Fedlim, and ſtripped him of a conſiderable part of his diſtrict. The injured chieftain had no reſource, but to repeat his application to the throne: he artfully avoided to involve the chief governor in his accuſation, confining his complaint to the exceſſes of de Burgo; and he ſo effectually pleaded his cauſe, that the king ordered Fitz-Gerald to take the ſpeedieſt meaſures for repreſſing the outrages of this proud baron, and re-eſtabliſhing Fedlim in the full poſſeſſion of his rights.

The delay of Fitz-Gerald in leading his ſuccours into Wales, is ſaid to be the cauſe of his removal from the Iriſh government. By this meaſure, a popular lord, with a powerful following, was ſent into the South to raiſe new commotions among the moſt turbulent of the Iriſh natives. The Geraldines and their aſſociates immediately proceeded to enlarge their ſettlements, and to extend their encroachments on the bloody ſept of Mac-Arthy; and all the rage of war was inſtantly kindled in their quarter of the iſland. The death of Richard de Burgo, Hugh de Lacy, and Geoffry de Mauriſco, which happened nearly at the ſame period, produced new commotions. The chiefs of

Tyrconnel

Tyrconnel in the North had taken arms immediately on the departure of Fitz-Gerald to the war in Wales; but at his return were, by the aſſiſtance of Fedlim, ſoon reduced. They were now encouraged to reſume their hoſtilities, which the new governor, ſon of Geoffry, was immediately called to ſuppreſs; and to effect this purpoſe, was the whole buſineſs of his adminiſtration.

Nor did the weſtern part of Ireland continue to enjoy Henry's protection. Walter, ſucceſſor of Richard de Burgo, had married the daughter and heireſs of Hugh de Lacy; and being of conſequence inveſted with the earldom of Ulſter, was enabled to aſſert, with the more violence, the claims of his family in Connaught. Fedlim, on ſome pretence of diſaffection, once more driven from his territory, once more had the ſpirit to gain it by force of arms, and to maintain his rights againſt the great Engliſh lords. The riſing diſorders of England encouraged them to deſpiſe the royal authority: they were ever the ſecret enemies, ſometimes the avowed adverſaries of each other; and in many places where they had obtained ſettlements, the natives were firſt driven into inſurrections by oppreſſion, and then puniſhed with double ſeverity for their reſiſtance.

While theſe powerful lords committed with impunity ſuch outrages in the Engliſh territories, they were ſtill leſs reſtrained in their violences with reſpect to the Iriſh natives, as theſe neither enjoyed nor claimed the benefits of the Engliſh conſtitution. The whole country felt the melancholy effects of a feeble government, an aſpiring nobility, laws ſuſpended and controuled, factions engendered by pride or oppreſſion, the anarchy of the old natives, the injuſtice of the new ſettlers, local feuds, and barbarous maſſacres. Brian O'Nial of Tirowen, who, with his dependents, inherited an inveterate averſion to Engliſh government, roſe up in arms, compelled ſome neighbouring chiefs to join his ſtandard, and ſpread confuſion through all the North. Stephen Longeſpec was called out to oppoſe him, and, notwithſtanding ſome advantage gained in the field, would have found it difficult to ſuppreſs this inſurrection, had not the Iriſh prince fallen by the treachery of his own people. In the South, the Geraldines had for ſome time kept the ſtate of an independent

pendent ſept, ſupporting themſelves, ſince the removal of Maurice Fiz-Gerald from the government, by their own power, and making war and peace by their own authority. They had mortified the Deſmonians by their encreaſing conſequence, and provoked them by their ſeverities. But the fierce and warlike race of Mac-Arthy, encouraged by the death of Maurice, ſuddenly took arms, and threatened his family with the moſt deſperate vengeance. Both parties were eager to take the field; and a deſperate engagement at length gave ſuperiority to the Iriſh, who purſued their advantage with all the rage of implacable animoſity. Thomas Fitz-Gerald and his ſon, eighteen barons, fifteen knights, and many of inferior note, were ſlain on the part of the Geraldines; who thus loſt their power, and for ſome time lived in continual terror of the Iriſh ſept.

In this conteſt, the Mac-Arthys affected only to defend their rights againſt the invaſion of a neighbouring clan, and were ſo far from openly declaring againſt the Engliſh government, that at the very time of their greateſt ſucceſs, a new deputy, who landed on their coaſt, was received with the reſpect due to his commiſſion, and paſſed unmoleſted to the ſeat of government. The conquerors proceeded to demoliſh the caſtles erected by their rivals; and elated with ſucceſs, turned their arms againſt ſome Iriſh ſepts, which had provoked their reſentment. Walter de Burgo was ſoon involved in theſe petty quarrels, which interfered with the pretentions of his family, or promiſed to give him poſſeſſion of ſome diſtricts which he claimed or coveted. He marched againſt the Mac-Arthys, ſlew their leader, ravaged their country, and obliged them to give hoſtages for the performance of ſuch ſevere conditions as he was pleaſed to impoſe. The Geraldines ſeized the advantage of this reduction of their enemies, and revived their old claims; but ſoon found they had a new and powerful adverſary to encounter. De Burgo, who alſo fought for the aggrandizement of his own family, deemed both his honour and his intereſt concerned in humbling theſe aſpiring rivals. Their feuds were violent and bloody, and for a long time continued to ſpread diſtraction and calamity, to the diſgrace of the Engliſh government. The deputy attempted to interpoſe his authority;

rity; when Fitz-Maurice and Fitz-Thomas, heads of the Geraldine faction, ſuſpecting him of partiality to their antagoniſt, proceeded to an act of violence, which even the Mac-Arthys had ſcrupled to commit; ſeized his perſon at a conference, and ſent him with Richard de Burgo, ſon of Walter, and ſome other lords, priſoners to one of their caſtles.

So outrageous a defiance of authority raiſed a juſt and general alarm. An aſſembly was convened at Kilkenny to conſider of remedies for the diſorders of the kingdom *. Henry, who received the moſt affecting repreſentations of thoſe exceſſes, could interpoſe no farther than by writing to the rival lords, and commanding them to preſerve the public peace. Claims, pretenſions, and conteſts multiplied without number; and all quarters of the kingdom were filled with petty feuds, the reſult of avarice and pride. Famine and diſeaſe, increaſed by ſeaſons remarkably ſevere and tempeſtuous, were the conſequences of ſuch extenſive confuſion; and to aggravate the calamities of this dreary period, the ſevereſt exactions were made on Ireland, both
A.D. 1226. by the king and the pope. In the year 1226, a fifteenth of all cathedral churches and religious houſes, and a ſixteenth of all other eccleſiaſtical revenues, were demanded by the king, with the concurrence of the pope. But thoſe of the ſee of Rome were yet more oppreſſive. The laity were ſtripped of their very neceſſaries, as well as the churches of all their ornaments, to ſupply the rapacious demands of legates and nuncios. With the ſame effrontery as in England, attempts were made to overſpread the kingdom with Italian eccleſiaſtics. The boldeſt remonſtrances were made to the king againſt this ſcandalous abuſe, of conferring the dignities and revenues of the Iriſh church on proud and luxurious foreigners, who contemptuouſly refuſed to engage in the duties of their function, or to reſide in the country which they pillaged by their extortions. The complaint appeared ſo juſt and urgent, that the king, who had ſcarcely power to maintain a regular government in Ireland, much leſs to ſupport meaſures univerſally obnoxious, was obliged to interpoſe his authority, and by letter to his chief governor, directed that the pope's agents ſhould not only be prevented from extorting money

* Hanmer.

money from the eccleſiaſtics, but from making ſuch ſhameful diſpoſitions of their benefices. The clergy, however, had not only the partialities of the pope, but thoſe of Henry himſelf to contend with. All the worthleſs, or the depreſſed, among their Engliſh brethren, ſought refuge in the church of Ireland; to the utter mortification and diſcontent of the whole body of eccleſiaſtics, both of the Iriſh and the Engliſh race. Though forced to ſubmit to the royal authority, ſtrengthened by that of the pope, they yet determined to exert all the power they had left againſt the invaſions of thoſe intruders. By a bold and violent ordinance, it was agreed, that no man of the Engliſh nation ſhould be admitted into a canonicate in any one of the Iriſh churches. Nor could the king repreſs this ſpirit but by application to the pope, who commanded that the ordinance ſhould be formally reſcinded within the ſpace of one month, and in caſe of a refuſal, threatening to abrogate it by the plenitude of his authority.

But in proportion as the clergy were checked in thoſe regulations, they univerſally endeavoured to enlarge their juriſdictions in others. After the example of their brethren in England, they excommunicated the moſt dignified perſonages of the kingdom the moment they preſumed to diſpute the claims of the church; ſo that the pope was obliged to interpoſe, and controul this inordinate abuſe of ſpiritual authority. The oppreſſions they endured provoking them to make repriſals on the laity, they exacted from the latter extravagant impoſitions, under the name of oblations of the faithful. The magiſtrates and citizens of Dublin interpoſed their authority to prevent ſo dangerous a precedent. The archbiſhop inſtantly fulminated a ſolemn excommunication againſt theſe ſacrilegious invaders of the church, and laid the whole city under an interdict*. Cardinal Ottobon was at hand to confirm the the tremendous ſentence. The citizens remonſtrated; and the cauſe received a formal hearing before the lord-deputy and the council. The clergy proved triumphant; and the citizens were reduced to a compoſition extremely mortifying. It was agreed, that, in caſes of any notorious offence (in which, no doubt, was included the offence of oppoſition to the clerical power or intereſt) a commutation,

* Regiſt. Vocat. Crede Mihi.

tion, for the firſt time, ſhould be made in money; that in the ſecond inſtance, the offenders ſhould be cudgelled round the church; in the third, that the ſame diſcipline ſhould be repeated publicly, at the head of a proceſſion; and that, in caſe of farther obſtinacy, they ſhould either be diſfranchiſed, or cudgelled through the city.

Edward I. A. D. 1272.

Edward I. notwithſtanding the vigour of his adminiſtration, was not at leiſure for making any eſſential improvement in the political ſtate of Ireland. Maurice Fitz-Maurice, to whom, before the death of Henry, the government of the kingdom had been committed, ſtill retained his high office, but with an authority which was far from enforcing the obedience of the turbulent chieftains *. He was immediately obliged to march againſt ſome inſurgents, who had deſtroyed ſeveral caſtles, and penetrated even into the moſt flouriſhing parts of Leinſter. So well ſupported were the invaders, and ſuch the weakneſs of the governor, that he was betrayed to the enemy by his own followers. He was ſeized in Ophally, and committed to priſon. Nor had his ſucceſſor Glenvill, who had married a daugher of Walter de Lacy, much better ſucceſs. Ulſter, in the mean time, was not only infeſted, from the Scottiſh iſles, by freebooters, who committed depredations with impunity, but embroiled by the civil diſſentions, both of Engliſh and Iriſh, who purſued their private ſchemes of intereſt and revenge, and bid defiance to all legal authority. Fitz-Maurice, when releaſed from his confinement, retired to his own lands, only to raiſe new commotions. Uniting with the lord Theobald Butler, he made an attack upon the Iriſh of Munſter, and forced the O'Briens, who had of late diſcovered a pacific diſpoſition, to take up arms againſt the invaſions of a turbulent and ambitious neighbour.

The power of the Geraldines had been conſiderably increaſed by the marriage of Juliana, daughter of Maurice, with Thomas de Clare, ſon of the earl of Glouceſter, a young lord of martial ſpirit, to whom he granted conſiderable lands in Thomond, and who now led a powerful train of followers into Ireland to ſupport his claim. Such grants provoked the pride, and ſometimes the juſt reſentment of the natives, who found themſelves expoſed to the oppreſſion

* Ann. Multifer. MS.

oppreſſion of invaders, frequently both inſolent and rapacious. The O'Briens exclaimed loudly againſt the incroachments of this new colony. The young Engliſh lord treated their remonſtrances with diſdain; and the conteſt, as uſual, was ſoon brought to the deciſion of the ſword. The war, which was renewed with double fury, ended in the overthrow of the Geraldines; and the O'Briens were acknowledged ſovereigns of Thomond.

Edward had lately ſent his mandate to the prelates of Ireland, to interpoſe their ſpiritual authority for allaying the public diſorders; and now the news of civil war in Munſter was followed by the moſt alarming accounts of inſurrections in Connaught, and the ſlaughter of the Iriſh prince of this province, by a rival chieftain. Provoked by theſe multiplied vexations, he paſſionately recalled the governor, Ufford, into England; who, leaving the adminiſtration in the hands of Fulburne, a friar, encouraged the diſaffected in Leinſter to renew their outrages; and having readily ſatisfied the king, who was intent on more intereſting objects than the ſettlement of this unhappy kingdom, was remanded thither, to repreſs the commotions which had ariſen in his abſence.

In the midſt of ſuch various diſorders, thoſe Iriſh, who by their ſituation held a conſtant intercourſe with the Engliſh who lay contiguous, found daily occaſions to lament the diſadvantages of the old native inſtitutions under which themſelves lived. All hopes of exterminating the Engliſh were long ſince reſigned: and the only rational purpoſe now to be purſued, was that of acquiring the rights and privileges enjoyed by thoſe happy neighbours, and to change the ſtate of vaſſals and tributaries to the king of England, for the ſecurity and advantage of Engliſh ſubjects. An application, therefore, was made to Ufford the chief governor, with the offer of eight thouſand marks to the king, provided he would grant the free enjoyment of the laws of England to the whole body of the Iriſh inhabitants. Edward expreſſed the ſtrongeſt inclination to comply with their demands, upon condition only that they ſhould hold in readineſs a body of good infantry, amounting to ſuch a number as the governor ſhould think proper, to repair to England, for once, if the king's affairs ſhould require their aſſiſtance. But his deſire was fatally

fatally counteracted, by thoſe whoſe duty it was to promote a meaſure ſo well calculated for the benefit of their country. The petition, if granted, would circumſcribe the rapacious views, and controul the violence and oppreſſion of thoſe who profited by the preſent ſtate of the kingdom. As it could not, however, be openly oppoſed upon any principles of ſound policy, every ſubterfuge was employed, and every artifice put in practice, to prevent a convention of the king's barons and other ſubjects in Ireland. Aſſurances were ſent to Edward, that an immediate compliance with his commands was not poſſible in the preſent ſtate of things; that the kingdom was in too great commotion; and that far the greater number of barons was diſperſed on the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſtate, and defence of their own and the king's lands; ſo that an aſſembly could not be formed ſufficiently numerous and reſpectable, to decide upon ſo weighty a point. Such pretences were ſufficient, where the ariſtocratic faction was too powerful, and the king too deeply engaged in more urgent affairs. The application of the Iriſh, however, was renewed, and the king repeatedly ſollicited to accept them as his faithful ſubjects; but ſtill the wiſe intentions of Edward were unhappily fruſtrated; and during the courſe of his reign, individuals of the Iriſh race were obliged to ſue for particular charters of denization, which we find granted to ſeveral, particularly on their intermarriage with the Engliſh *.

This continued oppoſition to ſo reaſonable a demand naturally irritated the ſpirits of the Iriſh, and fomented the local jealouſies and conteſts which ſubſiſted between them and their Engliſh neighbours. They ſoon appeared in arms, but without power, union, or addreſs, to form any ſcheme of general confederacy; ſo that theſe inſurrections ſerved only to ravage the ſeveral diſtricts expoſed to their fury, or to revenge particular quarrels. In Deſmond, indeed, the diſcontented Iriſh formed a more regular plan of oppoſition. The Mac-Arthys, ever implacable enemies to the Engliſh, aſſembled ſecretly, diſcuſſed with deliberation the pretenſions of their ſeveral lords, parcelled out the lands of Deſmond, aſſigning what they now poſſeſſed, or expected to recover, according to their

* Hanmer.

their own notions of equity, founded on ancient arrangements. They agreed in the election of a prince called Daniel Roadh, marched under his conduct againſt the Engliſh of their province, and were ſo ſucceſsful as to ſeize ſome caſtles, and to drive the enemy from ſeveral of their ſettlements. The O'Briens, their neighbours, mean time, were ready to draw the ſword againſt each other, on the uſual ſubject of Iriſh war, the ſucceſſion to the ſovereignty of their province. Commotions alſo prevailed every where among the Engliſh lords and principal ſettlers, whom the luſt of power and poſſeſſions inſpired with mutual animoſities. Theſe petty broils were multiplied, and continued for ſome years unnoticed, or at leaſt unreſtrained by the king's vicegerents.

Edward had already, by the aſſiſtance of the pope, obtained from the Iriſh clergy a tenth of all their revenues, on pretence of providing for an expedition to the Holy Land. But, not contented with this ſupply, he, without any participation of the holy ſee, demanded, in his own name, an additional fifteenth of all the ſpiritualities in that kingdom. The clergy appealed to the court of Rome, and deſired the protection of the ſovereign pontiff againſt this encroachment on his authority. At the ſame time, in the humbleſt manner, they repreſented to the king the diſtreſſed condition of their church, expreſſing a concern for their inability, and peremptorily refuſing to comply with the requiſition.

A. D. 1307. Edward II.

The acceſſion of Edward II. and his partiality to an unworthy favourite, proved to Ireland of ſome momentary ſervice, which might have been rendered permanent and extenſive, had not his folly and inſincerity been carried to the utmoſt degree of infatuation. When Gaveſton was appointed governor of Ireland, he immediately marched againſt the turbulent ſepts, drove them from their retreats, and purſued them with ſevere execution, until they were entirely diſperſed; while his ſoldiers, pleaſed with his valour and gained by his liberalities, followed his ſtandard with the utmoſt alacrity. The envy, however, of the great lords of Ireland, with his own inſolence and imprudence, threatened to interrupt this ſucceſsful progreſs; bnt before their jealouſies could produce any violent effect, the favourite was ſuddenly recalled, and left the kingdom

to its uſual diſtreſſes of a weak government and imperious nobility. Sir John Wogan, who ſucceeded to the adminiſtration, was principally employed in holding conventions, and ordaining laws, which the ſubjects of Ireland were too corrupt to obey, and which the governor wanted power to enforce *. The great lords, in the mean time, avowed their contempt of the royal authority, and carried on their private wars without fear or controul.

The accounts of the great atchievements which the Scots were now performing, under the celebrated Robert Bruce, were ſpeedily conveyed to Ireland, where they excited the joy, as well as admiration, of thoſe natives, who, conſidering themſelves allied in conſanguinity to the Albanian Scots, as they were called, were peculiarly intereſted in their fortunes. While they deſpiſed the weakneſs of Edward, they were mortified at the reflection, that they alone had not ſeized the advantage of an indolent reign, to ſhake off the yoke which had ſo long and ſeverely oppreſſed them. The chieftains of Ulſter, in particular, grew impatient to take the advantage of the preſent ſtate of Britain; and as their ſituation rendered it eaſier to hold a correſpondence with Scotland, they addreſſed themſelves to Robert Bruce, who now ravaged the northern parts of England without controul. They pathetically repreſented the diſtreſſes of their country; and entreated his aſſiſtance for an unhappy people, who wanted but ſuch a leader to execute their vengeance upon the common enemy; expreſſing, at the ſame time, their readineſs to receive a ſovereign from Scotland, and pay due allegiance to a prince who had not only valour to reſcue them from ſlavery, but equity to treat them as free ſubjects. The genius of Robert was naturally formed for bold and adventurous enterpriſes; and Edward, his brother, who had attended him in all his fortunes, was diſtinguiſhed by vigour and intrepidity. Robert, knowing his active temper, preſented to his ambition the flattering proſpect of a new kingdom; urged him to take advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the Iriſh lords, and aſſured him of ſuch ſupport, as could not fail to ſeat him on the throne of Ireland. Edward conſented to the enterpriſe; and the chieftains of Ulſter were aſſured that this lord ſhould ſpeedily be ſent to their deliverance with a conſiderable force.

The

* Campion.

The impatience of young Edward is ſaid to have driven him to a precipitate and injudicious attempt upon the northern coaſt of Ireland, before a ſufficient force could be provided for his enterpriſe, or his Iriſh partizans were prepared to declare in his favour *. Though this attempt was repelled, the deſign was not abandoned; and on the twenty-fifth of May, in the year 1315, lord Edward Bruce appeared on the north-eaſt coaſt of Ireland, where, from a fleet of three hundred barks, he landed ſix thouſand Scots, to aſſert his claim to the ſovereignty of the kingdom. The Iriſh lords of Ulſter flocked with eagerneſs to his ſtandard, bound themſelves by ſolemn treaty to his ſervice, and marched under his command to wreak their vengeance againſt the common enemy. The barbarous policy of Edward, ſeconded by the deſperate reſentment of the Iriſh, conſpired to mark their progreſs with deſolation and carnage. The Engliſh ſettlers of the North were ſlaughtered without mercy, or driven in a moment from their poſſeſſions. Their caſtles were levelled to the ground, and their towns ſet on fire. The Engliſh lords, who ſhould have oppoſed this invaſion, were neither cordially united, nor duly prepared to repel it. Richard, earl of Ulſter, however, roſe up with ſuch forces as he could collect, in defence of his poſſeſſions. Being joined by Fedlim O'Connor, the Iriſh prince of Connaught, he entered the northern province, deſolating the diſtricts through which he marched, to ſupply the neceſſities of his army. Butler the lord-deputy, at the ſame time, exerted his diligence to collect the troops of Leinſter, and joined the earl with a conſiderable reinforcement. But Richard, whoſe declining vigour was ſupplied by a proud and imperious ſpirit, and who had been accuſtomed to treat the king's vicegerent as his inferior, diſdained this aſſiſtance, declared that his own troops were more than ſufficient to repel the Scots, and puniſh their adherents; adviſing the deputy to return to the ſeat of government, and confine his attention to the ſecurity of Leinſter. The governor readily acquieſced; and the conduct of the war was entruſted ſolely to earl Richard, whoſe operations by no means correſponded with his magnificent promiſes. Bruce, in the firſt ardor of ſucceſs, had advanced into the county of Louth,

A.D. 1315.

* Cox.

Louth. The earl followed; but without coming to a deciſive action, ſkirmiſhed with the enemy. Bruce, thus harraſſed, and oppreſſed by a ſcarcity of proviſions, followed the advice of his chief aſſociate, O'Nial of Tirowen, and retreated into Ulſter. The earl purſued; and after ſome inconſiderable actions, a general battle was fought near Colerain, which ended in the defeat of Richard. The advantage, however, could not be effectually improved; nor was the earl prevented from carrying on the war. Bruce was therefore obliged to have recourſe to artifice and ſecret negociation, in order to divide and weaken the forces of his enemy. Addreſſing himſelf to Fedlim, the Iriſh prince of Connaught, he rendered that youth extremely deſirous of detaching himſelf from the earl of Ulſter.

In the mean time, the abſence of Fedlim from his territory had encouraged Roderic, one of his factious kinſmen, to endeavour to ſupplant him. This leader, having ſeized the Iriſh diſtrict of Connaught, entered into a negociation with Edward Bruce, promiſing to expel the Engliſh from the whole province, if he were acknowledged as the rightful prince, and ſupported in the honours and poſſeſſions he had now acquired. Bruce readily accepted his ſervices, and received him as his ally; repreſenting at the ſame time the extreme folly and danger of diviſion, entreating him to leave the poſſeſſions of Fedlim unmoleſted, and to ſuſpend the diſcuſſion of all claims, until the common enemy ſhould be ſubdued. Roderic, regardleſs of this counſel, continued to augment his forces, to harraſs the partizans of his rival, and deſtroy their towns, until he had obliged the ſeveral ſepts to acknowledge his ſovereignty, and to give hoſtages for their fidelity. Fedlim, therefore, propoſed to the earl of Ulſter, to march with his whole army into Connaught, in order to expel this uſurper. Though the northern enemy was too formidable to permit the earl to comply with this overture, yet he could not, with any appearance of equity, detain the Iriſh chieftain from his immediate intereſts. Fedlim was diſmiſſed with his provincials, amuſing the earl with aſſurances of his return, ſo ſoon as the diſorders of his territories ſhould be compoſed. The northern Iriſh, unacquainted with his ſecret tranſactions with Bruce, and regarding him as an enemy,

harraſſed

harraſſed him inceſſantly through his whole march; and no ſooner had he reached a place of ſafety, than he had the mortification to find it neceſſary to diſmiſs his weakened and diſpirited followers, without attempting the recovery of his poſſeſſions, in which his rival was now too firmly eſtabliſhed *.

He was ſoon followed into Connaught by the earl of Ulſter and the remaining part of his army, who had been obliged to retire before the northern and Scottiſh forces. As the general diſtreſs of famine prevented Bruce from purſuing his advantage, after ſome ineffectual progreſs he again retired, and remained unmoleſted in Ulſter, where he aſſumed the parade of royalty, and held courts of judicature, until new incidents enabled him to act a more vigorous and important part.

On the arrival of the earl of Ulſter in Connaught, the party which eſpouſed the cauſe of Fedlim immediately aſſembled, in full confidence that their chieftain would now receive effectual ſupport. An engagement happened ſoon after, which ended in the total defeat and death of Roderic, reinſtated Fedlim in his poſſeſſions, as well as the dignity of an Iriſh prince: but as gratitude had no place in his mind, his firſt ſtep, after his re-eſtabliſhment, was to declare in favour of the Scottiſh intereſt, and to draw the ſword againſt his deliverers. The example was inſtantly followed by O'Brien of Thomond, with other Iriſh chieftains of Munſter and Meath. Agents were every where employed to foment the ſpirit of inſurrection: the clergy extolled Bruce as the protector and deliverer of their country; inveighed bitterly againſt the Engliſh government, and exhorted the laity to take arms againſt the common enemies of the church and people. Meanwhile, Edward Bruce was ſolemnly crowned at Dundalk. To enable him to maintain his dignity, his brother Robert landed in Ireland with a powerful army; and though the general dearth and ſeverity of the ſeaſon obliged him to return before he could perform any ſignal ſervice, yet the forces which he left behind him were no inconſiderable aid to his brother; who alſo derived farther ſuccours from a conflux of diſcontented Iriſh, with numbers even of the Engliſh, among whom were the Lacys and their followers.

Edward Bruce is crowned king of Ireland.

* Cox.

ers. The town of Carrickfergus, which had long ſupported the moſt vigorous aſſault of the Scottiſh troops, now ſurrendered to Bruce; who, quitting his deſolated quarters in the remoter diſtricts of Ulſter, marched ſouthward with an army diſpoſed for the moſt bloody hoſtilities.

Meanwhile the Engliſh lords, alarmed at the danger which threatened their own poſſeſſions as well as the realm, proceeded to the moſt effectual meaſures in their power to repel the invaſion. Several of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them entered into an aſſociation to ſupport the intereſts of king Edward with their lives and fortunes, and gave hoſtages to Hotham, his commiſſioner, as a ſurety for their allegiance. An army was detached into Connaught, againſt Fedlim O'Connor, who collecting his forces, advanced, with the ſpirit of a warlike young chieftain, to give them battle. The contending parties met near the town of Athunree, where a deſperate engagement was at length determined in favour of the Engliſh; and Fedlim, with a great number of his troops, was ſlain.

Edward Bruce, notwithſtanding the loſs of his confederate, proceeded in his enterpriſe, and continued his deſtructive progreſs, without reſtraint or moleſtation, to the very walls of Dublin. Hither the earl of Ulſter had retired; and in this time of fear and ſuſpicion, his former inactive conduct, added to the circumſtance of his ſiſter's being married to Robert king of Scotland, raiſed ſuch apprehenſions of his ſecret diſloyalty, that the chief magiſtrate of the city ſeized and impriſoned him; nor could all the authority of the Engliſh government immediately procure his releaſe. To guard againſt Bruce, who was now at hand, the citizens ſet fire to the ſuburbs with ſuch precipitation, that their cathedral did not eſcape the fury of the flames; and retiring within their walls, they made ſuch preparations for a vigorous defence, that the Scottiſh prince deemed it expedient to turn aſide towards the territory of Kildare; through which he marched with terrible devaſtation, under the direction of Walter de Lacy, who had but juſt now ſolemnly diſavowed all connexion with that invader, and renewed his oath of allegiance to the crown of England. Traverſing the territory of Offory, he penetrated into Munſter, and ſpread havock and conſternation over the whole country.

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In the time of ſuch diſtreſs and confuſion, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the friends of the government could collect a force ſufficient to oppoſe the progreſs of Bruce. An army, ſaid to conſiſt of thirty thouſand men, was at length aſſembled at Kilkenny: the Geraldines, who had now forgotten all their private jealouſies and conteſts with other potent families, prepared to march out againſt the ravager. The motions of his enemies were not unknown to Bruce; who, conſcious of his own real weakneſs, determined to avoid an engagement. He had no other reſource but to lead his harraſſed army back to Ulſter. By forced marches, they arrived unmoleſted, in Meath; and, halting for ſome days in the neighbourhood of Trim, thence proceeded to their northern quarters. The Engliſh forces were unable to purſue the enemy ſo far through a deſolated country. The new governor, therefore, diſmiſſed his army; and, repairing to Dublin, ſummoned a convention of the nobles to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary to be taken. Having conſulted with this aſſembly, and prevailed on the magiſtrates to releaſe the earl of Ulſter from his confinement, he proceeded to Meath, where he endeavoured to compoſe the diſorders of that diſtrict, and particularly to reduce the proud and rebellious family of de Lacy. They were formally cited to appear, and defend themſelves againſt the charge of a treaſonable correſpondence with the king's enemies. But inſtead of ſubmitting to a judicial examination, they treated the ſummons as an indignity, and ſlew the meſſenger by whom it was delivered. To revenge this outrage, their lands were ravaged, and ſeized, and they themſelves driven for ſhelter into Connaught, where they waited a favourable opportunity to unite once more with their Scottiſh ally *.

The Engliſh intereſt ſeemed now to revive under a ſpirited and well ſupported government, while the affairs of the invaders became every day more deſperate. The ſentence of excommunication was thundered from the papal chair againſt all the enemies of king Edward. Robert and Edward Bruce were excommunicated by name. The ſame dreadful ſentence was denounced againſt the Iriſh clergy of every order, who had preached with ſo much zeal to excite their countrymen to inſurrection. Meanwhile,

* Hanmer.

while, the diſtreſſes of Edward Bruce, in his ſtate of inactive retirement, roſe to a degree of ſuffering, horrible to be related. His unhappy followers daily fell in great numbers, under the accumulated oppreſſion of diſeaſe and famine. Their carcaſſes, we are aſſured, became the ſubſiſtence of the wretched ſurvivors. In thoſe parts of the kingdom where agriculture had not been totally interrupted, the return of a fruitful ſeaſon proved a critical relief, and enabled the Engliſh to reſume their military operations. On the return of Mortimer to England, the archbiſhops of Caſhel and Dublin were ſucceſſively deputed to the adminiſtration. The latter prelate aſſigned the command of the forces deſtined againſt the Scots, to Sir John Bermingham, who marched into Ulſter, with ſeveral diſtinguiſhed officers in his train, and about fifteen hundred choſen troops. Bruce, after all his loſſes, had ſtill an army more than double of this number; and weak and diſordered as they were, their leader continued to proſecute his enterpriſe with unabated ardour. He is ſaid to have received advice that his brother Robert was on the point of coming to his aſſiſtance; when, jealous of admitting him to ſhare the glory of his atchievements, he purpoſely haſtened his march to have the honour of deciding the conteſt by his own valour and ſkill. The two parties met near Dundalk. The Scots and their aſſociates, animated with the hope of putting an happy end to their diſtreſſes, and encouraged by the impetuous valour of their leader, were impatient to encounter an enemy who had often fled before them. The Engliſh, conducted by an able general, well provided and appointed, were equally impatient to exterminate thoſe invaders who had ſo ſeverely harraſſed and diſtreſſed the whole nation. The archbiſhop of Armagh, a zealous partizan of the Engliſh intereſts, went through their ranks, exhorting them to diſplay their valour on an occaſion ſo important to the future ſafety of their country; diſtributing, at the ſame time, his benedictions, and pronouncing abſolution on all thoſe who ſhould fall in a cauſe ſo juſt and honourable. After a violent conflict, which was ſuſtained on each ſide with great bravery, the enfeebled northern troops received a total defeat. The body of Maupas, a brave Engliſh knight, who had ruſhed into the ranks to encounter Edward Bruce, was found ſtretched on that of

A.D. 1318.

his

his antagoniſt, who had fallen by his arm. Robert Bruce arrived with his forces only to hear of the defeat of his brother, and inſtantly retired.

Such was the iſſue of this Scottiſh invaſion; an enterpriſe raſhly undertaken by an aſpiring young prince, who, for almoſt three years, had purſued, through danger and variety of diſtreſs, the wild ſcheme of his ambition; involving in calamity the nation which he ſought to govern, and cloſing, by his own untimely end, the numerous miſfortunes which his fatal thirſt of empire had occaſioned.

CHAP. II.

From the Acceſſion of Edward III. to the Arrival of Poynings, appointed Lord-deputy by Henry VII.

ON the acceſſion of Edward III. the great lords of the Engliſh race, and the Iriſh chieftains, continued to purſue, as before, their ſeveral ſchemes of private intereſt or ambition, without regard to the royal authority, much leſs to the delegated power of the Iriſh vicegerent. The unhappy people, groaning under the oppreſſion of a proud and rapacious ariſtocracy, addreſſed themſelves once more to the throne of England, and petitioned that the Iriſh inhabitants ſhould be admitted to the ſtate and privileges of Engliſh ſubjects, without obliging individuals to ſue for ſpecial charters. The petition, as uſual, was remitted to the chief governor, who was directed to refer it to the Iriſh parliament, and again in the end it proved abortive *. A. D. 1327. Edward III.

The reſentment of the Iriſh, now too juſtly provoked, broke out into an inſurrection, projected with greater concert, and executed with more violence, than for ſome time had been experienced. O'Brien, the chieftain of Thomond, was choſen leader of the inſurgents; and under his ſtandard ſome powerful ſepts of Leinſter determined to execute their vengeance. The flame of war ſoon ſpread to Meath and Munſter, and the firſt ſucceſſes of the Iriſh inflamed their vengeance to the moſt outrageous violence. In their triumphant progreſs, we are told that they ſurrounded a church, where about fourſcore perſons of the Engliſh race were aſſembled at their devotions. The unhappy congregation, too ſenſible of the cruelty of the enemy,

* Hanmer.

enemy, petitioned only that the prieſt might be ſuffered to depart unmoleſted; but the mercileſs ruffians, inſtead of complying with this affecting ſupplication, were only provoked to make the prieſt the very firſt victim of their cruelty. The Hoſt, which he held forth, in hopes that the awful object might have ſome influence upon their minds, was torn from him, and ſpurned under foot. With furious ardor, they plunged their daggers into his body; and the church, with all the miſerable people it contained, was deſtroyed by fire *.

The terror excited by ſuch horrible outrages, drove thoſe who were moſt expoſed to the fury of the barbarians to an obſtinate and deſperate defence. The citizens of Wexford had the good fortune to repel them with conſiderable ſlaughter. James Butler, lately created earl of Ormond, was active, not only in defending his own territory, but in diſtreſſing and purſuing the inſurgents. The lord-juſtice himſelf was obliged to take the field, and ſucceſsfully encountered the moſt dangerous of the Leinſter enemies.

In order to ſecure the fidelity and aſſiſtance of ſome of the moſt potent chiefs, at this time, the government had recourſe to an expedient which conſiderably weakened the royal authority. No leſs than nine palatines were eſtabliſhed in the kingdom by charter: Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Leix, the portions of the five coheireſſes of the family of earl Mariſhal, thoſe of Meath and Ulſter, and thoſe of the earls of Deſmond and Ormond. Thoſe abſolute palatines had the privilege of making barons and knights; held courts for criminal and civil cauſes, in the ſame form in which the king's courts were eſtabliſhed at Dublin. The land was in effect parcelled out to a number of rival princes, zealous only to aggrandize their own power, which was beſt accompliſhed by the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the chief governor.

Meanwhile, O'Brien, leader of the Iriſh inſurgents, not yet ſubdued, gave full employment both to the Engliſh councils, and to the troops ſent out to oppoſe him. Sir Anthony Lacy, now appointed to the government, ſuſpected that the inſurgents were ſecretly abetted by ſome great lords of the Engliſh race; and being confirmed in his opinion by ſufficient evidence, he reſolved to ſtrike at the

* Ibid, Ware.

the very root of the abuſe. He ſeized the earl of Deſmond, Mandeville, Walter de Burgo and his brother, with William and Walter Bermingham. The evidence againſt William Bermingham was full and forcible. He was condemned and executed; and his brother eſcaped only by his privilege as an eccleſiaſtic. Deſmond, who had been obliged to ſubmit to the vigour of the preſent governor's adminiſtration, after a long confinement, was diſcharged on great ſurety, and ſent into England.

The utmoſt exertion of the chief governor could not have proved equal to this impartial and ſpirited execution of juſtice, had not king Edward at this time diſcovered a more than ordinary attention to his Iriſh intereſts, and declared his deſign of viſiting the realm. Some ſalutary ordinances were tranſmitted, for the more regular and effectual execution of the Engliſh laws. Theſe were ſoon followed, firſt, by a reſumption of all Iriſh grants made in his reign during the power of Mortimer and his mother; and ſoon after, by a mandate to the earls of Ulſter and Ormond, ſir William and ſir Walter de Burgo, to repair to the Engliſh court, in order to concert the meaſures neceſſary for the king's voyage, and to accompany him to Ireland. All thoſe barons of the realm of England who enjoyed lands in Ireland were alſo ſummoned for the ſame purpoſe. And though the term fixed for this expedition was prolonged, yet an order for arreſting all ſhips in the ports of Ireland, and ſending them to Holyhead for the convenience of his paſſage, and another for impreſſing a number of Welſh infantry to attend him, ſeemed to indicate a ſettled purpoſe of complying with the deſires of his parliament, and engaging in the reduction of Ireland; yet all this was nothing more than a ſpecious pretence for demanding ſupplies. The only meaſure now taken for the regulation of Ireland was that inglorious and impolitic one of treating with the diſturbers of government. The prior of Kilmainham was commiſſioned to enter into ſuch conventions with all inſurgents both of the Engliſh and Iriſh race, as he ſhould judge moſt expedient for the peace of the kingdom. The great lords received orders to aſſiſt him by their advice and countenance; and the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties and liberties were inſtructed to take care, that the conferences which ſhould be held

for

for this purpoſe ſhould be duly protected. Thus were the turbulent and diſaffected taught their own real power, and the weakneſs of that government which attempted to controul them. Precarious accommodations were readily concluded; and the king received into his favour a number of ſecret enemies, whoſe perverſe diſpoſitions were thus cheriſhed, inſtead of being broken by a firm and vigorous authority.

This imprudent condeſcenſion of the government was ſoon followed by an event, which involved the kingdom in freſh commotions; that of the death of the earl of Ulſter, who was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by his own ſervants at Carrickfergus *. His counteſs, with her infant daughter, fled in the utmoſt conſternation into England, and the vaſt demeſnes of this illuſtrious family were left without any ſufficient defender. By the law of England, the earl's lands ſhould have been taken into the protection of the king, as guardian to the infant ward; but this law was of little force againſt the violence of old claimants. The northern ſept of O'Nial, in which all national animoſities were revived by this event, ſeized the occaſion of recovering their ancient power, roſe ſuddenly in arms, and, paſſing the river Bann, fell furiouſly upon the Engliſh ſettlers eſtabliſhed by the family of de Burgo. Notwithſtanding a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Engliſh were in proceſs of time extirpated, or at leaſt confined within very narrow bounds.

A.D. 1333.

In proportion as the Engliſh were broken by invaſion, or divided by faction, the old natives became more turbulent. Accommodations ſlightly made, were as readily violated; and while the open enemy was in arms, the king's vicegerent had a number of ſecret enemies, of the Engliſh race, whoſe views and motions it was neceſſary that he ſhould watch and controul. It became indiſpenſable to ſeize and confine two of the noble houſe of de la Poer. Nicholas Fitz-Maurice of Kerry, who avowed his attachment to the Iriſh of Munſter, was made priſoner by his kinſman Deſmond, and confined for life; while Kildare, with equal vigilance and ſpirit, chaſtiſed thoſe who had diſturbed the peace of Leinſter. But the rigorous meaſures now purſued by Edward, ſerved to inflame diſcontents,

* Excerp. ex Ann. Clyn. MS.

contents, and extend diviſion among the lords of the Engliſh race. Diſappointed of the pecuniary ſupplies which he had expected from Ireland, he at once reſolved on the moſt violent and offenſive meaſures againſt his ſubjects of that kingdom. He began with declaring, that all ſuſpenſions or remiſſions of debts due to the crown, either in his own time or that of his predeceſſors, (except thoſe which had the ſanction of the great ſeal) ſhould be void; and the debts ſtrictly levied without delay; in conſideration, as he alledged, of his preſent neceſſities. He next proceeded to a more extenſive and vigorous reſumption of all grants, made not by himſelf only, but by his father. Thoſe to the prior of Kilmainham, were ſpecifically mentioned. The juſtices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, Mountpeſſon and Baggot, were diſmiſſed from their offices. The treaſurer of the Exchequer, who claimed a privilege to diſpoſe of ſmall ſums without voucher, was not only prohibited for the future, but obliged to account for ſuch ſums from the beginning of the preſent reign. But the moſt violent and offenſive of all the new regulations, was an ordinance, enjoining that all ſuch perſons in the king's ſervice in Ireland, as had no poſſeſſions in England, ſhould be immediately removed from their offices. Thus were the deſcendants of thoſe who had originally gained the Engliſh acquiſitions in Ireland, who had laboured in a long courſe of painful and hazardous ſervice to maintain them, and who had often ſpilt their blood in the cauſe of their ſovereign, pronounced indiſcriminately to be dangerous ſubjects, and declared incapable of filling any, even the meaneſt department in adminiſtration.

Whatever conceptions Edward had formed of the old Engliſh inhabitants, they were too ſpirited to endure the loſs of their lands, and the perſonal indignities put upon them, with an abject reſignation. The late emigrants from England triumphed over the old race, as they had all forfeited their privileges, and were conſolidated with thoſe Iriſh who had been reduced by their arms. The old Engliſh, on the other hand, beheld, with impatience and indignation, the partiality ſhown to thoſe who boaſted of having drawn their firſt breath in England. Jealouſy and diſſenſion were thus excited among thoſe who ſtill adhered to the Engliſh government; and the conſequences

were

were the more alarming, as the injured part of the king's Iriſh ſubjects was by far the moſt powerful, and their ſupport even neceſſary to the exiſtence of the royal authority in Ireland. Being thus eſſentially injured, their reſentment threatened ſome violent and dangerous commotion. A common cauſe readily diſpoſed them to a general combination; and their violence was ſo much dreaded, that the chief governor, ſir John Morris, deemed it neceſſary to ſummon a parliament at Dublin on this critical occaſion.

The ſpirited Geraldines were particularly irritated, and eſpouſed the cauſe of their brethren the old Engliſh with extraordinary zeal. Deſmond, alike proud and powerful, flew through all his numerous partizans of the South. Kildare, his kinſman and aſſociate, was equally active. So that at the time when the parliament was to meet at Dublin, Morris was alarmed at the intelligence of another independent aſſembly, more numerous and reſpectable, convened by Deſmond at Kilkenny. They ſtyled themſelves the prelates, nobles, and commons of the land; were the more formidable as they affected to aſſemble peaceably, and prepared a remonſtrance to be tranſmitted to the king. This memorial exhibits a ſtriking view of the irregularities in the adminiſtration, and the grievances which had for ſome time inflamed the public diſſenſions. The king's anſwer was now gracious and condeſcending. He informed them that the grants of his progenitors ſhould be reſtored without diminution; that thoſe made in his own reign ſhould alſo be delivered up, on ſufficient ſurety that they ſhould be again ſurrendered, if, in a legal inquiſition, they were found reſumable, as granted without juſt cauſe; and that the pardons of debts ſhould be deemed valid, until the cauſes of ſuch pardons ſhould be duly tried.

Whether the royal intentions for the redreſs of grievances were defeated by the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government, or whether the pride of the old nobility of Engliſh race was not yet ſatisfied by thoſe condeſcenſions, faction continued *. Such as had been born in Ireland ſtill retained their jealouſies and diſcontents againſt the moſt favoured part of their fellow-ſubjects, who had lately migrated from England; while the Iriſh ſepts of Leinſter, taking

* Camden. Davis.

taking advantage of diſſenſion, roſe, as uſual, in arms, and harraſſed the province. Edward, by confining his attention to the vaſt ſchemes which he had formed againſt France, had encouraged theſe diſorders, which required an active and ſpirited chief governor to ſuppreſs. Sir Ralph de Ufford, a man of this character, was entruſted with the adminiſtration, and paſſed into Ireland, poſſeſſed with the utmoſt indignation both againſt the Iriſh inſurgents and the diſcontented Engliſh. He inſtantly commanded the marchers, whoſe duty it was to guard the Engliſh ſettlements from invaſion, to repair to their reſpective ſtations: he proclaimed it in the higheſt degree penal to convey proviſions, horſes, or arms, to the enemy; and he ſtrictly enjoined, that wherever the attack was made, it ſhould be conſidered as a general injury, and that all ſhould inſtantly unite to repel the common danger.

The attention of Ufford was not confined to the ſuppreſſion of Iriſh enemies. Deſmond, the head of the diſcontented Engliſh, was ſummoned to attend a parliament in Dublin, as a teſt of his attachment to the king's government, which he often affected to deſpiſe, and to which he paid at moſt but an occaſional obedience. The earl proudly ſlighted the mandate, and ſummoned an aſſembly of his own at Calan. Ufford, firm to his purpoſe, iſſued a proclamation, by which the nobles and commons were forbidden at their peril to attend this unlawful aſſembly; while to enforce this order, he collected his troops, and marched into Munſter as againſt a declared enemy. He poſſeſſed himſelf of the earl's lands, ſeized and executed ſome of his principal dependents, and by the vigour of his operations, ſo ſurpriſed and terrified this refractory lord, that the latter thought it neceſſary to ſubmit; offered to abide a fair trial for any diſloyalty objected to him, and found ſeveral ſureties of diſtinguiſhed rank and character to anſwer for his appearance. The earl of Kildare, equally obnoxious to the governor, was next attacked as a diſaffected and rebellious ſubject, and with ſome difficulty reduced, taken, and impriſoned; to the no ſmall terror and confuſion of thoſe great lords of the Engliſh race, who had ſo long deſpiſed the weakneſs of the government.

The vigour of this chief-governor might have proved effectual in quelling the diſobedient both of the Iriſh

and Engliſh race, but a ſudden death put an end to his ſpirited and ſucceſsful adminiſtration. Sir John Morris, the new vicegerent, acted with greater lenity. He releaſed Kildare from priſon, and, when a violent inſurrection in Ulſter determined the king to ſubſtitute Roger Darcy firſt, and afterwards Walter de Bermingham, in his room, Deſmond was again emboldened to appear and remonſtrate againſt the wrongs he alledged to have received from Uſford. Bermingham warmly eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſent him into England to ſeek redreſs from the throne. No ſeaſon could have been more favourable to his application. Edward was now on the point of embarking on his glorious expedition into France, and was ſolicitous to engage in his ſervice a nobleman of ſuch extenſive following, ſuch powerful connexions, and ſuch great popularity in Ireland. Deſmond's complaints were accordingly received with the moſt gracious attention: he was aſſured of a ſpeedy reſtoration of his lands; was in the mean time taken into the king's pay; and attended that monarch, with a conſiderable train, into France. By the gracious manner of his reception, the earl of Kildare was afterwards induced to follow his example, and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour at the ſiege of Calais.

By the attention of Edward to prohibit the great lords of Ireland from departing the kingdom at their pleaſure, to the utter deſertion of their duties and offices; but, above all, by the favour ſhewn the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, the peace of the Engliſh territories was for ſome time preſerved from any extenſive or dangerous commotion; and the king's deputies were left to ſummon parliaments, and deviſe means for correcting the abuſes and degeneracy of the Engliſh inhabitants. But while the royal authority applied remedies to one diſorder, others were ever ready to break out, and elude all the exertion of government. A mutual animoſity ſtill prevailed between the old Engliſh and thoſe who were newly arrived, and they were ever ready to invade and harraſs each other. By the alliances which they formed with the Iriſh families, many of them were detached from the intereſts of their brethren, and entered into prejudicial connections. To guard againſt the treacherous ſubtlety of the Iriſh, and to cut off that dangerous correſpondence which the growing

degeneracy

degeneracy of the Engliſh had encouraged, it was enjoined by royal mandate, that no more Iriſhmen ſhould be admitted into any office or truſt in any borough or caſtle; and that no biſhop or prior, under the king's dominion, ſhould admit any of this race to an eccleſiaſtical benefice, or into any religious houſe, on any pretence whatever *.

A people divided, and diſcontented, engaged by their petty factions and competitions, could not even repel the aſſaults of the common enemy, much leſs recover thoſe extenſive tracts, from which they had been gradually ejected by the old natives. O'Nial from the North, and O'Brien from the South, made dreadful inroads on the Engliſh ſettlements, watched every advantage, and fomented and aſſiſted the inſurrections of other Iriſh chieftains, while a perpetual ſtate of war oppreſſed and waſted the country. The Engliſh, by their inteſtine animoſities, rendered themſelves a continual prey to the rancour of the Iriſh inhabitants; and the latter, on the other hand, from a want of concert and union, were prevented from demoliſhing the whole fabric of Engliſh power by one general and deciſive aſſault.

Edward beheld with impatience theſe complicated diſorders of his Iriſh dominions; and determined to purſue ſome vigorous meaſures, both for ſubduing the Iriſh, and reforming his Engliſh ſubjects. Lord Lionel, his ſecond ſon, had been affianced in his tender years to Elizabeth, daughter of the late earl of Ulſter, and claimed, in right of his wife, that earldom, as well as the lordſhip of Connaught. In all theſe diſtricts writs had, for many years, ran in the prince's name. But this was little more than a formal exerciſe of authority, not generally acknowledged or obeyed, as the Iriſh chieftains of Connaught and Tirowen had repoſſeſſed themſelves of the greater part of the lands which the earl had enjoyed, and were ſtill labouring to extirpate the remains of the Engliſh tenantry. The intereſts of his ſon, therefore, as well as the general welfare of the Iriſh dominions, determined Edward to conſign the government of Ireland to Lionel, with ſuch powers as might give weight and dignity to his adminiſtration, and ſuch a force as might enable him to carry on his military operations with vigour and ſucceſs. With a

* Davis.

ſolemnity which ſeemed the prelude to ſome great deſign, the king's writs were iſſued to all thoſe nobles of England, of either ſex, who held lands in Ireland, ſummoning them to appear, either in perſon or by proxy, before the king and council, to deliberate on the meaſures neceſſary for the defence of that realm, and, in the mean time, to hold all the force they could command in readineſs to attend his ſon. A royal proclamation was alſo iſſued in the ſeveral counties of England, that all thoſe of inferior rank who held lands in Ireland, ſhould repair thither to the prince's ſervice. About fifteen hundred men were thus collected. Lord Lionel was attended by Ralph, earl of Stafford, James, earl of Ormond, ſir John Carew, ſir William Windſore, and other knights and perſons of diſtinction.

A. D. 1361.

This troop, ſmall as it may be deemed in theſe times, yet, if duly ſupported by the great lords of Ireland, might have proved of conſiderable ſervice in repelling and ſubduing the Iriſh inſurgents. But lord Lionel paſſed into Ireland with great prepoſſeſſions againſt the inhabitants. He was taught to regard the old Engliſh ſettlers, indiſcriminately, as unworthy of his confidence, and utterly diſaffected to his father's intereſts and government. Surrounded by the faction of Engliſh birth, he naturally adopted their paſſions, liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, and ſtrictly forbade, by proclamation, all the old Engliſh, or any of the king's ſubjects of Iriſh birth, to approach his camp *. By this imprudent meaſure he offended the moſt powerful party in the kingdom, who, while they juſtly complained of this ungenerous return to the ſervices of their anceſtors and their own, could not but look with contempt on the infatuated policy which deprived their new governor of the only aſſiſtance that could render his operations effectual. The prince was thus left with thoſe of the Engliſh birth, to traverſe a ſtrange country without advice or direction; and to attack an enemy of whoſe character and manner of war they were entirely ignorant. The prince, having firſt determined to quell the ravagers of the Engliſh province of Leinſter, bent his force againſt the chieftain of Thomond, their principal ſupporter. He marched forward without guidance or intelligence; the enemy

* Cox ex Arch. Tur. Lond.

enemy hovered about his camp, ſuddenly diſappeared, and again renewed their deſultory aſſaults. His troops were perplexed, and their progreſs ſlow. One of his advanced parties was ſurpriſed and attacked with ſuch ſucceſs, that a conſiderable number fell upon the field of action, and, to increaſe his mortification, numbers of his ſoldiers deſerted to the enemy. Incidents ſo alarming obliged the prince to change his conduct. The old Engliſh were invited and required by proclamation to attend his ſtandard; while his father, by a ſecond proclamation, in which the perilous ſituation of lord Lionel was minutely deſcribed, commanded all thoſe nobles of the Engliſh nation, who had not yet obeyed his former order, to repair without delay to Ireland, and join the prince's troops, on pain of forfeiture of all their lands and poſſeſſions. The invitation to the ſubjects of Ireland, of the old Engliſh race, had a ſpeedy and more ſalutary effect. They reſorted in great numbers to the duke of Clarence (for this title had now been conferred on lord Lionel), and, by their aſſiſtance, he gained conſiderable advantages over the enemy.

After ſome ſucceſsful expeditions, but which were magnified by his flatterers, he returned in triumph to the ſeat of government, and conferred the honour of knighthood on ſeveral of his followers. Such favourable ſentiments were conceived of his adminiſtration, and ſo great expectations entertained of his ſucceſs againſt the Iriſh enemy, that the king's ſubjects, both laity and clergy, voluntarily granted him two years value of their revenues to defray the war. The duke, however, was ſoon recalled, and left Ireland in a ſtate of diſſenſion. Engliſh by birth, and Engliſh by deſcent, were become terms of odious diſtinction, and every day produced violences, which at length became ſo conſiderable, as to require the immediate interpoſition of the king. He commanded that no Engliſh ſubject born in England, or in Ireland, ſhould cauſe diſſenſion, or uſe opprobrious language towards each other, under the penalty of impriſonment for two years.

Clarence was ſucceeded by the earl of Ormond, who again reſigned to the duke; and the latter as ſuddenly left the adminiſtration to ſir Thomas Dale, an Engliſh knight, of too little conſequence to extinguiſh the diſſenſions of the

the Engliſh, much leſs to unite them in any ſervice of
A.D. 1367. real moment. In 1367, Clarence was once more ſent over to ſtem the torrent of diſorder, by the authority of his ſtation. He was this time too well acquainted with the circumſtances of the country, not to know that the firſt object of his care ſhould be the reformation of the Engliſh ſettlers; and to this great work he induſtriouſly applied himſelf. A Parliament was ſummoned to meet at Kilkenny: a number of prelates, with the temporal lords and commons, chearfully attended: both eſtates ſat together; and the reſult of their deliberations was that ordinance, known by the name of the ſtatute of Kilkenny.

By this ſtatute it was enacted, that marriage, nurture of infants, and goſſipry with the Iriſh, ſhould be conſidered and puniſhed as high-treaſon: that, if any man of Engliſh race ſhould uſe an Iriſh name, the Iriſh language, or the Iriſh apparel, or any mode or cuſtom of the Iriſh, he ſhall forfeit lands and tenements, until he give ſecurity in the court of chancery to conform in every particular to Engliſh manners; or, if he have no lands, that he ſhall be impriſoned until the like ſecurity be given. It was ordained, that, in all their controverſies, they ſhould be governed by the common law of England; and that whoever ſhould ſubmit to the Iriſh juriſdiction, was to be adjudged guilty of high-treaſon. It was alſo made highly penal to the Engliſh, to permit their Iriſh neighbours to graze in their lands, to preſent them to eccleſiaſtical benefices, or to receive them into monaſteries or religious houſes; to entertain their bards, who perverted their imaginations by romantic tales; or their news-tellers, who ſeduced them by falſe reports. The ſtatute was promulged with particular ſolemnity; and the ſpiritual lords, the better to enforce obedience, denounced an excommunication on thoſe who ſhould preſume to violate it in any inſtance *.

Such were the inſtitutions of this aſſembly, quoted in Ireland with reverence, and confirmed in after-times as of the moſt ſalutary influence. But liberal ſentiments, extenſive policy, and a generous zeal for public happineſs, were ſtill wanting to thoſe prejudiced and inexperienced legiſlators. Pride and ſelf-intereſt concurred in regard-

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* Cox.

ing and repreſenting the Iriſh as a race utterly irreclaimable. The effects of violent oppreſſion were readily miſtaken for the outrages of a natural cruelty and barbariſm. The taſk of reclaiming thoſe natives might indeed have proved difficult, but was not impracticable. The name of a renowned monarch in England, and the preſence of his ſon in Ireland, the huſband of a lady of Iriſh birth, and of an illuſtrious family, an heireſs of vaſt poſſeſſions, were circumſtances highly favourable to a generous ſcheme, the equity of which might warrant its enforcement, by military vigour, againſt the moſt deſperate and abandoned. But the opportunity was now loſt; nor was it recovered for ages.

Nevertheleſs, the rank and number of the perſons who appeared in the convention at Kilkenny, which was the moſt reſpectable legiſlative aſſembly that had hitherto ever been held in Ireland; the ſolemnity with which theſe laws were promulged; the ſevere penalties by which they were enforced; the preſence of the royal governor, with his laudable attention to preſerve diſcipline, and to prevent grievances within the ſphere of his authority, had no inconſiderable effect. The old Engliſh were reſtrained, and, in ſome degree, reformed; and the conſequences appeared in the increaſe of the revenue, and the ſuſpenſion of thoſe petty hoſtilities which the Engliſh lords had uſually maintained againſt each other.

On the departure of the duke of Clarence, the government was entruſted to the young earl of Deſmond, under whoſe adminiſtration the ſtate was once more embroiled by the violences of the family of Bermingham. This commotion the new lord-juſtice endeavoured in vain to ſuppreſs: he was obliged to treat with theſe ravagers as with a foreign power, and to terminate hoſtilities by an exchange of priſoners; while the Iriſh chieftains of Thomond and Connaught entered into a formal confederacy, that threatened a dangerous inſurrection to government. This alarming proſpect determined king Edward to renew his orders to all thoſe who abſented themſelves from their Iriſh lands, to repair to that country. A parliament was ſummoned to deliberate on the meaſures moſt effectual for the ſecurity of the king's Iriſh dominions; and ſir William Windſore, an Engliſh knight, who had ſerved under the

duke

duke of Clarence, was appointed the king's lieutenant. In the parliament which he convened at Kilkenny, a ſubſidy of three thouſand pounds, and another of two thouſand, in a following ſeſſion, were granted for the ſupport of the war againſt the Iriſh. While this aſſembly was deliberating, the forces of O'Brien and O'Connor were in the field, without any army to oppoſe them, but ſuch troops as the borderers and neighbouring lords of Munſter could collect. The earl of Deſmond, who was the firſt to riſe up againſt the enemy, encountered them near the monaſtery of Mayo, where himſelf was ſlain, and his army received a total defeat. The lieutenant, on receiving intelligence of this diſaſter, determined to lead his forces into the South; but the enemy had, after their victory, retired as uſual to their inacceſſible haunts, and left Windſore to make war on ſome inferior chieftains. To reſtrain theſe numerous inſurrections, by which every part of the Engliſh territories was perpetually infeſted, the influence not only of the powerful Engliſh, but the well-affected Iriſh, was employed. Several of theſe were engaged and paid by the king to watch the motions of their countrymen, and to oppoſe their violences.

On the departure of Windſore, Maurice, earl of Kildare, ſucceeded to the adminiſtration of a turbulent and diſordered ſtate. So conſiderable was the progreſs of the Iriſh natives, and ſuch extenſive tracts had they recovered from the Engliſh ſettlers, that the king was obliged to exonerate from ſcutage the lands which they had ſeized, and to direct that this ſervice ſhould be charged only upon thoſe which the Engliſh ſtill retained in poſſeſſion. Such conceptions had been formed of the diſordered ſtate of Ireland, that they who had obtained territorial grants in that country could neither be perſuaded to repair thither, nor to ſend any perſons to the cuſtody of their lands, notwithſtanding the repeated injunctions of the king; and the increaſing tumults under the government of ſir Robert Aſhton, ſucceſſor to Kildare, ſerved to confirm men in thoſe ſentiments. When ſir Richard Pembridge, warden of the Cinque Ports, had been appointed to the government of Ireland, he ſhuddered at the thought of ruling in a country overſpread with barbarians. He refuſed to execute his commiſſion; and it was adjudged, that this refuſal

refuſal was ſtrictly legal; for that reſidence in Ireland, even in the ſtation aſſigned to him, was but an honourable exile; and that no man could, by law, be forced to abandon his country, except in caſe of abjuration for felony, or by act of parliament. The adminiſtration of Iriſh affairs was therefore again aſſigned to ſir William Windſore, though his former government had not been unimpeached. He was even allowed to dictate the conditions on which he would accept the office. But neither the vigilance, nor ſucceſs, of this governor correſponded with the expectations entertained of him. Far from repreſſing the neighbouring inſurgents, he could not even procure the neceſſary information of their haunts. For ſecuring the Engliſh ſettlements, he was obliged to hire the Iriſh chieftains to oppoſe their countrymen. When the ſtipulated price was at any time delayed, they inſtantly roſe in arms with double fury, and forced a prompt payment from the exchequer. The ſame ſyſtem was continued during the adminiſtration of the earl of Ormond, ſucceſſor to Windſore. A precarious peace was thus purchaſed from the Iriſh, and perpetually violated by their faithleſs and precipitate inſurrections.

During this diſordered ſtate of Ireland, the Engliſh intereſt gradually declined; and the connections of the king's ſubjects with the original inhabitants, occaſioned by their vicinity and neceſſary intercourſe, obliged the king to relax, in many caſes, the ſeverity of the ſtatutes of Kilkenny *.

The acceſſion of Richard II. had no immediate effect upon the affairs of Ireland. The Iriſh, in the remote diſtricts, ſtill continued their hoſtilities, which had been ſuſpended, or reſumed, as their particular intereſts directed. Thus, by ſurpriſing and harraſſing the Engliſh diſtricts, they forced the inhabitants to abandon their lands, or to hold them in vaſſalage to the Iriſh; ſo as to increaſe the public grievance, ariſing from the deſertion and degeneracy of the Engliſh, and gradually to confine the royal territories within narrower bounds. The diſtricts more contiguous to the ſeat of Engliſh government were with difficulty maintained; and perpetually diſturbed by inſurrections, which could not be ſuppreſſed by the power,

A.D. 1377. Richard II.

* Davis.

power, nor prevented by the penſions, of the crown. But the ſituation of king Richard, the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and the violence of his paſſions, ſoon produced an extraordinary change in the government of Ireland. He reſigned himſelf implicitly to the direction of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of profligate manners, on whom he laviſhed every mark of royal favour. Richard not only created him marquis of Dublin, but granted him, and his heirs, the entire dominion of Ireland, to be held of the crown by liege-homage. Thoſe lands and cities formerly reſerved to the crown, and thoſe hereditary to the nobles and barons of Ireland, were indeed excepted; and the earl was bound, as ſoon as he ſhould complete the conqueſt of the kingdom, to pay into the Engliſh exchequer annually, during his life, the ſum of five thouſand marks. In every other particular, he had the entire dominion of the kingdom, was veſted with all the lands he ſhould gain by his arms, and empowered to appoint all officers of ſtate and juſtice, who were to act in his name, and by his authority.

The parliament, probably not diſpleaſed that this lord ſhould be employed at a diſtance from the king, made little difficulty of approving this important grant. They even conſented to give the marquis a debt of thirty thouſand marks, due by the king of France, provided he ſhould paſs over into Ireland, and effectually ſuppreſs the inſurrections which ſtill raged in many parts of the Engliſh counties *. Five hundred men at arms, and one thouſand archers, were granted him for this purpoſe, for two years; at the ſame time that his officers of ſtate, and council in Ireland, were employed in making the beſt proviſions for defence, which an exhauſted treaſury, and a diſtracted ſtate, could permit. The moſt ſanguine expectations were conceived of the ſucceſs that would ariſe from the preſence of a nobleman thus ſupported. He ſet out with a magnificent retinue, to take poſſeſſion of his Iriſh ſovereignty, and the king accompanied him in perſon; but when they had proceeded as far as Wales, and were on the point of ſeparating, Richard found his affection too violent to bear ſo ſevere a trial. The marquis returned to London; and the government of Ireland was committed to his deputies. Richard,

* Arch. Tur. Lond.

Richard, not ſatisfied with the honours he had already conferred on this minion, created him, by a patent, which was alſo confirmed by parliament, duke of Ireland; but, whether this deſignation was found too offenſive to be uſed in Ireland, it is certain, that even after this creation, his acts of ſtate in that kingdom were iſſued in the name of the marquis of Dublin. This parade of ſovereignty, however, proved of ſhort duration. Richard was now diveſted of the royal authority; and the duke of Ireland, after ſome ineffectual attempts to reſcue his royal maſter from the power of his haughty nobles, was defeated by the earl of Derby, and driven into the Low Countries. The king A. D. 1388. was obliged to notify to his Iriſh miniſters, that the late marquis of Dublin had forfeited all his grants, and that no acts of ſtate were for the future to be executed under his ſignet; but that the whole adminiſtration of government was henceforth to be conducted in the name of the king.

The government of Ireland was now committed to deputies; firſt, to ſir John Stanley, and afterwards to the earl of Ormond, who, with ſuch aſſiſtance and ſupport as they could obtain, acted with becoming vigour, and not without ſucceſs. O'Nial, the powerful and turbulent enemy of the North, either tired of a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility, or deſirous to ſecure the poſſeſſions he had lately acquired by an advantageous treaty, ſurrendered both himſelf and his ſon to Stanley; and, with all the affected humiliation of a man deeply contrite for his oppoſition to Engliſh government, ſubmitted to the king's ſupremacy, and conſented to reſtore the duties which he received from Ulſter to the family of the earl of Ulſter, who formerly enjoyed them; giving hoſtages as a mark of his ſubmiſſion, and a ſurety of his future fidelity. Ormond was chiefly employed in quelling the inſurrections of the South; and his adminiſtration was diſtinguiſhed by a victory of ſome conſequence, obtained near Kilkenny, over a large body of Iriſh inſurgents.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſucceſſes, Ireland ſtill continued in a diſordered ſtate, and afforded a never-failing pretence to Richard for demanding ſubſidies from his parliament. This aſſembly, on the other hand, ceaſed not to inveigh againſt the irregularities of Iriſh adminiſtration, or to remonſtrate againſt the heavy burden of providing for the exigencies

exigencies of ſtate, and maintaining the dominion of Ireland. Subſidies were demanded in the parliament of Ireland from particular counties moſt expoſed; and talliages and anticipations of the revenue were deviſed, to ſupply the preſſing exigencies of government. Still the great buſineſs of defence was weakly and imperfectly conducted; and Glouceſter, the king's uncle, made a tender of his ſervices, to repair to Ireland in perſon, and to labour for the general pacification of that diſordered country. Some forces were prepared, as well as the neceſſary proviſions made for the departure of this new viceroy. All men now expected an adminiſtration of extraordinary vigour; and the Iriſh chieftains, and their adherents, were ready to ſue for peace, when, at the very moment that the duke was to embark with all his train, he received a letter from his nephew, forbidding his departure, as the king had reſolved to make an expedition into Ireland in perſon, and to take that part of his dominions under his own immediate care.

The death of his beloved queen, which for a while ſuſpended Richard's preparations, at length determined him to proceed on his expedition into Ireland; in order to fly from the ſcenes of their former intercourſe, and divert his melancholy, by the buſy occupations of war and government. In the month of October, 1394, Richard landed at Waterford, with an army conſiſting of four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand archers; attended by the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Nottingham and Rutland, and other diſtinguiſhed perſonages.

A. D. 1394.

The critical period ſeemed now to have arrived, which was to put an end to all the diſorders and diſtreſſes of the Iriſh nation. The chieftains of that kingdom were ſenſible of their own total inability to encounter the royal army. The Iriſh enemies of Leinſter concealed themſelves in their woods and mountains; whence, iſſuing occaſionally, they made ſome inconſiderable attacks on the advanced guards, or detached parties of the Engliſh; but ſoon convinced of their danger, and prompted by the example of their countrymen in other provinces, they ſued for peace, and offered to ſubmit, in the humbleſt manner, to the king. The inſurgents of Thomond and Ulſter were earneſt to avoid the ſtorm, and readily conſented to make

make their ſubmiſſions. The ſeveral leaders did homage and fealty in all the forms of the ampleſt ſubmiſſion, on bended knees, with their heads uncovered, their arms laid aſide, and their girdles looſed; and the kiſs of peace, to which each was admitted by the lord-marſhal, confirmed the reconciliation. The number of Iriſh lords who now ſubmitted was no leſs than ſeventy-five; all of whom exerciſed a petty royalty within their reſpective diſtricts. The king treated the Iriſh chiefs with particular condeſcenſion, entertained them at his court, diſplayed all his magnificence before them, and ſtudied to reconcile them to the Engliſh manners *.

The degenerate Engliſh who had united with the enemy, and of conſequence incurred the guilt of treaſon and rebellion, kept at a diſtance from the court, and employed agents to procure their pardon. Richard was aſſured, that their offence had been the reſult of oppreſſion and injuſtice; their allegations were, in many inſtances, well founded; and Richard was little diſpoſed to proſecute them with ſeverity. After a reſidence of nine months among his Iriſh ſubjects, he embarked for England, appointing Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, his vicegerent.

The only ſtipulation which had been made was, that by which the Iriſh of Leinſter were bound to evacuate this province. It now came to be enforced; but the terror of a royal army once removed, it was found no eaſy matter to ſubdue the local attachments which poſſeſſed the hearts of the Iriſh. Pretences were invented, objections and difficulties ſuggeſted; and the peremptory requiſitions of government ſerved only to enrage theſe boiſterous natives, and drive them into inſurrections. Their hoſtilities were the more violent, as they had no reaſon to expect accommodation or pardon; and the governor the leſs provided to oppoſe them, as he had not apprehended ſo ſudden an infraction of the late treaty. The flame of war broke out at once in different quarters, and raged with deſtructive fury. The lieutenant, attended by the earl of Ormond, marched againſt the turbulent and powerful ſept of the O'Byrns, and drove them from their lands in Wicklow: but theſe inſurgents retired into Oſſory, and there obſtinately

* Davis. Cox.

nately continued their hoſtilities. Mortimore purſued them with more bravery than circumſpection; was ſurpriſed, defeated, and ſlain upon the field of battle.

In England, the diſcontents ariſing from the king's government, fomented by the artifice of faction, had now prepared the way for a violent revolution: and, in that moment of deceitful tranquillity, which uſually precedes a dangerous convulſion in the political ſyſtem, Richard vainly formed a reſolution of chaſtiſing the inſolence of the Iriſh, and avenging the death of his viceroy. His forces were again prepared; and the ſums extorted to defray a ſecond expedition into Ireland confirmed the hatred, and afforded a fair pretence for inflaming the diſcontents of his people.

A.D. 1393. In the ſpring of the year 1393, his preparations were completed. The duke of York was left regent in England; and his ſon, the duke of Aumerle, inſtructed to follow the king with a reinforcement. Richard proceeded to Briſtol, attended by ſeveral nobles; and, on the 13th of May, arrived with his force at Waterford. The whole of this vain expedition ſerved only to demonſtrate the weakneſs of the leader. Six days were ſpent at the place of his landing, in the idle parade of receiving the congratulations of his Iriſh ſubjects. Fourteen more were waſted at Kilkenny, expecting the arrival of the duke of Aumerle, whoſe delay manifeſtly betrayed his ſecret diſaffection. It had never once occurred to the inconſiderate king, that Leinſter, which was to be the ſeat of war, had been for ſome time waſted by hoſtilities, and could ſcarcely afford proviſions for his numerous army. The enemy, who well knew to what difficulties he muſt ſoon be reduced, were little affected by his magnificent parade; and, encouraged by his delay, declared their reſolution to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity; affecting, at the ſame time, to rejoice that the period was at length arrived, when their vigorous and irreſiſtible efforts ſhould give a final overthrow to the Engliſh uſurpation in Ireland.

Richard was at laſt prevailed upon to march againſt the enemy, commanded by Mac-Murchard, who, notwithſtanding the penſions he had received, and the ſubmiſſions he had lately made, was ſtill the inveterate enemy of the Engliſh. This chieftain, in order to ſecure himſelf from the

the ſuperior numbers of the enemy, retired into his woods; and, at their approach, appeared at the head of three thouſand men, ſo well armed and appointed, and with ſuch an appearance of determined valour, as were utterly aſtoniſhing to the Engliſh, who had been taught to deſpiſe their rude and undiſciplined violence. The royal army was drawn out in order of battle, expecting a vigorous attack; but the Iriſh forces, who had no intention of hazarding a general engagement in the field, ſuddenly diſappeared. Richard, elevated by this retreat, ordered the adjacent villages and houſes to be ſet on fire, and the royal ſtandard to be advanced, under which he created ſeveral knights; and, among theſe, the young lord Henry of Lancaſter, afterwards the illuſtrious king Henry V. who, on this occaſion, gave the firſt proofs of his diſtinguiſhed valour.

To facilitate the purſuit of an enemy who appeared to fly, a large body of peaſants was employed to open a paſſage through the woods, which the Iriſh had, by every means, endeavoured to render impaſſable. As the king's army marched through all the difficulties of an incumbered road, perpetually impeded, and ſometimes plunged into deep moraſſes, the enemy frequently aſſailed them with loud and barbarous ſhouts; caſt their darts with ſuch force as no armour could withſtand, ſlaughtered their detached parties, retired and advanced with aſtoniſhing agility, ſo as continually to harraſs the Engliſh forces. Some of the Iriſh lords, leſs ſagacious than Mac-Murchard, and, among thoſe, his uncle, were indeed terrified by the number of the king's forces, and, with all the marks of humiliation, ſubmitted to Richard. They appeared before him with halters round their necks, fell at his feet, imploring peace and forgiveneſs, and were graciouſly received. Mac-Murchard was ſummoned to make the like ſubmiſſions; and, to prevail upon him to accept of grace, and to return to his allegiance, Richard was weak enough to promiſe large rewards, territories, and caſtles, in Leinſter. The Iriſhman, certain that the enemy could not long ſubſiſt in their preſent ſituation, returned a haughty anſwer of defiance, and repeated his reſolution of oppoſing the king of England to the utmoſt. Richard had the mortification to find, that the diſtreſs, which had encouraged

encouraged the rebel chieftain to this inſolence, could no longer be concealed. Numbers of the king's ſoldiers periſhed by famine; their horſes grew incapable of ſervice; a general gloom ſpread through his camp; and his braveſt knights murmured at their fate, who were deſtined to periſh by the moſt terrible of human calamities, in a ſervice attended with ſo little honour. A few ſhips, laden with proviſions from Dublin, having landed on the neighbouring coaſt, the famiſhed ſoldiers plunged into the ſea, ſeized and rifled them, ſhedding each other's blood in a furious conteſt for relief. The neceſſity of decamping was too urgent to admit of the leaſt delay. Richard, with his numerous forces, was compelled to retire before an inconſiderable band of enemies whom he had deſpiſed, and who inceſſantly harraſſed him in his retreat *.

Mac-Murchard, however, amidſt all the exultation of a purſuing enemy, was not inſenſible to the real extent of his power. He knew that the king's difficulties would terminate with his arrival at the capital, and that though this might be retarded by the incurſions of the inſurgents, it was what they could not prevent. He, therefore, embraced the preſent moment to attempt an accommodation upon advantageous terms; and, by meſſage to the king, deſired a ſafe-conduct, that he might repair to the royal camp, to offer his propoſitions of peace; or elſe, that ſome lords might be deputed to confer with him. By advice of the council, Glouceſter was commiſſioned to meet him at a place appointed; and, for this purpoſe, marched out with a guard of two hundred lances, and one thouſand archers. The Iriſh chieftain advanced towards the ſcene of interview on horſeback, attended by his followers. At his command, they halted at due diſtance, while their leader, caſting from him his ſpear, ruſhed forward to meet the Engliſh lord. The parley continued for a conſiderable time. Mac-Murchard was reminded of his late engagements, his violation of them, his attack of the king's vicegerent, and the ſlaughter both of him and his forces. He replied with haughtineſs, by defending his conduct; and after much debate, at laſt conſented to ſubmit, but abſolutely refuſed to be bound to any conditions. As ſuch an overture was not admiſſible,

* Cox.

ſible, the conference was broken off. When the king was informed of the inſolence of Mac-Murchard, his pride was ſo much wounded, that he paſſionately vowed never to depart from Ireland until he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of the rebel alive or dead.

Richard, on his arrival at Dublin, found relief for his enfeebled army; and was at laſt joined by the reinforcement under Aumerle. Here this ill-fated prince reſided during ſix weeks, while ſome part of his forces was detached againſt the enemy, and the royal proclamation iſſued, promiſing three hundred marks of gold to any who ſhould ſeize Mac-Murchard. Tempeſtuous weather, and contrary winds, had cut him off from all intelligence from England during this period; when, at length, a bark arrived, and brought him the fatal tidings of his being dethroned. His council adviſed that he ſhould inſtantly return to England; but Aumerle prevailed on him to ſtay until his whole army could be at once tranſported. When he had at length arrived, he found the ruin of his affairs complete. Abandoned by his friends, in his extremity, he was betrayed into the hands of his rival, and ſolemnly depoſed.

A. D. 1399. Henry IV.

The acceſſion of Henry IV. to the throne of England, laid the foundation of thoſe bloody conteſts between the factions of York and Lancaſter, which were ſeverely felt in Ireland; and for many years raiſed an inſuperable obſtacle to the ſettlement of this diſtracted country. After the vicegerency had been for ſome time entruſted to Stanley and Scroop, two Engliſh knights, in whoſe government the public diſorders were found to be encreaſed, Henry's ſecond ſon, Thomas duke of Lancaſter, was appointed lieutenant, and ſent into Ireland to give weight and dignity to the government, by his perſonal adminiſtration. The Scots, ſoon after the acceſſion of Henry, had invaded this kingdom, whither they were invited, as well by the declining ſtate of the Engliſh, as by the favour and ſupport of the native Iriſh. In thoſe deſcents they had gained ſome ſettlements in Ulſter, and aſſiſted the Iriſh enemy to over-run this province. Donald of the Iſles, and his brother John, were principal leaders in theſe petty invaſions. The citizens of Dublin fitted out ſome ſhips againſt the enemy, but their fleet had the misfortune to receive a total defeat.

A. D. 1402. The arrival of the duke of Lancaſter in Ireland, though not accompanied with any conſiderable force, promiſed greater proſperity to the adminiſtration. Complaints of the oppreſſions of former governors were duly attended to. Commiſſioners were appointed to hold inquiſitions in ſeveral counties, to aſcertain the names, number, and damages of thoſe who had been ſpoiled by arbitrary exactions, and the perſons from whom they had ſuſtained ſuch injuries. This laudable conduct quieted and united the people; a circumſtance of no inconſiderable effect in repreſſing the local diſorders to which the Engliſh diſtricts of greater conſequence were expoſed. The licentious ſepts of Wicklow were ſeverely chaſtiſed by the arms of the magiſtracy of Dublin. The degenerate Engliſh in Argial, who had taken advantage of the abſence of ſeveral powerful ſubjects ſummoned to parliament, and committed the moſt alarming violences, were repreſſed, ſeized, condemned to die, and their lands declared forfeited to the king. But as the government was weak, and the number of ſuch offenders, as well as their influence, too conſiderable for a rigorous execution of the law, it was deemed prudent to grant them a pardon, and their poſſeſſions, during their lives. Several of the Iriſh chieftains of Leinſter renewed to the duke thoſe ſubmiſſions which they had formerly made king Richard. A parliament was ſummoned at Caſtledermot, for conſidering the moſt effectual means to repel the inſurgents of Ulſter, and to drive out the Scottiſh invaders. The ſubjects of the county of Dublin granted a ſubſidy for this ſervice. The citizens of Dublin and Drogheda collected their troops, and even carried the predatory war to the coaſts of Scotland. But, amidſt this ſucceſs, the turbu-

A. D. 1407. lent Art Mac-Murchard was meditating freſh diſturbance to government. Deſpiſing the force of the vicegerent, he ſcorned to take part in the ſubmiſſions made to the duke of Lancaſter by inferior chieftains; and now ſeducing ſeveral of theſe from their promiſed allegiance, appeared at their head, in open defiance of the deputy. A parliament was convened at Dublin, and thence adjourned to Trim, to concert meaſures for ſuppreſſing this inſurrection. Mac-Murchard, after a deſperate and well diſputed battle, was defeated, but not reduced to ſubjection.

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The victors, meanwhile, were ſuddenly called off to quell tumults in other quarters of the country; where all their exertions could only obtain ſome temporary advantages, with little damage to the enemy, and no permanent ſecurity to the ſubjects. The power of the ancient natives was every day extending, when a reign of turbulence in England, and the reſtleſs factions of Engliſh lords in Ireland, deprived the government of its neceſſary ſupport. What could not be effected by military atchievements, was on various occaſions attempted by treaties and ſtipulations; in which the ſuperior power of the enemy dictated the terms. The borderers were by degrees driven to ſecure themſelves againſt the inroads of the neighbouring Iriſh, by bribes and penſions. Soon after this period, an annual ſtipend, well known by the name of Black Rent, was paid to the powerful Iriſh chieftains, to purchaſe their protection *.

When Henry V. aſcended the throne, Ireland was totally diſregarded, amidſt the dazzling objects of ambition. Sir John Stanley, who had formerly adminiſtered the government of that kingdom without credit or ſucceſs, was again appointed to this office, to the utter diſſatisfaction of the people, whom he continued to oppreſs by his rapaciouſneſs, during the ſhort period of his government, which commenced in October, and ended with his life in the enſuing January. The Iriſh council appointed for his ſucceſſor Crawly, archbiſhop of Dublin, a pious and learned prelate, but neither by his temper nor profeſſion fitted to govern a diſcontented and turbulent people. The repreſentatives, being convened at Dublin, refuſed to grant ſupplies, notwithſtanding the enemy was in arms. The kingdom ſeemed ready to ſink under the complicated calamity of war and faction, when ſir John Talbot, lord Furnival, a man diſtinguiſhed by his military talents, was ſent over from England to aſſume the reins of government. Carrying with him no army, he was obliged to rely on the forces raiſed in Ireland; for the ſupport of whom he had alſo no other means than that of recurring to the oppreſſive and arbitrary impoſitions practiſed by his predeceſſors. By his activity and valour, however, he ſtruck terror into ſeveral Iriſh chieftains, who had long moleſted

A. D. 1413. Henry V.

* Hanmer. Davis.

moleſted the Engliſh territories. He marched in a circular progreſs round all the diſtricts moſt expoſed to incurſion; and by preſſing cloſe upon the enemy in their retreats, terrified many into ſubmiſſion. Even Mac-Murchard, the proud and turbulent chieftain of Leinſter, was obliged to renew his homage, and to give his ſon as a hoſtage for his peaceable behaviour. But though the Iriſh leaders were ſworn to keep the peace, they ſtill retained their independency, and the Engliſh pale was not enlarged. The impoſitions for the ſupport of the ſoldiery rendered the governor obnoxious to the ſevereſt judgment of the law; and in other inſtances he ſeems to have trodden in the ſteps of too many of his predeceſſors.

The Engliſh ſubjects, who had ſettled in this kingdom, were now reduced to a mortifying ſituation. By the old native Iriſh, the whole race was conſidered as aliens and intruders; and, on the other hand, their fellow-ſubjects in England, from the magnified reports of their degeneracy and revolts, and from their own illiberal pride, were taught to confound them with the old natives. At this time, many of the moſt profligate among the Iriſh ſought relief for their wants, or refuge for their offences, in England; and from the conduct of ſuch outcaſts, a judgment was formed of the whole race. In the beginning of the preſent reign, the Engliſh parliament had been obliged to take notice of the ſwarms of adventurers from Ireland. It was enacted, that all ſuch ſhould be obliged to depart; and the law was executed in ſo unjuſtifiable an extent, that the moſt reputable of the Engliſh race were included in the ſcandal and diſhonour of this prohibition. Their ſtudents, who reſorted to England for education, though expreſly exempted from the penalties of the ſtatute, were diſdainfully excluded from the inns of court; a meaſure in the higheſt degree impolitic and unjuſt, as it not only precluded them from ſuch an intercourſe as would have conciliated their affections to England, but denied them the opportunity of ſtudying thoſe laws they were to be governed by.

On the appointment of the earl of Ormond to the vicegerency, the parliament diſcovered more than ordinary zeal to do honour to his government, by providing for the public exigencies; but theſe grants were accompanied with

with a repreſentation of grievances *. A petition to the throne, which had been obſtructed by the former governor, was now revived, and conducted through the proper forms, without controul. This petition, which is ſtill extant, contains a pathetic repreſentation of the diſtreſſes of the king's ſubjects in Ireland, harraſſed on one hand by the perpetual incurſions of the Iriſh enemy, and on the other by the injuſtice or extortion of his majeſty's miniſters; and the king's perſonal appearance in Ireland is moſt earneſtly entreated, to ſave his people from deſtruction.

What particular attention was paid to this petition, does not appear; but there is reaſon to think that the complaints of the Iriſh ſubjects were not entirely unnoticed by the king; for ſoon after, we find that Merbury, the chancellor, of whoſe conduct the Iriſh had alſo complained in their petition, was removed, and Fitz-Thomas, prior to the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, ſubſtituted in his place. The earl of Ormond was continued in his government, which he adminiſtered with general ſatisfaction, defending the pale, and chaſtiſing the incurſions of the bordering Iriſh. But this ſecurity ſerved only to give riſe to internal diviſions. Mutual rivalſhips and jealouſies, with the pride of the Engliſh race, and the inſolent affection of ſuperiority in thoſe of Engliſh birth, ſeparated the inhabitants into different parties, and laid among them the foundation of an invidious and impolitic diſtinction of an Iriſh and an Engliſh intereſt.

Fortunately for the inhabitants of the Engliſh pale, the common enemy was too much diſunited to take advantage of thoſe diſſenſions. They were contented, in the diſtant quarters of the iſland, to rule their petty ſepts, and maintain their ſtate and conſequence in oppoſition to their neighbours, and to purſue their local intereſts. Their averſion to the Engliſh was ſcarcely more national than that which they entertained towards the rival ſepts of their own race. They united in the moſt cordial affection with thoſe of the old Engliſh families which had revolted to them; and their inſurrections againſt the Engliſh, far from being uniformly actuated by a deſire of exterminating the invaders, appear to have been commonly occaſioned by local claims and diſputes.

The

* Pryn, Rot. Tur. Berm.

A.D. 1422. Henry VI.

The acceſſion of Henry VI. an infant prince, and the attention of his guardians to the affairs of France, naturally impeded the reformation of Ireland, and even encreaſed its diſorders. While the enemy in different quarters roſe in arms, and infeſted the Engliſh pale, a parliament convened at Trim, under the archbiſhop of Dublin, could but vote the ſmall augmentation of twelve men at arms, and ſixty archers, to be paid forty days. While their borders were invaded, and their faireſt ſettlements endangered, the ſubjects of the old Engliſh race found leiſure to indulge the particular reſentments of their party. Merbury, the obnoxious chancellor of the late reign, was ſtill the peculiar object of their indignation. They made the ſevereſt inquiſition into his conduct; charged him before the council with many illegal and corrupt practices; and at length drove him into England; whither they ſtill purſued him with their accuſations, and obliged him to anſwer before the throne to the ſeveral miſdemeanours with which he was charged.

To intimidate the enemy, and to repreſs theſe civil diſſenſions, the Engliſh regency thought it ſufficient to uſe the name of Edmund, earl of Marche and Ulſter, and to appoint to the government of Ireland a nobleman moſt reſpectable for his connexions with the royal blood. This earl, at firſt diſdaining to adminiſter the Iriſh government in perſon, thought his duty ſufficiently diſcharged by deputing a biſhop of Meath to govern in his abſence. The prelate, however reſpectable in his proper ſtation, was yet, in point of conſequence, much leſs conſiderable than the lords of the old Engliſh race *. But what was ſtill more offenſive, he was of Engliſh birth, and lately ſent into Ireland with all the proud and contemptuous prejudices of his countrymen. The nobles were provoked at this appointment; and when aſſembled in council, it was obſerved, that his commiſſion was ſealed only with the earl's private ſeal. They demanded a commiſſion under the great ſeal either of England or Ireland, and great altercations aroſe in the council on this ſubject. The deputy demanded his ſeat; the archbiſhop of Dublin, then chancellor, proteſted againſt the mode of his appointment, and refuſed to adminiſter the oaths, or to receive him

* Pryn, Rot. Tur. Berm.

him as governor. The nomination of the earl was as warmly ſupported by ſome Engliſhmen of figure lately arrived. At length, the council conſented to receive the deputy, with an expreſs declaration that they admitted him only from the neceſſity of public affairs, and to prevent the inconveniences which might ariſe from a ſuſpenſion of government. Such was the violence of faction, and ſuch the general odium againſt this biſhop of Meath, notwithſtanding an excellent private character, that ſome time after he was maliciouſly accuſed of ſtealing a chalice from one of the churches in his dioceſe. The bill of indictment found againſt him at Trim, was removed to parliament by certiorari; and here the biſhop, with becoming dignity and ſpirit, pleaded his innocence. He was referred to his metropolitan, who received his compurgation, and pronounced him innocent. But his triumph over the virulence of his accuſers was ſtill more complete, when one of the accomplices in the robbery was ſeized with remorſe, confeſſed his guilt, and diſcovered the real perpetrators *.

This prelate was ſoon ſucceeded as deputy by the earl of Ormond, who ſeems to have been purpoſely appointed on account of ſome alarming commotions, particularly in the northern province. The vicinity of ſome part of the coaſt of Ulſter to Scotland, afforded perpetual opportunities to the rovers of that country to pour into Ireland, where they were retained by the Iriſh chieftains, and aſſiſted them in ravaging the Engliſh ſettlements. The earl of Marche and Ulſter ſoon thought it neceſſary to repair to Ireland in perſon, to reſcue his lands from theſe invaders; but his ſudden death, at Trim, ſerved to increaſe the diſorders of the ſtate. Talbot, lord Furnival, was appointed to ſucceed him as lord-juſtice, and ſoon after the earl of Ormond was conſtituted lord-lieutenant; both of them noblemen of diſtinguiſhed ſpirit, and dreaded by the Iriſh inſurgents, who appear to have been conſiderably intimidated by the vigour of their operations. The indentures of ſeveral of them, ſtill extant, are extremely ſubmiſſive, and highly favourable to the Engliſh claims. They acknowledge themſelves vaſſals to the king of England, promiſe not only to keep his peace, but to aſſiſt him againſt

* Cox.

againſt enemies and rebels; renounce all title to the lands of Engliſh ſettlers which they had ſeized, and conſent to atone for their offences by a fine. The degenerate Engliſh alſo of moſt notorious delinquency were obliged to treat. The Berminghams, in particular, gave hoſtages to the earl of Ormond; and all acknowledged themſelves obnoxious to excommunication in caſe of failure, and voluntarily reſigned their lands to all the conſequences of an interdict. Thoſe tranſactions were followed by an interval of general tranquillity, which affords no events worthy of notice, but the ſucceſſion of governors known by little more than their names. But this interval was of ſhort duration. Before the end of the preſent reign, the enemies and rebels had conquered and put under their tribute, in the province of Munſter, almoſt the whole of the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, Kilkenny, and Wexford; and in the lower parts, almoſt all the counties of Carlow, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel; ſo that there was left unſubjected little more than the county of Dublin. This repreſentation, however, which appears in a record, and was purpoſely made to gain ſupplies from England, muſt have been greatly exaggerated. The county of Dublin indeed, and the adjacent diſtricts, might have been the only quarters where the Engliſh enjoyed a reſidence perfectly ſecure, and the juriſdiction of the crown was exerciſed in full vigour; but the Engliſh in other parts enjoyed conſiderable poſſeſſions, and by force of arms, or by compoſitions with the Iriſh, maintained them in a ſtate of diſorderly ſubjection, ſomething between civility and war; until at laſt, themſelves declining gradually from the principles of a loyal people, they were completely blended with the original natives and enemies to the Engliſh power *.

Hitherto we find the families of Deſmond and Kildare unnoticed during the reigns of the Lancaſtrian princes, and the earl of Ormond the only nobleman of Iriſh birth in whom the crown placed peculiar confidence. The conſequence of this partiality was jealouſies and animoſities, which were only ſuſpended until a favourable opportunity ſhould give free courſe to their violence. James, the preſent earl of Deſmond, had acquired his title and poſſeſ-

ſions

* Cox.

ſions in an irregular manner. Thomas, his nephew and the heir of Deſmond, having been engaged in the chace, was benighted at Tralee, and obliged to take ſhelter at the abbey Feal, in the houſe of a man named Mac-Cormac, one of his dependents. Catherine, a beautiful daughter of his hoſt, inſtantly inſpired the earl with a violent paſſion, which he finding it impoſſible to gratify upon any other conditions, made her his wife. By this ſtep, which his followers conſidered as an unpardonable degradation of his family, they were alienated from him. James, his uncle, an aſpiring lord, ſeized the advantage of their prejudices, which he ceaſed not to foment; and ſo deeply had this family imbibed the manners of the ancient Iriſh, that he was enabled by his adherents to expel earl Thomas thrice from his country, and at length to oblige him to make a formal ſurrender of his eſtate and dignity. The unhappy lord retired to Roan, where melancholy put a period to his life. James, now conſtituted earl of Deſmond, had the eſtate and dignity confirmed to him by act of parliament. Not content with this elevation, he was ſolicitous for increaſing his power. With this view, he contrived, by a pretended grant from Robert Cogan, to poſſeſs himſelf of an extenſive diſtrict called the kingdom of Corke, where, by the aſſiſtance of his numerous followers, both of Iriſh and Engliſh race, he eſtabliſhed his authority, in ſpite of the legal claims made by the families of Carew and Courcey. By uniting with Ormond in a factious quarrel between the houſes of Butler and Talbot, he ſo far ingratiated himſelf with this earl, at a time when he was lord-lieutenant, that by his mediation he obtained ſeveral important favours from the crown. He was by patent conſtituted governor of the counties of Waterford, Corke, Limerick, and Kerry; and what is yet more remarkable, under pretence that his ſervices were neceſſary in the remoter diſtricts of the kingdom, that his journeys to parliament were burdenſome, inconvenient, and dangerous to one ſo obnoxious to the Iriſh, on account of his attachment to the crown, he was permitted to abſent himſelf from all future parliaments during life, and allowed to ſend a ſufficient proxy. A.D. 1443.

The effects of theſe incautious grants were ſoon diſcovered. While the degenerate Engliſh, in ſeveral quarters, maintained

maintained the bloodieſt quarrels with their neighbours, upon the moſt frivolous pretences, Ormond was obliged to lead againſt the earl of Deſmond thoſe forces which might have quelled inferior offenders*. This nobleman, now dangerouſly aggrandized, bade defiance to that government which had raiſed him to his preſent conſequence; and he was ſurrounded by a troop of followers powerful enough to ſupport him in his diſloyalty. Forces were collected on each ſide, and hoſtilities commenced; nor could Ormond put an end to the depredations of the enemy, but by treating with the rebel lord as an independent ſovereign. A truce concluded for a year gave Deſmond an opportunity to ſtrengthen his party, and to intrigue with the enemies of the governor. Ormond, once ſo popular, now found his influence every day declining, and his opponents enabled to inſult him with impunity. Their repreſentations at the court of England had ſo great an effect, that the earl received orders to repair thither without delay, and explain the cauſes of thoſe public diſcontents which had been conveyed to the throne. Ormond ſaw the malice of his enemies with indignation and contempt. He ſummoned the nobility and gentry of the Pale to attend him at Drogheda, where he expoſtulated freely with them on the ungenerous behaviour of thus ſecretly undermining his credit with the king, and challenged them to a fair examination of his conduct during the whole courſe of his government. The magnanimity of conſcious innocence could not fail of its effect. The moſt honourable teſtimonies were given to his integrity, and to his ſervices; and the king, upon an addreſs from his Iriſh ſubjects, countermanded the order for his departure.

But a ſettled ſcheme formed to remove him from his government was not ſo eaſily defeated. His enemies were indefatigable, and at length ſo far prevailed, even in parliament, that an addreſs of a different nature was tranſmitted to the king, in which the lieutenant was repreſented as inactive by age and infirmity: he was accuſed of procuring ſeveral of his retainers to be choſen members of the commons, who, for his factious purpoſes, oppoſed the king's ſervice: and he was charged with receiving ſums of money for diſpenſing with the attendance of ſeveral lords

* Ann. Forbes, MS.

lords of parliament, and impriſoning divers ſubjects upon frivolous pretences, and in order to extort large ranſoms for their releaſe. Notwithſtanding the biſhops of Corke and Cloyne, ſeveral temporal lords, and ſome corporations, ſent to the king the ampleſt teſtimonials of the good conduct of the earl, yet the repreſentations of his enemies were ſo effectual, that Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, and now created earl of Waterford, was ſent into Ireland to take the adminiſtration of government.

Talbot came attended with a troop of ſeven hundred choſen men. In deſpite of the moſt ſolemn ſtipulations, the Iriſh, upon the pretence of freſh injuries, roſe in arms, as uſual, in ſeveral quarters; and in defiance of lawful authority, the Engliſh maintained their local quarrels. The firſt care of the new vicegerent was to ſuppreſs thoſe petty commotions. The Iriſh chieftains were reduced, the degenerate Engliſh intimidated; and ſome of the moſt obnoxious, particularly of the ſept of Bermingham, were ſeized, condemned, and executed.

The public peace being thus reſtored, the earl convened a parliament at Trim, to deliberate on the reformation of the ſtate, and the more regular execution of government. In this aſſembly it was declared highly penal to conform to the Iriſh faſhion of the hair and beard. But the jealouſies and factions, which now ſubſiſted in England, produced a new appointment to the adminiſtration of government in Ireland, which had a laſting and important influence on the affairs of this country.

The petitions ſent to every Engliſh parliament, deſcribing the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the Iriſh, and the perpetual danger of the Engliſh ſettlements, in terms highly aggravated, ſeem to have afforded the pretence for appointing Richard, duke of York, vicegerent of Ireland. This prince, though now embarked in thoſe political intrigues, by which he hoped to pave the way to the Engliſh crown, accepted of the office aſſigned him; but took care that it ſhould be attended with all the honour and authority which had at any time been conferred on the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his predeceſſors. He ſtipulated to hold his government for ten years; to receive the whole revenue of Ireland without account, with an immediate advance of two thouſand marks, and an annual penſion of two thouſand

ſand more from England; to be empowered to let the king's lands; to diſpoſe of all offices, and levy ſuch forces as he ſhould judge neceſſary; to name his deputy, and to return at his pleaſure.

A. D. 1449. His arrival and appearance in the ſeat of government was ſplendid and magnificent; and his obliging deportment engaged the affections of all parties. While he adminiſtered the affairs of Ireland, in ſuch a manner as to recommend himſelf to popular favour, and increaſe the number of his adherents, the partizans of his family in England were induſtrious to inflame the diſcontents conceived againſt the queen and her miniſter, and to improve every incident to the purpoſes of his faction. The inſurrection of Cade, which happened at this time, was currently imputed to the contrivance of the duke of York, who, it was ſaid, intended to lead an Iriſh army into England, to dethrone the king. The report of ſuch traiterous deſigns afforded the duke a plauſible pretence of returning into England, to juſtify his conduct, and to guard againſt the machinations of his enemies. He therefore ſoon appeared in London, but without an army, and with ſuch a train as could afford no ground for any unfavourable ſuſpicion. It does not appear what particular proviſions he made at his departure for the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government, only that he appointed the earl of Ormond his deputy. After a few inconſiderable excurſions made by this nobleman to correct the diſorders of the ancient natives, he died, and was ſucceeded in the vicegerency by ſir Edward Fitz-Euſtace, a man well fitted for a government which required activity and vigour. At the time of his arrival in Ireland, the whole country was agitated with inteſtine commotions, the ſuppreſſion of which was the immediate object of his attention. The lords of the Engliſh race, who were attached to the crown, exerted themſelves againſt the remoter inſurgents, while the deputy himſelf was employed in reſtraining the violences exerciſed in Leinſter, where he routed O'Connor, the turbulent Iriſh chieftain of O'Fally. O'Connor, in endeavouring to eſcape from his purſuers, fell from his horſe: his ſon, the companion of his danger, ſtopped and remounted him; but, unhappily, the father fell a ſecond time to the ground. A generous conteſt was now commenced

menced between the father and ſon, which of them ſhould be reſigned to the mercy of the enemy. The youth urgently preſſed his father to take his horſe, and to ſeize the preſent moment of providing for his own ſafety. The father obſtinately refuſed; commanded his ſon to fly, and was quickly made priſoner. But as it appeared that he had taken arms merely for the ſake of depredation, he was releaſed without any injury *.

The chieftains of the North were ſtill more turbulent, and required greater force, as well as more ſevere execution, to repreſs their violences. The ſept of O'Nial had gradually diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of ſeveral of the moſt valuable ſettlements in Ulſter; but ſince the Scottiſh invaſion, in the reign of Edward II. they had not been able to form any plan of general inſurrection. A piratical expedition which they had lately made near the port of Dublin, drew upon them the vengeance of the government. Several of the Iriſh chieftains of Ulſter united with the ſons of O'Nial, and marched againſt the forces of the deputy. An obſtinate engagement, however, fought at Ardglaſs, ended in the total defeat of the northern Iriſh. Their general was made priſoner, and about ſix hundred of his aſſociates ſlain.

The affairs of England became gradually more and more embroiled. The duke of York, under pretence of the king's indiſpoſition, was by the parliament appointed protector of the realm. The oppoſite faction endeavouring to wreſt this power from his hands, the conteſt came at length to be decided by arms; when the victory at St. Alban's gave the duke poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and the whole authority of the crown. Richard having determined to ſtrengthen his intereſt in Ireland, Fitz-Euſtace was removed, and the reins of government intruſted to the earl of Kildare, whoſe family had formed a ſtrict connexion with the duke of York during his reſidence in Ireland. The deaths of ſeveral native Iriſh chieftains, as well as ſome of the moſt powerful lords among the degenerate Engliſh, contributed to the eaſe of his government, and the tranquillity of the ſtate, which was diſturbed only by ſome petty inſurrections †.

Duke Richard being defeated at Blore-Heath, fled for ſhelter

* Cox. † Davis.

ſhelter into Ireland, where he was received not as a fugitive, but with all the marks of deference due to a chief governor. The vengeance of the crown, though it could not reach the duke, yet purſued ſome of his party into Ireland. Writs were ſent over to ſeize and bring them to juſtice; but the king's authority proved of little weight againſt a popular viceroy, who not only controuled the execution of thoſe writs, but had the addreſs to ſecure to himſelf the ſupport of the Iriſh parliament. This aſſembly enacted, that whoever ſhould imagine, or compaſs, the deſtruction or death of the duke, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon. Some farther attempts made by the royal party to ſeize the perſon of the duke and ſome of his adherents, only ſerved to rouſe the indignation of his partizans in the Iriſh parliament, and expoſe the agents to their vengeance. The victory of the Yorkiſts at Northampton once more called the duke from Ireland; on which occaſion, the attachment of his adherents in that kingdom was eminently diſplayed. They attended him in great numbers, with the warmeſt profeſſions of reſolution and fidelity. The diſtrict of Meath in particular was almoſt exhauſted of its Engliſh inhabitants, who enabled Richard to appear in London at the head of a gallant and formidable troop. Though declared ſucceſſor to Henry in a parliament ſurrounded and intimidated by his forces, his pretenſions were ſtill oppoſed by the indefatigable Margaret, who engaged him with a ſuperior army at Wakefield, where himſelf, and a number of his followers, were ſlain.

The old natives of Ireland conſidered this action as a final determination of the Engliſh intereſt in that country; and proceeded each to poſſeſs himſelf of the lands which were either abandoned by the ſettlers, or were indefenſible by their weakneſs, ſo as gradually to reſtrict the bounds of the Engliſh province. Meath was deſolated by incurſions from Leinſter and the North. The only method to ſecure peace and protection, was to treat with the turbulent Iriſh chieftains as ſuperiors. The inſurgents of Leinſter were bribed with penſions to lay down their arms; and the ſame means of pacification were purſued in other parts of the iſland. The pride of thoſe chieftains was fully gratified by this tacit acknowledgement of their conſequence; and the Engliſh, as a particular ſept, were ſuffered

fered to live unmoleſted, under the protection of other ſepts, who, purſuing their own private intereſts, looked with a contemptuous diſregard to the affairs of the Saxons, as the Engliſh were called.

When the firſt commotion in Ireland, raiſed by the action of Wakefield, had ſubſided, the king's council in that country proceeded to exerciſe their ancient right of electing a governor, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known. On this occaſion they demonſtrated their affection to the houſe of York; for Thomas, earl of Kildare, was choſen lord chief-juſtice, and, by virtue of his appointment, immediately ſummoned a parliament at Dublin. It was, however, prorogued: and intelligence arriving that Henry had already been depoſed, and Edward IV. ſeated on the throne of England, two farther prorogations were deemed neceſſary. Meanwhile, Kildare was confirmed in his ſtation by patent from the new king; and the acts of adminiſtration exerciſed in the name of Henry VI. were afterwards ratified in the Iriſh parliament. But his commiſſion was ſoon ſuperſeded by the appointment of George, duke of Clarence, to the lieutenancy of Ireland for life. The earl of Ormond, who had been one of the firſt victims to the revenge of the triumphant Yorkiſts, was attainted and executed upon a ſcaffold. The fate of this nobleman, however, deterred not his brother from making trial of the ſtrength and attachment of his Iriſh adherents. With no inconſiderable train of followers from England, he fled into Munſter, where the name of Ormond could ſtill call together a numerous body of dependents. By the zeal which they diſcovered for his ſervice, he was flattered into an opinion, that he was powerful enough to bid defiance to the Iriſh deputy, and to aſſert his own rights, as well as thoſe of the dethroned king. He was, however, defeated in a pitched battle by the young earl of Deſmond, who, in reward of his ſervices, was ſoon appointed lord-deputy. This inexperienced nobleman grew giddy with exaltation, while the enemies of his houſe were provoked at the ſucceſs of his arms, and mortified at his preſent greatneſs. They, therefore, endeavoured by their intrigues to diſturb his government as much as poſſible; and every day they propagated jealouſies and complaints of his adminiſtration. The ſept of Melachlin,

A. D. 1461.

Edward IV.

lachlin, the ruling Iriſh family of Meath, had, on ſome real or pretended provocation, been invaded by Petit, one of the moſt ancient Engliſh ſettlers in this diſtrict; and in revenge of his depredations, roſe up in arms. Though they were powerful enough to oblige Petit to atone for his offence, by an extraordinary compoſition, yet their incurſions, once provoked, could not be immediately repreſſed. Particular parties ſtill continued their ravages, and by ſucceſs ſoon became ſo conſiderable as to command the attention of the lord-deputy. Collecting ſome forces, he marched againſt the plunderers, with a contempt of their power. But the neighbouring clans flew to their aſſiſtance with ſuch ſpeed, that inſtead of diſperſing, they gave Deſmond battle, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that his troops were totally routed, and himſelf, with ſeveral of his principal followers, made priſoners *.

The ſon of O'Connor, who, on a former occaſion, diſplayed ſo generous a concern for the ſafety of his father, was now among the inſurgents, and embraced the opportunity which offered, of repaying the indulgence formerly ſhewn to his parent by Deſmond. He, therefore, conveyed that nobleman to a place of ſecurity, and diſmiſſed him with a conſiderable number of his followers. But though the deputy was enabled by this mortifying act of kindneſs to regain the ſeat of government, yet ſuch was his weakneſs and conſternation, that the enemy was encouraged to collect from different quarters round, the helpleſs ſettlers of Meath, and to ravage them without controul. At the ſame time, the ſept of O'Brien iſſued from the South, and croſſing the Shannon, in a formidable body, ravaged and expelled the Engliſh ſettlers of Munſter, and ſeemed on the point of forming a general confederacy with the Iriſh of Leinſter, as well as the inſurgents of Argial and Breffney, ſo as to overwhelm the whole Engliſh Pale. Deſmond had no other method of averting the danger but that of a treaty with his enemies. O'Brien was left in poſſeſſion of a conſiderable part of his conqueſts; and having thus provided for his own particular intereſt, he returned to his uſual reſidence, in all the pride of an Iriſh prince, leaving his countrymen to make the like compoſitions with the Engliſh government.

Though

* Hanmer.

Though theſe mortifications naturally diminiſhed the popularity of Deſmond, the parliament, which he ſoon after convened at Wexford, diſcovered the moſt zealous attachment to his government. With its honourable teſtimonials of his good conduct, he repaired to England, and was graciouſly received by the king. His enemies, who had previouſly endeavoured to ſupplant him in the royal favour, were diſcountenanced, and their accuſations diſmiſſed. He returned to his government in triumph; and, ſecure of the king's protection, was leſs cautious to guard againſt the ſecret practices of thoſe, who, by being diſappointed, were only rendered more implacable in their enmity.

In his ſubſequent parliament, we find the ſtatutes particularly calculated not only for the defence of the Pale, but for refining the manners of its inhabitants *. The Iriſh permitted to reſide among the Engliſh ſubjects, were obliged to aſſume the Engliſh garb and faſhion of the hair, to be ſworn liege-men to the king within one year, and to take Engliſh ſurnames. Every inhabitant was bound to uſe the long-bow. A conſtable was appointed for every town, where butts were to be erected; and all from the age of ſixteen to ſixty to be exerciſed in archery on every holiday. And to prevent the Iriſh diſtricts from receiving any aſſiſtance or ſupplies from other countries, all fiſhing on their coaſts was prohibited, unleſs by ſpecial licence from the king's deputy.

But during this proſperous ſtate of the earl's government, his enemies were continuing with great induſtry their machinations againſt him; and new incidents at the court of England co-operated to precipitate his ruin. The marriage of the king with Elizabeth Grey attached him cloſely to her family. Her father, lately created earl of Rivers, was to be farther dignified with the place of lord-high-conſtable of England; and Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, who reſigned it in his favour, was gratified with the office of lord-deputy of Ireland, attended with the moſt honourable and extenſive powers; an event which afforded particular triumph to all the enemies of the Geraldines. All thoſe who had been inſulted by the pride, or injured by the power of that aſpiring family, crowded to the new go-

* Stat. 5 Edward IV.

vernor on his arrival, and bitterly inveighed againſt the adminiſtration of the former deputy. It was even alledged, that Deſmond intended to renounce his allegiance, and to make himſelf independent ſovereign of Ireland; nor was the falſhood of this charge detected, until it had produced its effect. Tiptoft was alarmed, and liſtened to ſuch accuſations with great attention.

A parliament was convened at Dublin, which affected to ſupport the intereſts of the crown by more vigorous ordinances than uſual. It was enacted, that, whereas the liege people had hitherto been reduced to pay to the Iriſh enemy and Engliſh rebels a tallage called Black-rent, ſuch tallage ſhould for the future be paid to the king's deputy, for the better ſupport of his army. As this act was calculated merely to reflect diſgrace upon the treaties lately made by Deſmond, an attempt to carry it into execution muſt have produced the moſt deſperate and dangerous inſurrections.

The parliament was adjourned to Drogheda, where the enemies of the Geraldines gave free ſcope to their reſentments. They procured, on various pretences, an act for attainting of treaſon, the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, and Edward Plunket, eſq. Kildare was impriſoned, but either contrived to eſcape, or was afterwards releaſed. Deſmond, relying either on his innocence or his power, had the hardineſs to repair to the chief governor to juſtify his conduct; but, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of his party, was inſtantly brought to the ſcaffold and beheaded. The execution of the unhappy lord may be regarded as one of the melancholy effects of thoſe factious animoſities which ever ſubſiſted among the Iriſh ſubjects of greater rank, and by which the Engliſh intereſt had been frequently endangered; for the laws on which he was condemned had never been uniformly obeyed, nor ſtrictly executed.

A. D. 1468.

Some ineffectual attempts were made to revenge the death of the earl, by Gerrat, one of the ſurviving branches of the family of Deſmond; for which he was attainted. But the enemies of this houſe enjoyed only a ſhort-lived triumph. Kildare, who had eſcaped to England, boldly repaired to the king, urged the injuries done to his family, pleaded their ſervices to the crown, and was ſo favourably heard,

heard, that he received his pardon. The very parliament which had condemned him, paſſed an act in conformity to the royal pleaſure, reverſing his attainder, and reſtoring him to his eſtate and dignity. To complete his triumph, he was ſoon after appointed lord-deputy, in the room of Tiptoft, who was called away by the diſorders of England, and there ſuffered by the ſame ſentence which he had executed upon the earl of Deſmond. The Geraldines were thus once more conſtituted, and for ſome time continued, the ruling family among the Engliſh ſubjects *. A.D. 1470.

The new deputy, as uſual, ſummoned a parliament, which was ready to enter into all his views. They began with condemning and reverſing ſome ordinances made in the ſeſſions of the earl of Worceſter; and in particular, repealed all the acts in prejudice to the earl of Kildare. To intimidate his opponents, ſir John Cornwallis, baron of the Exchequer, who had warmly arraigned his adminiſtration in the council, and attempted to form a faction againſt him in the city of Dublin, was treated with the ſeverity due to a high miſdemeanour. He was deprived of his office, declared incapable of receiving or holding any office in Ireland, and his lands ſeized into the king's hands during his life.

On the reſtoration of Henry VI. by the vigour of the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence had been created, by a new patent, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for twenty years; but no change took place in the actual adminiſtration of Iriſh government by this ſhort-lived revolution. Kildare was continued in the ſtation of lord-deputy; though his rivals and enemies of his houſe watched the favourable moment to ſupplant him.

Ever ſince the execution of the earl of Ormond, and the ineffectual attempt made by his brother againſt the Earl of Deſmond, this noble houſe had remained in a ſtate of obſcurity; until John, the elder of the ſurviving brothers, who, after his defeat, had fled to England, and contrived to recommend himſelf to Edward, obtained his pardon. The favour into which he was received by this prince, gave ſpirit and conſequence to his partizans in Ireland, who now ventured to brave their rivals, and being oppoſed with the uſual warmth, threatened to revive

* Collect. Iriſh MSS.

vive the whole fury of private and political feuds. They repreſented the conduct of Kildare as beſt ſuited their purpoſes, and their repreſentations were conveyed to the throne, by Ormond, with all poſſible advantage. The aſſiduity which they practiſed againſt the deputy could not in the end fail of its deſired effect. He was removed from his government, and had the additional mortification to find himſelf ſucceeded by Shirwood, biſhop of Meath, the old enemy of his houſe.

The triumph of this family being thus completed, ancient animoſities were re-kindled, as well as obſolete pretenſions revived; and the flame of diſcord threatened to involve the whole Engliſh territory, if not the whole iſland, in a deſperate combuſtion. Alarming repreſentations of the diſtracted ſtate of Ireland were conveyed to the king; but Edward could only ſend his commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Armagh, to act as umpire between the contending parties, and to determine them in the fulneſs of royal authority. But what proved more effectual, a ſudden fit of ſuperſtition drove the earl of Ormond into a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and about the ſame time, the earl of Kildare ended his life. By theſe events the animoſities of the two families were for a while allayed; but new competitors aroſe for royal favour and authority. The biſhop of Meath was requeſted by the parliament to repair to the king, and to inform him authentically of the dangers and diſorders of the ſtate. The Geraldine faction, dreading the conſequence of his repreſentation, endeavoured to defeat them. Addreſſes were procured from their partizans in oppoſition to the deputy and parliament; while the latter thundered out its reſolutions againſt this unwarrantable proceeding. After a weak and diſtracted government of about two years, the adminiſtration of the kingdom reverted once more to the family of Kildare; and Gerald, the young earl, was appointed lord-juſtice. This appointment, however, had ſcarcely been made, when Edward found reaſon to alter his reſolution. He conſtituted Henry, lord Grey, deputy to the duke of Clarence, and ſent him into Ireland, with a train of three hundred men at arms, and a company of archers, as the moſt effectual means of giving weight and authority to his government.

The

The Iriſh lords felt their pride too deeply wounded, and their fears too violently alarmed, to receive the Engliſh deputy with any degree of favour *. Some informality was diſcovered, or pretended, in Grey's commiſſion. Kildare refuſed to obey the king's letters of diſmiſſion, authenticated only by the privy-ſeal. He continued his eſtate, ſummoned and prorogued the parliament, and acted in every thing as the rightful governor. Portleſter, the chancellor, withdrew with the great-ſeal; and Keating, prior of Kilmainham, a turbulent eccleſiaſtic, refuſed to admit Grey in the caſtle of Dublin, of which he was conſtable, fortified it againſt him, and repelled his train. Grey convened his aſſembly as the only regular and legal parliament; annulled the acts paſſed in that held by Kildare, declared the great-ſeal in the hands of lord Portleſter to be cancelled and void, and if not reſigned directly, a new ſeal to be made. Keating was ſummoned to ſurrender, and to repair the damages he had made in his caſtle, on pain of being deprived of his benefice. The death of the duke of Clarence, by which the place of lord-lieutenant of Ireland became vacant, ſerved to increaſe theſe conteſts. Edward conferred the office on his infant ſon George; and Grey, by a new commiſſion, was appointed his deputy.

Meanwhile, the Iriſh lords, in an aſſembly purporting to be the king's council, proceeded to an irregular election of Kildare into the office of chief governor. The flame was thus rekindled between rival governors, contending parliaments, and oppoſite privy-councils. The parliament convened by Grey exerted all its authority againſt the factious proceedings of the oppoſite aſſembly. Such alarming repreſentations were made to Edward of the anarchy which ſubſiſted in Ireland, that he deemed it neceſſary to ſummon the earl of Kildare, the archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſome others, to attend him in England, to inform him diſtinctly of the nature and cauſes of thoſe diſorders, and to receive his inſtructions for allaying them. Lord Grey either proved unequal to the exigencies of the juncture, or was unwilling to be longer embroiled in the contentions of Ireland. He therefore quitted that kingdom; and Preſton, lord Gormanſton, was appointed his ſucceſſor.

* Collect. Iriſh MSS.

ſucceſſor. But this appointment was only temporary; for on the return of thoſe whom the king had ſummoned into England, Preſton reſigned to Gerald, earl of Kildare, as deputy to Richard, duke of York, who had ſucceeded to the office of lord-lieutenant on the death of prince George. He was commiſſioned to hold this office for four years, with a ſtanding force of one hundred and forty horſemen; and if the Iriſh revenue ſhould prove unequal to this eſtabliſhment, he was to be ſupplied from England. At ſo low an ebb was now the revenue, that a ſmall troop, the annual expence of which exceeded not five hundred pounds, was ſuſpected to be too conſiderable for the revenues of the Iriſh government.

Kildare was ſent to his charge, with full inſtructions from the king to compoſe the diſorders of the late ſhort and tumultuous adminiſtrations. The controverſy between the two rival aſſemblies, each pretending to the authority of the regular and legal parliament of the realm, was ſubmitted to the deciſion of the king; but inſtead of pronouncing peremptorily in favour of one or the other, we find him directing what acts made by either he deems neceſſary to be confirmed or annulled, in the enſuing parliament; and pointing out ſuch other proviſions as the intereſts of the crown, or the welfare of the ſtate required. Kildare now enjoyed his pre-eminence unrivalled, and proceeded in adminiſtration without any conſiderable difficulty or interruption; guarding the four Engliſh counties, and regulating the affairs of this diſtrict. With the native Iriſh he had greater weight and authority than any lord of Engliſh birth. To increaſe his influence, his ſiſter was given in marriage to Con O'Nial, ſon to the chieftain of the North, the firſt in pride and power of the Iriſh lords. The huſband, on this occaſion, was by an act of parliament declared a liege ſubject of the king's, and completely inveſted with all the rights annexed to this ſtation. The intereſt and power of Kildare thus increaſed, afforded an additional reaſon for continuing the reins of government in his hands *. He therefore
A.D. 1480. exerciſed the office of deputy, without interruption, during the remainder of the preſent reign, the ſucceſſion of Edward the Fifth, and the uſurpation of Richard, a period

* Bruodin.

period which exhibits nothing more of Iriſh affairs than the unintereſting conteſts which the old natives continued to maintain againſt each other, and the uſual proviſions for the ſecurity of the Engliſh ſettlements.

The defeat and death of Richard III. and the acceſſion of Henry VII. a deſcendant of the Lancaſtrian line, were events by no means favourably received in Ireland, where far the greater number of noble families were zealouſly attached to the houſe of York. A. D. 1485. Henry VII.

The titles and emoluments annexed to the government of this kingdom, had for a conſiderable time been conferred on ſome prince of the blood, who reſided in England, and acted by a deputy; and as the appointment was now continued in the ſame channel, it became in the next place neceſſary to provide for the actual adminiſtration of the Iriſh government. On this occaſion, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe who were acquainted with the circumſtances of this kingdom, the earl of Kildare was continued lord-deputy, his brother Thomas, lord-chancellor, Rowland, lord Portleſter, another zealous Yorkiſt, ſuffered to enjoy the place of treaſurer; and all the old officers of ſtate, and former privy-council continued.

The uncontrouled influence of the deputy, and his boundleſs attachment to his party, immediately appeared in the inſolence of one of his moſt zealous adherents *. Keating, prior of Kilmainham, who had already taken a diſtinguiſhed part in the conteſts of Ireland, had, in confidence of ſupport, alienated the revenues, and even ſold the ornaments and reliques of his houſe. He was deprived of his benefices by his principal, the grand-maſter of Rhodes; and Lomley, an Engliſhman, was appointed to ſucceed him. But the latter had no ſooner landed, to take poſſeſſion of this dignity, than he was aſſailed by Keating, who with a band of armed men, ſeized, and compelled him to reſign the inſtruments of his appointment. Lomley preſented a complaint both to the king and the maſter, and Keating was excommunicated. This ſo provoked the imperious eccleſiaſtic, that he again ſeized his competitor, and by force caſt him into priſon, where he languiſhed without redreſs, and died: nor could Keating be diſpoſſeſſed, notwithſtanding his repeated outrages.†

The

* Ware. † Bruodin.

The improvidence of Henry, in truſting the government of Ireland to men who were zealouſly attached to the houſe of York, ſoon became conſpicuous in the inſurrection of Lambert Simnel, who perſonating the earl of Warwick, ſon to the duke of Clarence, laid claim to the Engliſh crown. It was determined by the contrivers of this impoſture that the firſt ſcene of it ſhould be opened in Ireland. With this deſign, Simnel and his attendants arrived at Dublin, where the youth preſenting himſelf to the lord-deputy, in all the dignity of the character which he aſſumed, pathetically related his impriſonment, his eſcape, the dangers he had experienced, and he ſolicited the deputy's protection and aſſiſtance in the proſecution of his rightful claim to the crown of England. Kildare, who perhaps was not unprepared for the application, communicated this extraordinary event to the ſeveral officers of ſtate. They received the adventurer with every mark of reſpect and attachment, and reſolved at once to devote themſelves to his ſervice. But in order to make experiment of the temper of the Iriſh ſubjects, before they declared openly in his favour, they artfully contrived to have it ſpread abroad that the earl of Warwick was arrived at Dublin, without any farther circumſtance, or any hint of the intention or declaration of the chief governor. The citizens in an inſtant caught the flame of party-zeal, and it quickly ſpread through the Iriſh quarters. The people almoſt unanimouſly declared in favour of the ſon of Clarence, forgetting the preferable claims of Edward's female iſſue. Simnel was conveyed in pomp to the caſtle of Dublin, where he received the homage of his numerous adherents, was treated as a ſovereign, and in a few days publicly proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI. The citizens of Waterford, who had been ſpirited by the Butlers and ſome of the ſept of Bermingham, to oppoſe the preſent innovations, were peremptorily required by the deputy to proclaim the new king. A haughty anſwer was returned: their meſſenger, in a ſudden fit of rage, was ordered by Kildare to be hanged: they again received his mandate by a herald, with terrible denunciations of vengeance, ſhould they make the leaſt delay in complying with his commands: they, however, continued obſtinately firm to the intereſts of the reigning prince,

prince, bade defiance to the rebels, and expected and prepared for an invaſion *.

Henry, in order to prevent the infatuation of his Iriſh ſubjects from being communicated to thoſe of England, reſolved to ſatisfy the people that the real earl of Warwick was ſtill in his poſſeſſion. For this purpoſe his priſoner was taken from the Tower, conveyed publicly through the ſtreets of London, and engaged in converſation with many of the nobility, who could not plead ignorance of his perſon. But the Yorkiſts of Ireland ruſhed too violently into the extravagance of party-zeal to be reſtrained by ſuch devices. The charge of artifice and impoſture was thereby boldly retorted upon Henry, who, it was confidently alledged, had impoſed on the credulity of the vulgar by a ſubſtituted prince, tricked out in the form of a true Plantagenet. Emiſſaries were ſent into England, where the friends of the houſe of York were invited to aſſiſt their rightful prince, and aſſured of a powerful ſupport.

Meanwhile Henry, fully informed of the deſigns of his enemies, took ſuch meaſures as were in his power to defeat them. Orders were iſſued for guarding the coaſts both of Ireland and Flanders, and preventing any ſupplies being conveyed to the malecontents. Care was taken that the papal bulls, by which the dreadful ſentence of excommunication was denounced againſt all who preſumed to queſtion the right of Henry's ſucceſſion, ſhould be promulgated in Ireland: new complaints were made at the court of Rome, and the pope entreated to exert his ſpiritual authority againſt the Iriſh revolters. But the fear of papal vengeance operated only upon ſome biſhops. Another Iriſh chieftain, of no inconſiderable power, took advantage of the commotions in the ſeat of government, and ravaged the Engliſh Pale without controul. Still the lord-deputy and his adherents were attentive to no other object, than that of deciding the right of ſucceſſion to the throne of England: and now to animate their hopes, two thouſand veteran troops arrived from Flanders, under the command of Swaart, a valiant and experienced leader, attended by the earl of Lincoln, viſcount Lovel, and other conſiderable malecontents of England.

The

* Ware.

The appearance of ſuch ſupport inſpired the partizans of the young adventurer with the utmoſt confidence. Uncontrouled in Ireland, except by the impotent diſſent of ſome individuals, they imagined that no great difficulties could be experienced in England, and fancied themſelves ſecure of all the advantages to be expected from a revolution. In the mean time it was reſolved to proceed to the ſolemn coronation of their favourite prince. He was conducted in ſtate to the cathedral, called Chriſt-Church, attended by the lord-deputy and the other officers of ſtate, as well as the Engliſh lords, and a great number of his adherents. The biſhop of Meath explained and enforced his right to the crown from the pulpit; it was formally recognized by thoſe who attended the ceremonial; and a crown, ſaid to have been taken from a ſtatue of the Virgin, was placed on his head, amidſt the acclamations of the people. To complete the royal character, the young king iſſued his writs of ſummons, and convened a parliament, in which laws were enacted, ſubſidies granted, and the utmoſt vengeance denounced againſt thoſe who preſumed to reſiſt the new government. The whole adminiſtration of public affairs was conducted for ſome time regularly in the name of Edward VI. The leaders of the inſurrection now began to think not only of eſtabliſhing the dominion of their ſovereign in Ireland, but of expelling the reigning prince from England. It was propoſed to continue in their preſent ſituation, and by making Ireland the ſeat of war, to draw Henry into this country. His jealouſy, they concluded, would prompt him to attend the expedition in perſon; and his abſence from England could not fail of raiſing dangerous commotions in the ſtate. The people, however, preſſed clamorouſly to be led into England; an embarkation was accordingly prepared; and the inſurgents landed in Lancaſhire, at a place called Foudrey, where they were joined by ſir Thomas Broughton and his troop.

The earl of Kildare had been left in Dublin, to attend the affairs of government. His brother, lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, was ſo ſanguine in the hopes of ſucceſs, that he reſigned the place of Iriſh chancellor, to follow the fortunes of Simnel; and with Maurice, another brother, attended on the earl of Lincoln, who took the lead in this enterprize. His army, which directed its courſe towards

towards York, affected the ſtricteſt regularity, but was every where received with ſilent aſtoniſhment. There remained for them now no hope but in a ſpeedy and deciſive action. The king advanced upon them, and was reinforced by the well-affected: the rebels with equal alacrity marched to meet him. Near a village called Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, both parties came to an engagement, in which the rebels were totally routed. The earl of Lincoln, the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Plunket, and other Iriſhmen of diſtinction, the gallant Swaart, and ſir Thomas Broughton, all fell upon the field of battle. Among the priſoners, Simnel himſelf, with the prieſt his tutor, had the misfortune to fall into the king's hands. The former, as the moſt effectual means to mortify his adherents, was conſigned to the menial offices of the royal kitchen, and afterwards advanced to the rank of falconer to the king; but the prieſt was doomed to perpetual impriſonment.

The ſubjects of Ireland were now awakened from their dream of riches and honours, to a ſenſe of their temerity, and the reſentment of a rigid prince, whom they had ſo highly offended. Letters arrived from Henry to the citizens of Waterford, commending the fidelity, which they had ſhewn to his government, and encouraging them in an oppoſition to the earl of Kildare, and the citizens of Dublin *. A papal bull was directed to thoſe prelates who had not given their countenance to the rebellion, the archbiſhops of Caſhel and Tuam, and the biſhops of Clogher and Oſſory, to inflict the uſual eccleſiaſtical cenſures on the the delinquent clergy, in which number were involved the primate of Armagh (though he had refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation of Simnel), the archbiſhop of Dublin, and the prelates of Meath and Kildare. To divert the ſtorm of vengeance, which was now gathering, the earl of Kildare and other lords inſtantly diſpatched to the king ſome of their adherents, by whom they acknowledged their fault, and palliated it by ſuch pretences as they could deſire, humbly imploring pardon, and promiſing henceforth the moſt dutiful attachment to his government. Henry, from motives of policy, contented himſelf for the preſent with anſwering the ſubmiſſions of his Iriſh ſubjects by declarations of pardon, attended, however, with ſevere reflections

* MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

reflections on their folly and diſloyalty. Kildare was aſſured that the royal grace muſt entirely depend upon his future dutiful conduct, and was continued in the government *.

But, notwithſtanding this appearance of reconciliation between the king and his Iriſh ſubjects, ſomething farther was ſtill neceſſary to compoſe the affairs of that country. Sir Richard Edgecumbe wae ſent into Ireland with a troop of five hundred men, to oblige the ſubjects to renew their oaths of allegiance, and to tender the royal pardon upon ſuch conditions as might aſſure the king of their future loyalty. Edgecumbe, on his arrival at the harbour of Kinſale, poſſibly from ſome apprehenſions of the diſpoſitions of the people, at firſt refuſed to land, but obliged Barry, a principal lord in this diſtrict, to attend him on board his ſhip, there to take the oath of allegiance, and do homage for his barony. He was, however, prevailed upon to honour the city with his preſence; and the oath and homage of lord Courcey were received in the church with greater form. He thence proceeded in a coaſting voyage to Waterford, where his only buſineſs was to commend and confirm the loyalty of the inhabitants. On his arrival in the harbour of Dublin, the magiſtrates were prepared to receive him with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion. But Kildare, who had now recovered from his firſt alarm, began to recollect his own power and conſequence, and ſhowed no readineſs to attend the king's commiſſioner; and when he at length conſented to an interview, he behaved towards Edgecumbe with an unbecoming haughtineſs. The earl, however, agreed to do homage and fealty, and to give the aſſurance of the moſt ſolemn oaths for his future fidelity. But ſome additional ſecurity (the nature of which is not diſtinctly mentioned) was required, which was either offenſive to the pride, or prejudicial to the intereſts of the earl and other great lords. Objections were raiſed, and the parties at firſt ſeparated in diſguſt. After various negociations, homage and fealty were performed in a ſolemn and public manner by the earl of Kildare, with other lords and prelates, and they were abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication. Kildare was preſented with a chain of gold from the king, in token of perfect reconciliation. The only perſon

* Ware.

perſon to whom the royal pardon was denied, was Keating, the prior of Kilmainham, who had become particularly obnoxious by his zeal in the cauſe of Simnel. He was ejected from his office of conſtable of Dublin caſtle, obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, and ended a life of contention in the moſt abject poverty.

The earl of Kildare, continued lord-deputy, was left to purſue the uſual courſe of adminiſtration, and to repel the Iriſh invaders, whoſe outrages had increaſed during the late commotions. But a general pardon could not at once allay the jealouſies and animoſities of rival lords. The few who boaſted of their attachment to the throne in a time of general revolt, rated their own ſervices and ſuffering at the higheſt value, inceſſantly ſolicited for favours and preferments, and repreſented to the king, that they themſelves alone, of all his Iriſh ſubjects, were worthy of the royal confidence. The primate of Armagh was particularly ſolicitous to ſupplant the earl of Kildare, and urgently repreſented the neceſſity of his being appointed chancellor, in order to controul the enormous power of the deputy. Kildare was no leſs aſſiduous in defeating theſe ſecret practices. Henry heard the ſeveral repreſentations with attention and reſerve; and though he deemed it imprudent to make at preſent any alteration in his Iriſh government, he ſummoned into England the earl of Kildare, and other lords of the greateſt conſequence. They attended him at Greenwich, where, after ſome expoſtulations, they received a confirmation of the royal grace. At a banquet to which they were invited, Simnel was appointed to officiate as a butler, to ſtrike the Iriſh lords with the more forcible impreſſion of their own folly *.

The earl of Kildare reſumed his government with full power, and exerciſed it for ſome time in peace and ſplendor, until the affairs of England again afforded new occaſion for the revival of factions. Another pretender to the crown aſſumed the name of Richard, duke of York, and was patronized by the reſtleſs ducheſs of Burgundy. It was reſolved that this adventurer alſo ſhould make his firſt appearance in Ireland, but in the mean time, Perkin Warbeck (ſo he was called) retired to Portugal, until a fair

* Ware.

fair occaſion ſhould preſent itſelf for aſſerting his pretenſions. The deſign, however, ſecretly conducted, eſcaped not the vigilance of Henry, who determined to make ſuch diſpoſitions in the Iriſh government, as he deemed beſt
A. D. 1492. ſuited to his intereſts. The earl of Kildare was removed from the adminiſtration, and Walter, the archbiſhop of Dublin, ſubſtituted in his room, as deputy to the duke of Bedford. The chief juſtice, Plunket, was raiſed to the ſtation of lord chancellor, and the baron of Portleſter, who had enjoyed the office of treaſurer for forty years, was obliged to reſign in favour of ſir James Ormond, natural ſon of that earl who had died on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Kildare, diſguſted at this abrupt removal, was ſtill more provoked at ſeeing Ormond return to Ireland, veſted with high authority, to revive the power of his rivals, the Butlers. The knight, on his part, was little careful to keep terms with the hereditary enemy of his houſe. The mutual animoſity and pride of theſe competitors burſt forth at once on the arrival of Ormond. They flew to arms, without the leaſt regard to the authority of government, and continued their petty diſſenſion to the great annoyance of the Engliſh ſubjects, as well as the encouragement of the Iriſh inſurgents.

Meanwhile, archbiſhop Walter convened a parliament, in which every tranſaction ſeems to have been calculated for the mortification of Kildare and his aſſociates. Beſide ſeveral others, an act was paſſed for the reſumption of all grants from the firſt year of Henry VI. an uſual inſtrument of faction and revenge.

A. D. 1493. Such was the ſtate of the Iriſh government, when Perkin Warbeck was ſent into this kingdom. He landed on the ſouthern coaſt, without troops or retinue, or any proviſions for exciting an inſurrection; appeared in the city of Corke in the character of Richard Platagenet who had eſcaped from the Tower, and was received and entertained by the chief magiſtrate with all the reſpect due to this young prince. He thence ſent letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, acknowledging their loyal attachment to the family of York, and intreating their aſſiſtance for the recovery of his rights. The manner in which Kildare received this invitation, though not explicit,

plicit, was at leaſt ſuſpicious. Deſmond, without reſerve, at once declared in favour of the new adventurer. But before his appearance in Ireland could produce any conſiderable effect, he was ſuddenly called into France by the preſſing applications of King Charles, who deemed him a convenient inſtrument to his purpoſe of forcing Henry to a peace *.

The ſhort reſidence of Warbeck in Ireland ſerved to inflame the violence of faction, to excite jealouſies, and to afford occaſion for intereſted reports and accuſations at the court of England. The Engliſh Pale had been ſeverely viſited by the malady called the ſweating-ſickneſs, which was ſucceeded by a famine; but theſe calamities could not ſuſpend the faction and rivalſhip of the great lords. Perpetual complaints were made to Henry by every party, of the dangerous practices and deſigns of their competitors. The king, harraſſed by repeated accounts of the diſorders ſubſiſting among his ſubjects in Ireland, ſuddenly diſpatched a mandate to the archbiſhop of Dublin to repair to England, and lay before him a full detail of all the circumſtances of his Iriſh government. Preſton, lord Gormanſtown, was appointed lord-deputy in his room; and though his powers were more limited than thoſe uſually annexed to his office, yet, as he was well known to be a partizan of the Geraldines, his advancement proved offenſive to their opponents. Kildare, and thoſe lords who had formerly been united with him, chearfully concurred in ſupport of the new deputy, and aſſociated for the protection of the Engliſh borders; but their antagoniſts were violent in oppoſition to Gormanſton. He convened a parliament at Drogheda: they refuſed obedience to its ſtatutes; alledging, that it had been aſſembled irregularly, and that the deputy had no power by his commiſſion to aſſemble a parliament.

Meanwhile, archbiſhop Walter attended on the king, by whom he was favourably received. The earl of Kildare, in particular, dreaded the effect of his repreſentations. To guard againſt them, he formed the reſolution to repair to the court of England; where he pathetically repreſented to the king the indefatigable malice of his enemies, in abuſing the royal confidence with falſe accuſations

* Ware.

ſations of his conduct. But Henry was by this time fully prepoſſeſſed againſt the earl. This nobleman was given to underſtand, that it was in Ireland where ſuch matters could be accurately examined: that his defence muſt be made in that kingdom; and for this purpoſe he was to attend a new lord-deputy, ſir Edward Poynings, now preparing to embark.

CHAP. III.

Tranſactions from the Year 1494 *to* 1583.

A. D. 1494. THE arrival of the new vicegerent was an event attended with great expectation. He was accompanied to his government with a force conſiſting of about a thouſand men; and the offices of lord-chancellor and treaſurer were given to Engliſhmen. The former judges were alſo removed, and Engliſh lawyers of good repute appointed in their room. The plan of the new lord-deputy was nothing leſs than that of a general reformation of the ſtate. But ſome commotions in the northern province obliged him to employ his military force before he could proceed to any important meaſure of civil government. An Iriſh chieftain, called O'Hanlon, had proved remarkably turbulent during all the late diſturbances. Though vigorouſly oppoſed by Kildare, his incurſions were continued, and had grown more formidable by the concurrence of ſome other petty leaders of the northern Iriſh. Poynings marched out to oppoſe him, and was attended not only by ſir James Ormond, but the earl of Kildare, who, in order to regain the royal favour, affected the moſt zealous attachment to the Engliſh intereſt. His rivals, however, watched his conduct with an invidious aſſiduity; and the earl incautiouſly afforded them ſome pretence for inflaming the ſuſpicions already entertained of him by Poynings. The latter was aſſured that Kildare laboured inceſſantly to oppoſe him, and had actually entered into a conſpiracy with O'Hanlon, for his aſſaſſination. Poynings was alarmed; and, to confirm his fears, intelligence was received that lord James, brother to Kildare, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Carlow, in defiance of the royal authority. The earl was arreſted

and

and confined. The deputy, thinking it dangerous to remain in his preſent ſituation, haſtily concluded a treaty with the Iriſh inſurgents; and marching to Carlow, laid ſiege to the caſtle, which capitulated in a few days *.

Poynings ſummoned a parliament to meet at Drogheda, the principle intention of which was to relieve the ſubjects from oppreſſion, and diminiſh the enormous influence of the great lords. The ſtatutes enacted by this aſſembly had a permanent and remarkable effect on the political conſtitution of Ireland. The moſt famous of theſe is the act which ſtill bears his name, and which eſtabliſhed the authority of the Engliſh government in Ireland; enjoining that no bill ſhall be introduced into the Iriſh parliament, unleſs it previouſly received the ſanction of the council in England.

The ſeverity expreſſed in this parliament by the deputy againſt the earl of Kildare and his adherents, ſeems principally to be imputed to the ſecret malice of his rivals, though his conduct had not been entirely free from ſuſpicion or offence. Poynings declined to take cognizance of the accuſations urged againſt the earl, but ſent him priſoner to Henry. The deputy now returned in a kind of triumph to England, and for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices received the honour of the Garter. The government of Ireland was entruſted to the biſhop of Bangor, who committed the defence of the Pale to Nugent, baron of Delvin; proceeding himſelf in the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration, while the Iriſh and degenerate Engliſh ſepts were buſied in their conteſts with each other †.

Kildare was at length admitted to confront his accuſers in the king's preſence; when Henry found, inſtead of a ſubtle and dangerous conſpirator, a man of genuine ſimplicity. Among other accuſations it was urged, that the earl, in one of his lawleſs excurſions, had ſacrilegiouſly burned the church of Caſhel to the ground. "Spare your evidence (ſaid Kildare), I did ſet fire to the church, for I thought the biſhop had been in it." This undeſigning manner of pleading the aggravation, in excuſe of his offence, helped to caſt upon the proſecutors an air of ridicule, not unfavourable to the priſoner. They cloſed their charge with a warm and paſſionate declaration, that all

* Ware. † MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Ireland could not govern this earl. "Well! (replied Henry) this earl ſhall then govern all Ireland." The triumph of Kildare was now complete. He was reſtored to his eſtate and honours, and conſulted about the affairs of his country.

The office of chief governor of Ireland was not now of ſo great conſequence, or ſo formidable to the crown as in former times; the vicegerent could no longer ſummon an Iriſh parliament at his pleaſure, and dictate ſuch laws as might give ſanction to his factious purpoſes. The king, therefore, had leſs ſcruple in veſting the earl of Kildare with the powers of government, as deputy to his ſon Henry; though he is ſaid to have detained the earl's ſon in London as a ſecurity for his father's conduct.

Kildare entered upon his government with a ſolicitude to ſupport the intereſts of the crown. He purſued the inſurgents with implacable ſeverity, and drove them from every fort which they had ſeized. In a ſhort time after he completely reduced the degenerate Engliſh clans of Connaught and Munſter; by which the Pale was ſecured from the danger of turbulent inſurgents, though the number of faithful ſubjects was by no means increaſed. The great buſineſs of this lord's adminiſtration was now to compoſe the accidental diſorders which aroſe in particular diſtricts, and to fortify the Engliſh ſettlements, by repairing and erecting caſtles.

From this reign may be dated the revival of the Engliſh power in Ireland, which, from the Scottiſh war in the time of Edward II. had gradually declined to a ſtate of extreme weakneſs. The authority of the crown, which had at laſt been inſulted, even in the Engliſh territory, was reſtored and confirmed by the vigorous ſuppreſſion of the late commotions. The ignominious tribute, for a long time paid to ſeveral Iriſh chieftains, was not withdrawn, but the hoſtilities of ſuch chieftains were oppoſed and chaſtiſed.

A. D. 1509. On the acceſſion of Henry VIII. the earl of Kildare was continued in the government of Ireland, and acted with his uſual vigour in repelling inſurgents, quieting commotions, and deciding conteſts in different quarters of the iſland. He was aſſiſtant to ſome of the family of O'Nial, in ſubduing their northern rivals; and, in return, theſe

theſe chieftains and their adherents united with him in an expedition into Munſter, where he was to oppoſe a confederacy formed againſt him by O'Brien, ſome of the family of Deſmond, and a degenerate ſept of de Burgo. Thoſe exploits, which are far too minute to be detailed, were yet deemed of ſuch conſequence, that the ſudden ſickneſs and death of this earl, in the year 1513, cauſed a general conſternation among the friends, and a dangerous commotion among the enemies of the Engliſh government. The army which he was preparing to employ, ſuddenly diſperſed in confuſion, and the Engliſh intereſt appeared to be utterly abandoned. In this critical emergency the council and nobles elected Gerald, ſon to the late earl, lord-deputy; a nomination afterwards approved and confirmed in England. The name of Kildare ſerved to collect the ſcattered troops, and to check the ſudden outrages of the enemy. He marched out to the infeſted quarters, routed the inſurgents, and purſued them with conſiderable execution; ſo that in one ſummer the diſorders raiſed by his father's death were compoſed.

But, ſoon after, a freſh occurrence called him again to the field. The ſuperſtitious Iriſh had been perſuaded by ſome prophecy, that the preſent time was appointed by Providence for the reſtoration of the ancient power and ſplendor, which they believed their nation to have formerly enjoyed; and with this prepoſſeſſion they became extremely tumultuous. They roſe in arms in the neighbourhood of Dublin; but, by the vigour of Kildare, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their temerity*.

This ſucceſsful progreſs, however was quickly checked by thoſe family feuds which ever ſubſiſted among the noble houſes of Ireland †. By the death of Thomas, earl of Ormond, the power and conſequence of his family devolved, with the title, on Peter, or Piers Butler, as he is called, whoſe ambition prompted him to oppoſe the preſent greatneſs of the Geraldines. Ormond was ſenſible that he could not contend with the deputy in the field, and he therefore determined to practiſe ſecretly againſt him at the court of England. For this purpoſe he endeavoured to recommend himſelf to cardinal Wolſey by every method of inſinuation; and having gained the fa-

* Ware. † Cox.

vour of that miniſter, eaſily prepoſſeſſed him againſt a rival, who took no pains to counteract this artifice. It was repeatedly inſinuated to Wolſey, that all thoſe apparent advantages which Kildare boaſted, had really been purchaſed by an alienation of the king's revenue, which had been ſcandalouſly diverted to his own emolument and that of his adherents: that his conſequence aroſe from his connexions with the enemy, with whom he maintained a traiterous correſpondence. Theſe ſuggeſtions had ſuch an effect, that Kildare was ſummoned into England, to anſwer the charges brought by his enemies; and, by the royal permiſſion, entruſted the reins of government to ſir Thomas Fitz-Gerald, of Lackagh, a knight of his own family.

Vague aſſertions, and general ſuſpicions, could not, with any appearance of juſtice, eſſentially affect him; but the purpoſe of his rivals was in a great meaſure accompliſhed, by removing him from the government of Ireland. As he could not be condemned, ſo neither was ſentence definitively pronounced in his favour; but he was detained until the king and his miniſters ſhould have leiſure to decide, whether or not he ſhould be reſtored to his ſtation. Kildare improved this interval, by marrying Elizabeth Grey, daughter to the marquis of Dorſet; an alliance which increaſed his conſequence, and determined Wolſey to act with greater circumſpection againſt him. This miniſter repreſented to the king, that his majeſty had been too long diverted from the attention due to the diſordered ſtate of Ireland; that the continual feuds and factions which ſubſiſted among his ſubjects of this country, plainly evinced the impropriety of committing his government to any perſon of the Iriſh race; that it would be prudent to ſeek an active and faithful lord of England, to whom the adminiſtration might be entruſted; ſome perſon utterly unconnected with the factions of Ireland, and indifferent to all contending parties. The advice was
A. D. 1520. fair and plauſible, whatever motives are aſſigned for it. Thomas earl of Surry, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was now created lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and ſent thither with one hundred guards, and one thouſand forces of inferior rank *.

By

* Ware. Cox.

By this appointment, it is ſaid, that the cardinal gained a double advantage, that of removing from court a favourite, by whom he had been particularly offended, and whoſe influence he began to dread, and that of preventing Kildare, againſt whom alſo he had conceived unfavourable prejudices, from being reſtored to his government.

The earl of Surry proceeded to a ſpirited and vigorous adminiſtration of his government, which was one continued courſe of military ſervice, except a ſhort interval of holding a parliament. He reconciled contending lords, and repelled inſurgents. But ſuch exploits are ſo little diverſified, and are ſo deſtitute of ſtriking incidents, that they admit not of a circumſtantial detail. To the popular virtues of moderation, juſtice, and magnificence, he added a zealous ſolicitude for the intereſts of his ſovereign, and a vigilant attention to the circumſtances of the country in which he was ſtationed. After a government of two years, he returned to England with the prayers and acclamations of all the Iriſh ſubjects. At his departure he received orders to commit the government to his chief friend and counſellor, Pierce, earl of Ormond, the known rival and inveterate enemy of Kildare.

This lord, who had not the ſame extenſive views of policy with his predeceſſor, deemed it ſufficient to make the beſt proviſion in his power for the ſecurity of the Pale; and as a conſiderable body of forces had been withdrawn on the departure of Surry, he ſolicited from the court of England a few ſhips of war to be ſtationed in the Channel, ſo as to intimidate the ſuſpected Iriſh, and to prevent the Scottiſh rovers from making a deſcent upon Ireland, and infeſting the Engliſh ſettlements. But he was more indebted for the ſecurity of his government to the diſſenſions which raged among the great lords of the Iriſh race, than to any proviſions which he could make. Several of thoſe native lords have made peace in form with the king's lieutenant; but it required a vigorous and reſpectable government to bring them even to the appearance of making peace with each other.

Kildare, on his return to Ireland, though he at firſt affected to co-operate with the deputy, yet practiſed ſecretly to raiſe a factious oppoſition to government, vilified the adminiſtration, and, in a ſhort time, avowed his enmity

to

to Ormond. At length the latter was recalled, and the former again appointed governor.

Kildare had not long enjoyed the vicegerency, when the ambition of his kinſman Deſmond threatened to involve him in diſgrace and danger. The lord of this name continued, like his predeceſſors, to live in the rude magnificence of his vaſt poſſeſſions, claiming the privilege of abſenting himſelf from parliament, and never, on any ſummons, being obliged to come within the walls of a fortified town. The little allegiance which he ſtill retained to the crown might be eaſily corrupted, and an opportunity ſoon offered of putting it to a deciſive trial. Henry having been ſeduced by the emperor to declare war againſt France, the French king, in order to embarraſs his operations, determined to raiſe ſome commotions in Ireland: for this purpoſe he opened a negociation with the earl of Deſmond, whoſe vanity he flattered by affecting to regard him as an independent prince. Their treaty was conducted on each ſide with all the forms of ſovereign dignity, and they mutually agreed to an offenſive and defenſive alliance with each other. The diſcovery of this tranſaction enraged Henry to the utmoſt againſt his Iriſh vaſſal. Orders were immediately diſpatched to the lord-deputy to ſeize the earl of Deſmond; but theſe orders, from a partiality to his kinſman, the former ſcrupled not to evade. Kildare, indeed, led his forces into Munſter; A.D. 1524. Deſmond retired, and was not purſued. The Iriſh leaders of the North grew reſtleſs and turbulent. Kildare was more ſolicitous to eſpouſe the cauſe of his friend and kinſman Con O'Nial, than to make Deſmond priſoner. His enemies, who ſtrictly watched his motions, accuſed him at the court of London, of having formed traiterous connections with the rebellious Iriſh, and ſecretly fomenting their inſurrections. Such was the effect of theſe repreſentations, that Kildare was called into England to anſwer the charges preferred againſt him; and, after a long confinement, with difficulty releaſed by the interpoſition of his Engliſh friends, of whom a reſpectable number became ſureties for his future allegiance.

Ireland, during this interval, was expoſed to all the evils of ſhort-lived, feeble, and diſorderly adminiſtrations. The baron of Delvin, who firſt took the direc-

tion

tion of affairs, was deſpiſed and invaded by the Iriſh; and, at a parley, to which he was ſeduced by O'Connor, chieftain of O'Fally, was ſeized and confined in priſon. Piers, earl of Oſſory, was ſubſtituted in his place, by authority of the council, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known; but neither his ſtrength nor influence was ſufficient to procure the enlargement of lord Delvin. Kildare, though at a diſtance, harraſſed him with an implacable enmity: his daughter, wife to lord Slane, a lady of an active and enterpriſing ſpirit, was diſpatched from England to raiſe a faction againſt Oſſory, under pretence of ſupporting the intereſts of her houſe. She ſoon contrived to involve him in different conteſts with her partizans of the Iriſh race. The whole kingdom ſeemed on the point of conſummate anarchy; nor were the foreign enemies of Henry inattentive to foment theſe diſorders, or to take advantage of the preſent diſpoſitions of the leading chieftains of Ireland.

The ſtate of Ireland received no conſiderable alteration from the appointment of ſir William Skeffington, an Engliſh knight, to the government, as deputy to the duke of Richmond, the king's natural ſon, who was created lord-lieutenant. He was inſtructed to regard the earl of Kildare, now reſtored to the height of favour, as his chief director, but ſtill with a cautious and conciliating management, to prevent all feuds between the Geraldines and the family of Butler.

Kildare at firſt affected the moſt cordial zeal in co-operating with this new deputy, who, by his aſſiſtance, had the credit of repelling ſome of the Iriſh inſurgents, and reducing their chieftains to ſubmiſſion. But a lord naturally proud, and accuſtomed to govern, could not long ſupport the mortification of acting an inferior part to an Engliſh knight. He ſought cauſes of complaint, and found various opportunities of diſtreſſing and oppoſing the deputy. Intelligence of the diſgrace and death of Wolſey was received by Kildare with the utmoſt joy; and the apprehenſions from his old and powerful enemy being removed, he proceeded without reſerve. He made the moſt unfavourable repreſentations of Skeffington, and his conduct, at the court of England; and, by the unceaſing aſſiduities of his emiſſaries, and the power of his friends,

friends, prevailed with the king to recall his deputy, and once more to entruſt the reins of the Iriſh government in his own hands. To preſerve an appearance of impartiality towards the great factions of the kingdom, lord Butler, ſon to the earl of Oſſory, was made lord high-treaſurer; but this appointment could have little weight in forming a balance againſt the power of Kildare, when the latter contrived, at the ſame time, to have the archbiſhop of Dublin, a favourite of cardinal Wolſey's, deprived of his office of chancellor, and the ſeals committed to his own creature, the primate of Armagh.

The exaltation of this earl ſeemed now confirmed beyond the power of oppoſition, and he uſed it without moderation or reſerve. Inſtead of the ſtate and dignity of a vicegerent, he affected the rude grandeur of an Iriſh chieftain, and ſtood at the head of a wild and rapacious multitude of followers, to the annoyance and terror of thoſe whom he was appointed to protect. Two of his daughters were given in marriage to O'Connor of O'Fally, and O'Carrol, two powerful chieftains; the laws which prohibited theſe connections were treated with ſcorn; and the adminiſtration of government was regarded no farther than as it contributed to eſtabliſh his own perſonal influence and authority. Oſſory and all his friends were treated as enemies to the ſtate; their lands invaded and ravaged without mercy; and all but the partizans of Kildare ſeemed to be excluded from protection. A wound in the head, which the deputy received by engaging in the private quarrel of one of his ſons-in-law, was thought to have diſordered his intellects, and increaſed his extravagance. The enemies of his houſe were inflamed with indignation; the officers of ſtate, and all thoſe immediately dependent on the Engliſh government, were juſtly alarmed at a conduct which threatened the utter ſubverſion of the intereſts of the crown. They reſolved, therefore, unanimouſly to lay their apprehenſions before the throne. The archbiſhop of Dublin took the lead in thoſe conſultations, and he was aſſiſted by the earl of Oſſory and ſir William Skeffington. It was determined to make the maſter of the Rolls their agent at the court of England; and to commiſſion him, in the name of the lords of the council, to lay the preſent ſtate of Ireland before the

the king, and to implore his interpoſition for its deliverance.

This application was too intereſting, and too well ſupported, to be received with indifference; and the violence of the king's temper readily fixed on the earl of Kildare as the proper object of his reſentment, even with reſpect to thoſe miſdemeanours which were not imputed to him excluſively *. He received the royal mandate to commit the government to ſome perſon for whoſe conduct he could be reſponſible, and to repair to the king without delay. The earl, conſcious of his own delinquency, laboured, by every artifice, to evade this order. He pleaded the critical ſituation of his government, and the inſurrections of the Iriſh, which rendered his abſence highly inconvenient to the king's ſervice. His wife was diſpatched into England, to prevail upon her friends to ſupport and enforce theſe allegations; but the king was inflexible, and the earl was under the neceſſity to obey. As he had but too much reaſon to dread that his own outrages on the poſſeſſions of his rivals would be ſeverely retaliated in his abſence, his firſt care was to ſupply his caſtles with arms and ammunition from the king's ſtores, without regard to the mandate, delivered in the king's name, expreſsly forbidding this meaſure; and thus he excited ſuſpicion of ſome attempt againſt the government. But a ſtep ſtill more fatal, was that of entruſting the adminiſtration, on his departure, to his ſon Thomas, a youth ſcarcely twenty-two years of age. A.D. 1534.

Lord Thomas, to the raſhneſs of youth, and a natural violence of temper, joined an inſolent contempt of the rivals of his houſe, and a boyiſh confidence in the power of the Geraldines, which he conceived that no force in Ireland could withſtand. He treated the lords of the council with a petulant haughtineſs; was obſtinate, credulous, and precipitate; and thus at once expoſed to the artifice of his enemies, and the adulation of his friends. His father, it was known, had been committed to the Tower; but at a time when no regular intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the two kingdoms, any certain intelligence was difficult to be obtained. Conjectures were idly formed, and rumours ſpread abroad, that the earl had been

* Stanih.

been executed, and that his whole family was threatened with the royal vengeance. The partizans of the houſe of Butler, and the dependents of Skeffington, received theſe reports with eagerneſs, and conveyed them to their aſſociates with the utmoſt exultation. Some of their letters, on this occaſion, were caſually intercepted, and brought to the lord deputy, who was thus confirmed in the perſuaſion that his father had been put to death. He conſulted with his Iriſh aſſociates on what meaſures to purſue. They adviſed him to revenge the injuries of his family; promiſed him their aſſiſtance; and lord Thomas was at once embarked into a deſperate rebellion *.

Attended by a body of one hundred and forty well armed cavalry, he entered the city of Dublin; and, with all his rude and diſorderly followers, ruſhed tumultuouſly into the council, then aſſembled in St. Mary's Abbey. The lords were alarmed; but the deputy ſoon quieted their apprehenſions. He aſſured them, that, however injuriouſly his family had been treated, and though he was now obliged to take arms for avenging his father's death, and defending himſelf from his enemies, he yet determined to proceed with the generoſity of a ſoldier, and to denounce a fair and open war: that he reſigned the ſword of ſtate, and was reſolved to depend upon his own force. He warned them to avoid him as an enemy; for that he was no longer the deputy of king Henry, but his mortal foe.

Thoſe among the lords who had no previous intimation of this wild deſign, were aſtoniſhed at his conduct. Cromer, the primate and chancellor, had been informed of it; and, with great compoſure, took the young lord by the hand, and requeſted to be heard in a few words. He pathetically repreſented the raſhneſs, weakneſs, and iniquity, of his preſent attempt, grounded on uncertain rumour, and utterly unwarrantable, even if this rumour ſhould be confirmed. After repreſenting to him, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the miſery, both perſonal and national, which muſt be the conſequence of purſuing ſuch conduct, he conjured him to deſiſt, before his offence ſhould become too enormous for the royal clemency to pardon.

His ſpeech, delivered with emotion, and in a language not

* Cox.

not underſtood by the Iriſh followers of lord Thomas, was received with emotions of congratulation, and interpreted according to their own rude ideas. They conceived that the prelate encouraged him in his enterpriſe, and was pronouncing an encomium on the brave and noble youth. One of their native bards, who attended in his train, inſtantly began to chant out the praiſes of young Thomas in his country-rhimes; extolling his greatneſs, chiding his delay, and calling him to take immediate revenge in the field for the injuries of his family. The effuſions of an ignorant and heated rhapſodiſt had unhappily a greater influence than the ſage counſels of the prelate; and the young Geraldine ruſhed forth at the head of his Iriſh train. As the citizens of Dublin were not prepared to oppoſe him, and had been lately weakened by the plague, he hovered about the city unmoleſted, collecting his followers, and concerting his operations. In the mean time, the Iriſh ſepts readily joining his ſtandard, he was ſoon enabled to traverſe the pale with his tumultuary army, exacting of the inhabitants an oath of fidelity, and ſeizing and impriſoning thoſe who refuſed to concur in his rebellion. During theſe tranſactions, his emiſſaries were diſpatched both to the pope and the emperor, from a vain expectation of receiving foreign ſuccours.

The devaſtation of that diſtrict called Fingal, the granary of Dublin, at length obliged the citizens to make ſome effort to oppoſe this inſurrection. A ſkirmiſh, in which the inſurgents proved ſucceſsful, increaſed their inſolence. Lord Thomas appeared before the gates of Dublin, threatened to deſtroy the whole city with fire and ſword, unleſs the inhabitants ſhould permit him, without moleſtation, to lay ſiege to the caſtle, whither the lords and officers of ſtate had fled for ſhelter. The conſtable collected his ſtores and proviſions from the city; and, relying upon his ſtrength, conſented, that the citizens ſhould ſave their habitations from the havock of a barbarous army, by treating with lord Thomas upon his own terms. Alan, archbiſhop of Dublin, who was alſo in the caſtle, more timorous, and reflecting that he was particularly obnoxious to the rebels, as having been the chief inſtrument in the diſgrace of the earl of Kildare, determined

termined to ſeek refuge in England. A veſſel was provided with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and the prelate embarked; but, whether by the perfidy or unſkilfulneſs of the pilot (a Fitz-Gerald), the ſhip was ſtranded near Clontarf, and Alan ſoon diſcovered by the enemy in an adjacent village. They dragged him from his bed in barbarous triumph, and led him, naked as he was, to their captain. The prelate fell on his knees, imploring mercy for a Chriſtian and a churchman. The young lord, without deigning to reply, turned his horſe, and exclaimed in the Iriſh language, "Away with the churl!" His ſavage partizans, interpreting the expreſſion in the moſt malignant ſenſe, while the wretched ſuppliant ſtill lifted up his hand for mercy, aſſailed, and hewed him to pieces *.

Notwithſtanding the deadly feuds which had ſubſiſted between the family of lord Thomas and the houſe of Butler, he now ſent a meſſenger to the earl of Oſſory, reminding him of their connection and affinity, entreating that all former animoſities ſhould be buried in oblivion, and inviting him to unite with his countrymen in the common cauſe of liberty, and to ſhare the glory of reſcuing the iſland from a foreign yoke. He even propoſed, in expreſs terms, that Ireland, now to be reduced by their united powers, ſhould be divided between them. But the propoſal was received with indignation: and Thomas, having reſolved to chaſtiſe the earl, committed the ſiege of Dublin to a detachment of his adherents, and marched with his main body into the demeſnes of Oſſory. The whole princely extent of the earl's lands were at once expoſed to the ravages of a triumphant enemy, who rioted uncontrouled, without any immediate object but that of outrage and plunder.

But thoſe ravagers were ſoon recalled by intelligence received from Dublin †. One of the magiſtrates had been diſpatched to the court of England, to inform the king of the rebellion raiſed by young Fitz-Gerald, and to requeſt ſuch ſuccours as might enable his loyal ſubjects to reſtore tranquillity to the ſtate. The meſſenger was now returned with letters from Henry, aſſuring them of an immediate and effectual ſupport. The inhabitants, animated by this intelligence, were readily perſuaded that no

* Ware. † Ibid.

no faith or truce was to be kept with traitors. They ſuddenly ſhut their gates; and the party which had by compact been permitted to aſſail the caſtle, was cooped up, and deſtined to deſtruction. A few of them contrived, in the firſt confuſion, to plunge into the river, and eſcape by ſwimming; but the greater part was overpowered and made priſoners. Lord Thomas affected the utmoſt indignation at this treachery of the citizens, threatened the ſevereſt vengeance, and, having ſummoned all his adherents of the Pale to attend him, he appeared before the walls of Dublin, and demanded that his men ſhould be releaſed. This being peremptorily refuſed, he formed the ſiege, for which his diſordered numbers had neither ſufficient ſkill nor neceſſary proviſions.

The repeated ill ſucceſs of his moſt deſperate aſſaults rendered his cauſe every day more deſperate. Juſt at the moment when the furious Iriſh, in a fit of deſperation, had ſet fire to one of the gates, the citizens ruſhed out, exclaiming that the royal army was arrived, diſperſed and purſued them with conſiderable ſlaughter, and had well nigh taken their leader. The pride of lord Thomas was now ſeverely mortified; he began to ſee the vanity of his dreams of conqueſt and dominion, and the dangerous iſſue of the meaſures into which he had been precipitated. He propoſed to raiſe the ſiege, provided that his men were releaſed; that the citizens ſhould ſupply him with money, ammunition, and artillery; and that they ſhould uſe their good offices with the king to grant full pardon to him and his confederates. The demand of money and ſtores was rejected with diſdain; but as he had ſeized a number of the children of the citizens, who had been removed from Dublin during the plague, they conſented that his ſoldiers ſhould be exchanged for theſe. They alſo promiſed to uſe their beſt offices with the king that he might obtain pardon. Lord Thomas readily accepted theſe conditions, and drew off his army.

But the deluſion of this infatuated youth was not yet evaporated. His next attempt was to oppoſe the forces ſent from England, the tranſports with which now appeared in the harbour. By going to review the ſtate of his garriſon at Maynooth, the ſtrongeſt of his caſtles, he had already ſuffered one detachment to make good their landing

landing on the northern ſhore; but before they had gained the city, he encountered them vigorouſly, and was received with equal bravery. The conteſt ended in the total defeat of the Engliſh, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their commander, who had the honour of encountering and wounding lord Thomas. The whole detachment was either killed or made priſoners. The rebels, elevated with ſucceſs, planted their artillery upon the promontory of Howth, whence they cannonaded the veſſels at anchor, and others advancing towards the ſhore with freſh ſupplies. But ſir William Brereton, a brave Engliſh knight, with about five hundred men, contrived to land on the oppoſite ſhore, and entered the city. He was followed by ſir William Skeffington, appointed lord-deputy, with another troop, and ſeveral gallant officers, ſent by the king to aſſiſt him. The public rejoicings in the city announced the arrival of their expected ſuccours; and lord Thomas had now no other reſource than that of a ſpeedy retreat into Connaught, to practiſe with the Iriſh chieftains, and, if poſſible, to procure ſuch a force as might enable him to meet the new governor in the field.

Neither the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, nor the temper of the new governor, favoured a vigorous proſecution of the war. He marched as far as Drogheda, from an apprehenſion that lord Thomas intended to inveſt this city; and finding that he had retired into the Weſt, returned to the ſeat of government. In the enſuing ſpring a reſolution was formed to inveſt the caſtle of Maynooth, and this enterpriſe was entruſted to the conduct of ſir William Brereton. Fourteen days were waſted without the beſiegers being able to make any impreſſion, and there ſeemed to be no proſpect of carrying the place, when the caſtle was betrayed by one of the garriſon for a ſtipulated reward.

Meanwhile young Geraldine led a tumultuary army from the provinces of Ulſter and Connaught to the relief of his caſtle: but no ſooner were they informed of its being taken, than they deſerted in great numbers. With the remainder of his army lord Thomas ſtill ventured to ſeek the deputy in the field. One hundred and forty of his gallowglaſſes had the misfortune to be intercepted and made

made priſoners: and as intelligence was received that the rebels advanced to give battle, Skeffington, with a barbarous precaution, ordered theſe unhappy men to be ſlaughtered; an order ſo effectually executed, that only one of the number eſcaped the carnage. This cruel and premature meaſure was the more blameable, as the event ſhowed it to be unneceſſary; for the Iriſh, who had not before abandoned lord Thomas, ſhrunk at the firſt diſcharge of the Engliſh artillery *.

From a daring rebel, at the head of a formidable army, the unhappy young lord now found himſelf reduced by his folly to a wretched outlaw, attended only by a few partizans of his family; ſubſiſtence, and not the thirſt of dominion, being now the object of his predatory excurſions. Driven through various ſcenes of wretchedneſs, he at length made his eſcape into Munſter, where it ſeems not improbable that he conceived ſome hopes of aſſiſtance from his kinſman of the houſe of Deſmond. But in this he was diſappointed, and was ſoon after followed into Munſter by lord Leonard Grey, one of the moſt active and warlike attendants on the lord-deputy. After ſome inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, without any deciſive advantage on either ſide, overtures of a treaty were propoſed by the Engliſh, and readily accepted by Fitz-Gerald, who, being now abandoned by thoſe on whom he chiefly relied, had no other reſource but ſubmiſſion. It is ſaid that he ſtipulated expreſsly for the ſecurity of his perſon; that he received the lord-deputy's faithful promiſe of a pardon; and that their covenants were ratified by a ſolemn participation of the ſacrament. However this may be, he certainly received ſuch aſſurances of favour, at leaſt of a powerful recommendation to the king, that he conſented to diſmiſs his troops, and to attend lord Grey to Dublin.

The ſuppreſſing of this rebellion, and receiving the ſubmiſſions of O'Nial and O'Connor, cloſed the adminiſtration of Skeffington, who in theſe tranſactions ſeems to have had no great perſonal merit. On his death, which happened near Dublin, lord Grey was choſen deputy by the council, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known; and their nomination was ſoon after confirmed by the king.

Meanwhile lord Thomas, the unhappy author of the late

* Ware.

late diſorders, was ſent into England, and prepared to caſt himſelf at the king's feet, in full confidence of pardon. But whatever were the promiſes of the Iriſh deputy, or however favourable the repreſentation of the Iriſh council, neither the violence of Henry's temper, nor the impreſſions which he had received from the enemies of Fitz-Gerald, ſeemed to afford much hope of mercy. The young lord was arreſted on his way to Windſor, and conveyed to the Tower. He had now the ſevere mortification of diſcovering that he had been driven to all his outrages by falſe rumours. He found that his father was not put to death, but had lived to hear of the rebellion of his ſon, and ſunk under the ſevere affliction which this intelligence had occaſioned him. He was for a while left to the tormenting ſenſe of his own folly; while the king affected to conſider the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion as a new conqueſt of Ireland; and propoſed it as a queſtion, to be debated in his council, whether he had now acquired a right to ſeize at once on all the eſtates, ſpiritual as well as temporal, of this kingdom: but above all, he breathed the moſt furious revenge againſt the whole lineage of Kildare. The new lord-deputy received orders to ſeize five uncles of lord Thomas's, and to ſend them priſoners to London. Of theſe three were known to have entirely diſapproved and oppoſed the inſurrection of their nephew; and all of them had reaſon to expect impunity from the treaty made with the rebels. But this confidence proved fatal to their cauſe. They accepted the invitation of lord Grey to a banquet, where, after being inſidiouſly entertained, with all the appearance of amity, they were made priſoners. Being then conveyed to London, they, with their nephew, were condemned, and ſuffered the puniſhment of high-treaſon *. The king's vengeance purſued even lord Thomas's brother, a youth of only twelve years of age; but happily, by the vigilance of his guardians, he was ſecreted and conveyed to his aunt, the widow of Mac Arthy, the Iriſh chieftain of South Munſter. This lady, ſolicitous to preſerve the remaining hope of her family, conſented to a ſecond marriage with another chieftain, named O'Donnel, on the expreſs condition that he ſhould protect her nephew: but being ſoon convinced of the inſincerity

* Cox.

cerity of her husband, who sought to recommend himself to the English government by delivering up this youth, she conveyed him into France, where the king entertained him; and when Henry had the meanness to demand him as a rebel subject, favoured his escape to Flanders. The like demand was made to the emperor, when this young lord had escaped to his court, but with like success. He was permitted to seek the protection of cardinal Pole, who, in defiance of his declared enemy, king Henry, received Fitz-Gerald as his kinsman, educated him suitably to his birth, and, by his favour and support, preserved him to regain the honours of the family of Kildare.

During the course of these events, the doctrines of Luther had made an amazing progress, and Henry, having successfully prosecuted his scheme of reformation in England, resolved to extend it into Ireland; but the task was found more difficult than was at first suspected *. This was not a country for those circumstances to operate, which favoured the first reformers in other parts of Europe. A people not connected by one and the same system of policy, harrassed by a perpetual succession of petty wars, distracted by mutual jealousy, and living in continual alarm, could have little leisure for speculation, and little disposition for those enquiries, which were pursued with such avidity in countries more composed. And among the fatal consequences of excluding the old natives from the Pale of the English law, blindness and bigotry proved the natural concomitants of a disquieted, uncivilized, and dissolute course of living. In those dioceses where law and civilization were more prevalent, the prelates found it impossible to extend their pastoral care or jurisdiction to the districts occupied by the old natives. The Irish clergy, when summoned to obey their ordinary, were refractory and contumacious, and were excluded from the assemblies, where they claimed a right to be present as assessors and coadjutors. In the districts more remote from the seat of English government, where public disorder chiefly raged, the appointment of prelates and pastors was sometimes totally neglected. Bishops intruded surreptitiously, or seized the sees by violence, were little known, reverenced, or obeyed; sometimes enjoyed

* Usher. Ware.

only an empty title; and ſometimes were driven by the public commotions to the diſcharge of ſome inferior paſtoral function in places of retirement and ſecurity. Prelates of the more eminent dioceſes ſlept in monaſtic tranquillity, while all Europe beſides reſounded with the tumult of theological diſpute.

A clergy without diſcipline or knowledge, and a laity without inſtruction, were, in proportion to their ignorance, abjectly attached to the papal authority. In Ireland, alſo, a particular prejudice operated in favour of the Romiſh church. This country had been for ages conſidered, and induſtriouſly repreſented, as a fief of the pope's, in right of the church of St. Peter. By virtue of this imaginary right, the ſeniority of the kingdom had been conferred on Henry II. and the Iriſh parliament had occaſionally recognized this to be the only legitimate foundation of the authority of the Engliſh crown. It was, therefore, accounted prophane to deny the authority of the pope in his own acknowledged inheritance.

Commiſſioners were ſent over into Ireland by Henry to confer with the clergy and nobility, and to procure a general acknowledgement of the king's ſupremacy; but no ſooner had they explained their inſtructions, than Cromar, primate of Armagh, an Engliſhman, and who had ſome time held the office of chancellor, openly declared againſt ſo impious a deſign. He ſummoned the ſuffragans and clergy of the province, exhorted them to adhere inviolably to the apoſtolic chair, and denounced a tremendous curſe againſt all who ſhould ſacrilegiouſly acknowledge the king's ſupremacy *.

This ſpirited oppoſition of the moſt eminent among the Iriſh prelates, enlivened the zeal of all who adhered to the ſee of Rome. The king's commiſſion was treated with neglect, if not contempt; and his vicar, lord Cromwell, on account of the meanneſs of his birth, became a ſubject of popular ridicule. To carry the king's meaſures into effect, it was deemed adviſable to aſſemble immediately an Iriſh parliament, which, like the Engliſh legiſlature, might by law enforce a general acknowledgement of the king's ſupremacy. A parliament was accordingly convened at Dublin. Whether the affairs of England gave the king

A.D. 1536.

no

* Carte.

no leiſure to attend minutely to the laws to be paſſed in this aſſembly, or whether the apprehenſion of ſome new commotions in Ireland, on account of religion, determined him to cut off all delay, the previous certification and tranſmiſſion of bills agreeably to the law of Poynings, were, on this occaſion, omitted, and the law declared to be ſuſpended by aſſent of the king.

Having firſt paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late earl of Kildare, and the aſſociates of his rebellious ſon, they proceeded even to adjuſt the right of ſucceſſion to the crown of England, and lordſhip of Ireland. They pronounced the marriage of the king with Catharine of Arragon to be null and void; they declare the inheritance of the crown to be in the king, and his heirs by queen Anne; pronounce it high treaſon to oppoſe this ſucceſſion; miſpriſion of treaſon to ſlander it; and appoint an oath of allegiance to be taken for the eſtabliſhment of it, under the penalties of miſpriſion of treaſon. This act had ſcarcely been paſſed, when intelligence arrived of the condemnation and death of Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of the king with lady Jane Seymour. With the ſame compliance with the king's wiſhes which had been expreſſed in the Engliſh parliament, they inſtantly repealed their recent act; and, by another law, paſſed ſentence of attainder on the late queen, and all who had been accuſed as accomplices in her ſuppoſed infidelity. Both the former marriages were by this act declared null and void; the ſucceſſion now confirmed to the heirs of the king by queen Jane; and, in default of ſuch heirs, Henry was empowered to diſpoſe of the inheritance of the crown of England, and lordſhip of Ireland, by letters-patent, or by will.

With reſpect to the ſcheme of reformation, the king was declared ſupreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland; all appeals to Rome in ſpiritual cauſes were prohibited; and the Engliſh law againſt ſlandering the king, in conſequence of theſe innovations, was enacted and confirmed in Ireland. By another act, the authority of the biſhop of Rome was more ſolemnly renounced, and the abetters of it in Ireland made ſubject to premunire *.

The laws which were enacted by this parliament for the regulation of the Pale, and even which declared the right

* Ware.

of ſucceſſion to the throne, were received without oppoſition; but thoſe relative to eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction had all the violence of bigotry to encounter. The Romiſh party had collected their adherents, and were prepared for a vigorous contention. The two proctors from each dioceſe, who had uſually been ſummoned to parliament, compoſed a formidable body of eccleſiaſtics, zealous adherents of the holy ſee. They claimed to be members of the legiſlative body, and to have a full right of ſuffrage in every public queſtion. It therefore became neceſſary, before an act of ſupremacy could be propoſed, to define their rights. It was declared by a previous act, that their claim was preſumptuous and groundleſs; that they were ſummoned merely as counſellors and aſſiſtants; and that, from the firſt day of the preſent parliament, they ſhould be accepted as counſellors and aſſiſtants only, whoſe aſſent was by no means neceſſary to any parliamentary tranſaction.

But though the partizans of Rome were thus deprived of the aſſiſtance of ſo powerful a body, yet, when the act of ſupremacy came to be propoſed, lords and commons joined in expreſſing their abhorrence of the ſpiritual authority aſſumed by the king; while the miniſters, and the royal party, were equally determined in defence of it. Browne, who had been provincial of the friars of St. Auguſtine, and noted at London for the ſimplicity of his conduct, as well as for the liberality of his religious ſentiments, was lately created archbiſhop of Dublin, and proved a great abettor of the reformed doctrines in Ireland *. This prelate took the lead in ſupporting the king's ſpiritual authority. He pleaded the authority of the popes themſelves againſt the uſurpation of Rome. He declared, that he freely and conſcientiouſly accepted the king's highneſs as ſupreme in both realms, in eccleſiaſtic as well as civil affairs; and pronounced thoſe who had any difficulty in concurring with him to have no right to be treated as loyal ſubjects.

Fear ſerved to allay the violence of thoſe who could not be convinced; ſo that the partizans of Rome thought it prudent to reſerve themſelves for clandeſtinely oppoſing a law which they could not prevent from being enacted. With an ingenuity not unworthy of the ableſt diſciples

* Life of Archbiſhop Browne.

diſciples of Loyola, they deviſed a pretence for impeaching the authority of the parliament, and perſuading the people, that the offenſive laws, enacted in its firſt ſeſſions, were utterly invalid. The act for the ſuſpenſion of the law of Poynings contained a proviſion, that no ſtatutes ſhould be ordained in the preſent parliament prejudicial to the grants, liberties, cuſtoms, or commodities, of the crown, but ſuch only as ſhould be deemed expedient for "the king's honour, the increaſe of his revenue, and the common weal of his land and dominion of Ireland." The friends of Rome took advantage of this mode of expreſſion: they inſiſted, that the parliament had no power of enacting any law in which theſe ſeveral circumſtances did not all concur; and that whatever laws they ſhould enact, which were not at once conducive to the honour of the king, the advancement of his revenue, and the common weal of Ireland, muſt be in themſelves void of force and authority. But the zeal of the political caſuiſts was ſo precipitate, that, without waiting the diſſolution of this aſſembly, they propagated their objection during the prorogations of parliament; and thus gave occaſion, in the later ſeſſions, to explain the ſuppoſed ambiguity; to declare the validity of all laws of the preſent parliament, enacted for any one of thoſe purpoſes, and to denounce thoſe guilty of felony who ſhould attempt to invalidate ſuch laws.

To theſe vigorous deciſions of the legiſlature, it was at this time neceſſary to add an extraordinary vigilance and activity in the field: nor was the deputy inattentive to the tranquillity of the ſtate. During the intervals of parliament, he traverſed the province of Leinſter, and the adjacent diſtricts; and obliged the refractory or ſuſpected chieftains to renew their engagements to the Engliſh government, by formal indentures of peace and ſubmiſſion.

Meanwhile, the government was threatened with new inquietudes from religious controverſy *. Archbiſhop Browne, the great agent of the Iriſh reformation, found the utmoſt difficulty, even in the ſeat of government, to counteract the ſecret practices of Cromer and his party. Several incumbents of the dioceſe of Dublin choſe to reſign their benefices, rather than acknowledge the king's ſupremacy. A.D. 1538.

* Life of Archbiſhop Browne.

premacy. The clergy had ſent an emiſſary to Rome, to expreſs their devotion to the holy father, and to implore his interpoſition in ſupport of his ſpiritual authority in Ireland: and a private commiſſion had now arrived from Rome to Cromer and his aſſociates, enjoining them to perſevere boldly in ſupport of the papal authority. They were empowered to abſolve thoſe from their oath, who had been perſuaded to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy; and directed to command them, under the penalty of the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to make confeſſion of their guilt, within forty days; and to enter into new engagements to maintain the authority of the holy ſee, to oppoſe heretics, and to declare all thoſe accurſed who ſhall hold any power, eccleſiaſtical or civil, ſuperior to that of the holy mother church.

While the head of the northern clergy employed all his influence in diſcharge of this commiſſion, the emiſſaries of Rome were no leſs aſſiduous in exciting the chieftains in that quarter to take arms in defence of the ancient religion. A confederacy, headed by O'Nial, was quickly formed, for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy. This chieftain, now reſtored to his former conſequence, declared war againſt all the invaders of the papal rights, led his forces through the territories of Meath, denouncing the terrors of his vengeance againſt all the enemies of the Romiſh church, and committing various outrages without controul. But theſe champions of the church exhauſted their zeal in a vain-glorious defiance of Engliſh government, and, inſtead of proceeding in any well-concerted ſcheme of hoſtilities, they ſeemed contented with the havock they had made, and marched back with their plunder, in triumph, towards their own ſettlements*.

The lord-deputy had foreſeen the ſtorm; and, though he had not force ſufficient to prevent this invaſion, he now collected his troops, and was prepared to repel it. The citizens of Dublin and of Drogheda had zealouſly attended his ſtandard; and, at his requeſt, ſir William Brereton had been diſpatched from England, with a ſmall troop, to his aſſiſtance. So zealous was this knight for his maſter's ſervice, that, though he had the misfortune to fracture his thigh, as he was exerciſing his men on the Engliſh

* Iriſh MSS.

Engliſh ſhore, he inſiſted on being raiſed by pullies into his ſhip, rather than give the leaſt delay to the embarkation. The governor now boldly led his forces in purſuit of the inſurgents; and, at a place called Bellahoe, on the borders of Meath, came up with a detachment of the Iriſh army, advantageouſly poſted with a river in their front, and prepared to oppoſe his paſſage. Lord Leonard Grey, notwithſtanding, attacked them with great vigour, and they for ſome time made an obſtinate reſiſtance; but being ſtill preſſed by the number and valour of their aſſailants, and diſpirited by the fall of their commander, they were at length broken; and flying in diſmay, communicated the panic to the main body, which lay at ſome diſtance. In an inſtant the whole body diſperſed, and fled precipitately to their different haunts. This victory, which broke the power of the northern Iriſh, and ſtruck terror into the moſt turbulent chieftains, cloſed the ſervices of lord Leonard Grey, who was ſuddenly recalled to England, in conſequence of the intrigues of his enemies.

Among the articles of accuſation, too frivolous to be mentioned, the deputy was charged with betraying lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald into a ſubmiſſion, by a promiſe of pardon, which he was neither empowered to give nor to fulfil, and this with a clandeſtine purpoſe of deſtroying him; with favouring the eſcape of the younger brother of this family, his nephew and favourite; with oppreſſion, bribery, correſpondence with the king's enemies, and the ſacrilegious deſtruction of churches. Witneſſes were examined in Ireland to theſe ſeveral charges; and Grey, who had been committed to the Tower, was brought to his trial for high treaſon. He might have pleaded many arguments, but was unhappily poſſeſſed with dreadful apprehenſions of the king's ſeverity; and, inſtead of awaiting the iſſue of his trial, he ſought mercy by an abject reſignation of his life and honour to a prince incapable of mercy. He pleaded guilty to his indictment, and was beheaded on a ſcaffold.

The removal of this unhappy lord gave new courage to the enemies of government, and the partizans of Rome. The Iriſh chieftains of Ulſter recovered from their conſternation, and once more reſolved to draw the ſword againſt

againſt the abettors of hereſy. Theſe were joined by Murrough O'Brien, who had juſt now ſucceeded to the Iriſh ſovereignty of Thomond. They aſſembled in the weſtern part of Meath, and prepared for another deſperate irruption. But ſir William Brereton, to whom Grey had committed the reins of government on his departure, wiſely imitating the conduct of his predeceſſor, marched againſt them with ſuch alacrity as at once confounded their tumultuary numbers. They ſhrunk from their leaders, and fled into different woods, and other inacceſſible retreats.

Theſe repeated diſgraces were followed by a general deſpondency among the diſaffected Iriſh; and the cauſe of the pope became every day more deſperate. Numbers of monaſtaries were reſigned into the king's hands; and even the refractory prior of Chriſt-church, in Dublin, loſt all hopes from his ſecret practices at Rome, and ſubmitted to a change of his community into that of a dean and chapter. Several of the moſt active inſurgents now became ſolicitous to make their peace. O'Brien, in particular, ſought to atone for his precipitate revolt by a ſubmiſſion. Thoſe who had not openly engaged in rebellion, who by their conduct or ſituation were ſuſpected, vied with each other in expreſſing their attachment to the crown. Even the earl of Deſmond renounced the privileges hitherto claimed by his family; conſented to obey the writs of ſummons to parliament; abjured the authority of the pope; reſigned his favourite ſon into the hands of the lord-deputy, to be educated in the Engliſh manner; and engaged to perform the ſame ſervices to the government with the earl of Ormond, or any other of the king's moſt faithful ſubjects. The executive power now became more reſpectable than ever; and ſir Anthony Saintleger, to whom Henry had entruſted the adminiſtration, aſſumed his charge at a period which afforded the faireſt preſages of tranquillity and public happineſs. To give greater weight and luſtre to the government, it was reſolved to change the ſtyle of lord of Ireland, with which the Engliſh monarchs had hitherto been contented, to that of king. This title was accordingly conferred by the Iriſh parliament, and announced with the utmoſt joy and ſolemnity.

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The deputy had now only to concert measures for governing the new subjects. In Munster and Connaught, which had formerly been divided into shires, and inhabited in a great part by English settlers, but where the laws of England had been disused for two hundred years, the authority of government was immediately exerted*. Some ordinances were also enacted by parliament for the regulation of these districts: and though no attempts were as yet made to introduce any new system of jurisprudence into other quarters of the island, a number of commissioners was appointed for each province, who were to exercise the office of the ancient Bretons, to hear and decide occasional controversies, or, where the cause was perplexed, or the parties obstinate, to refer them to the deputy and council. It now likewise became a favourite object of the government, to break the dependencies of inferior chieftains and their septs, which had hitherto so much obstructed the progress of civilization: and the more to secure the attachment of the powerful Irish lords, they were encouraged to repair to the English court, where the king received them with every mark of distinction, and gratified several of them with new titles.

By these prudent and conciliatory methods, an unusual degree of peace, for the present, seemed to have spread through the island. Nor could the practices of Francis I. when Henry had declared war, and was preparing to invade his kingdom, seduce the Irish into a revolt. It can scarcely be doubted but that, amidst the different motives which produced the late submissions, many were actuated by terror alone, and still retained their aversion to Henry and his government, as well as their affection for the cause of Rome, which necessity only had obliged them to renounce. But whatever schemes of insurrection they might form, mutual suspicion and disunion prevented their effect, and rendered their secret discontents less dangerous. So outrageous was the spirit of loyalty at this time in Ireland, that when a son of Fitz-Patrick, baron of Upper-Ossory, had committed some treasonable offence, he was delivered up to public justice by the hands of his own father†.

The

* Davis. † Cox. Davis.

A. D. 1546. Edward VI.

The civil affairs of Ireland, during the reign of Edward VI. afford nothing for the hiſtorian beyond a jejune and frivolous catalogue of petty incidents. Sir Anthony Saintleger, whoſe adminiſtration had been honourable to himſelf, and of eſſential ſervice to the crown, was as uſual, expoſed to jealouſies and diſcontent, when, in the latter part of Henry's reign, a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities gave leiſure for factions in the ſtate. The exhauſted condition of the exchequer had prompted him to form ſome ſcheme of taxation, which Ormond and his partizans ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as illegal and oppreſſive. The conteſt grew violent; and was accompanied with ſuch circumſtances as afforded ground of mutual impeachment. At laſt, their complaints were brought before the king; and, by his mediation, quieted for the preſent; but afterwards extinguiſhed with the death of Ormond, who, either by accident, or ſome undiſcoverable treachery, was poiſoned at a feaſt in Ely-houſe, with ſixteen peſons of his retinue. Saintleger was reinſtated in his government; and, on the acceſſion of Edward VI. confirmed in it.

As the ſevere character of the late king had probably not a little contributed to the ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh, who might be inclined to revolt, on the acceſſion of an infant prince, it was deemed proper, in the Engliſh council, to ſend Bellingham, a brave and experienced commander, with ſix hundred horſe and four hundred foot, to the ſupport of the government in Ireland. The arrival of this reinforcement was extremely ſeaſonable; for O'Moore, chieftain of Leix, and O'Connor of O'Fally, on pretence of ſome injuries received, had drawn the ſword, and ſpread diſorder through the province of Leinſter. Bellingham inſtantly joined the lord-deputy; and little difficulty was found, with their united forces, in quelling the inſurrection. Bellingham received for his reward the honour of knighthood, and the government of Ireland; which he exerciſed for ſome time in a perpetual ſtate of agitation, amidſt the inteſtine diſorders of the Iriſh, and the factions formed againſt him by the great ſubjects of the old Engliſh race, who envied his power, or were diſſatisfied with his adminiſtration. At length, the clamours and inſinuations of his enemies deprived the kingdom of the ſervices of this active governor; and, on the ſudden

ſudden death of ſir Francis Bryan, his immediate ſucceſſor, Brabazon was choſen deputy by the council, and proceeded for ſome time in the uſual courſe of quieting and conciliating the chieftains, whoſe pride or injuries had prompted them to ſome hoſtile attempts. But as the Engliſh council was reſolved to extend the uſe of the reformed liturgy into Ireland, ſir Anthony Saintleger, as a man of abilities and experience, was ſent thither in the character of lord-deputy, with inſtructions to convene a parliament. Whether from the apprehenſions of a violent oppoſition to the meaſures of government, or from whatever other cauſe, the deſign of aſſembling a parliament was poſtponed, and the royal proclamation was tranſmitted, addreſſed to the clergy, and enjoining the acceptance of the new liturgy. A.D. 1550.

On the death of Cromer, archbiſhop of Armagh, Robert Waucop had been nominated to this ſee by the pope. But, in defiance of this nomination, Henry, at the inſtance of Saintleger, tranſmitted his mandate for the appointment of John Dowdal, a native of Ireland, to the primacy; a man whoſe devotion to Rome outweighed his gratitude either to the king or the deputy. He ſtood forth at the head of the northern clergy, a bold and determined oppoſer of the royal proclamation. He treated with the utmoſt ſcorn the new liturgy, by which, he ſaid, every illiterate fellow might be enabled to read maſs. Saintleger replied, that there were indeed too many illiterate prieſts, as ignorant of the language in which divine ſervice had hitherto been performed as the people who attended; but that the new liturgy was calculated for the edification of both. He was interrupted by Dowdal, who, in a ſtern and haughty tone, admoniſhed him to beware of the clergy's curſe. After ſome farther altercation, the primate aroſe, and, departing from the aſſembly, was followed by almoſt all his ſuffragans. Browne, who now remained the firſt in dignity among the prelates, declared his acceptance of the king's order; the biſhops of Meath, Kildare, Leighlin, and Limerick, concurred; and the liturgy was ſoon after read in Chriſt-church, Dublin, in the preſence of the deputy, magiſtrates, and clergy. A.D. 1551.

The hardy oppoſition of Dowdal, and his ſeceding aſſociates, naturally tended to procure them popularity, and

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to confirm the natives in their affection for the ancient worſhip. From their bold oppoſition to government, it was readily preſumed by the vulgar, that they were actuated by the conſcientious motive of ſincere perſuaſion; and, in proportion to this belief, the prejudices of the people became violent againſt the oppoſite party, whom they were taught to conſider as men void of principle, and who ſacrificed the intereſts of religion to the favour of a court. The prejudices conceived againſt the Reformation, by the Iriſh natives eſpecially, were increaſed by the conduct of thoſe who had been commiſſioned to remove the objects and inſtruments of popular ſuperſtition. Under pretence of obeying the orders of ſtate, theſe men ſeized all the moſt valuable furniture of the churches, which they expoſed to ſale without decency or reſerve *.

Sir Anthony Saintleger, to whoſe remiſſneſs, it was alledged, the oppoſition of the northern clergy had been owing, was ſuddenly recalled, and ſir James Crofts appointed to ſucceed him. The firſt care of the new deputy was, to labour, by perſuaſion and addreſs, to ſoften the oppoſition of Dowdal, who was univerſally regarded as the principal adherent of the Romiſh church. This prelate had, with an affected dignity of reſentment, retired to the abbey of St. Mary, in the ſuburbs of Dublin, taking no part in the public councils, and declining all intercourſe with his conforming brethren. Here he received a letter from the deputy, reminding him of the obedience to his ſovereign, which Chriſt himſelf had recommended by his example; expreſſing alſo a deſire to be the inſtrument of reconciling him with his brethren; and requeſting, that, for this purpoſe, he ſhould appoint a place of conference. Dowdal, who was flattered by this application into a ſtill higher opinion of his own importance, replied, with a cold civility, that he had too good reaſon to fear it would be vain for him to enter into any conference with a number of churchmen, or to hope that the differences which had occaſioned his ſeparation could be eaſily adjuſted; however, that he accepted the friendly offices of the deputy, and ſhould be glad to ſee him; but as he had lived for ſome time in a courſe of retirement, did

* Ann. Donag. MSS.

did not think it proper to appear at the governor's palace. After farther meſſages on this ſubject, it was agreed, that the primate ſhould be attended by his brethren at a propoſed conference. This was opened in the form of a theological diſpute, held in the great hall of the abbey, in which Dowdal defended the Romiſh maſs, and Staples, biſhop of Meath, was advocate for the reformed mode of worſhip; an oſtentatious method of deciſion, which had its natural and uſual effect. Each party claimed the victory; and both retired with their mutual animoſities more confirmed than ever.

The queſtion of precedence between the ſees of Armagh and Dublin had been agitated for many ages with great violence *. The deciſions of popes and councils had been pleaded by both parties, and the royal authority of England had frequently interpoſed to allay their acrimony. Whether appeals in eccleſiaſtical cauſes ſhould be brought from one dioceſe to the other, or where the final ſentence ſhould be pronounced, ſeemed of leſs moment than whether the primate of Armagh ſhould have his croſier carried erect within the juriſdiction of his rival. An oppoſition to this mark of ſuperiority had been deemed a ſufficient reaſon for declining his attendance in parliament, and produced the moſt pathetic remonſtrances againſt the violation of his dignity. The deciſion at length was, that each prelate ſhould be entitled to primatial dignity; and erect his croſier in the dioceſe of the other; but that, according to the diſtinction eſtabliſhed in England between the prelates of Canterbury and York, the archbiſhop of Dublin ſhould be contented with the title of primate of Ireland, while the archbiſhop of Armagh ſhould be ſtyled, primate of all Ireland. But Dowdal had now ſo much offended the government, and the ſervices of Browne had been ſo diſtinguiſhed, that the old arrangement of this important affair was entirely reverſed. By the king's patent, Armagh was deprived of the ſuperior title, which, with all its powers and privileges, was conferred on Browne and his ſucceſſors for ever, in the ſee of Dublin. Dowdal is ſaid to have been ſo ſtung with this mortification, that it determined him to abandon his dioceſe. It is equally probable

† Uſher MS. in Bib. Trin. Col. Dub.

probable that it ſerved to awaken him to a ſenſe of his danger; that his fears interpreted it as a prelude to farther ſeverities, and that he conſulted his ſafety by retiring to the continent. The king was taught to regard this ſtep as a renunciation of his paſtoral charge, and appointed a ſucceſſor to the ſee of Armagh. At the ſame time John Bale, the violent impugner of popery, was nominated to the ſee of Oſſory. His rigid and uncomplying ſpirit appeared immediately on his conſecration. Lockwood, dean of Chriſt-church, propoſed that the Romiſh ritual ſhould be obſerved on this occaſion. All the clergy, and even Goodacre, the new prelate of Armagh, were diſpoſed to acquieſce; but Bale obſtinately refuſed to be conſecrated according to any other but the reformed ritual, and by his firmneſs he at laſt prevailed. The learning of this prelate promiſed conſiderable ſervice to the cauſe of reformation, and even the vehemence of his temper ſeemed well ſuited to the place and circumſtances of his miſſion; but he inſulted his flock without reſerve or caution. They were not ſo much awed by the civil power as to diſſemble their reſentment; ſo that during the ſhort period of his reſidence in Ireland, he lived in a continual ſtate of alarm and perſecution. On his firſt preaching of the reformed doctrines, his clergy forſook, or oppoſed him; and ſuch was the violence of the populace againſt him, that five of his domeſtics were killed before his face; and his own life ſaved only by the vigorous interpoſition of the civil magiſtrate.

The apprehenſions of diſorder from religious controverſy, and the general attachment of the people to their ancient mode of faith and worſhip, neceſſarily induced a cautious and vigilant adminiſtration of civil affairs, ſo as to enforce the regulations lately made. And ſuch was the comparative tranquillity of the whole kingdom, that there appeared a fair proſpect of its eſtabliſhment, if the court of England could be rendered attentive to this important object, and the king's government in Ireland ſo ſtrengthened as to aboliſh the ancient Brehon juriſdiction, and extend the benefits of Engliſh law through every quarter of the iſland. Urgent repreſentations were made to the Engliſh miniſter of the neceſſity of this meaſure,

ſure, but without effect: for the intrigues of the duke of Northumberland, and the diſturbance which his ambition had occaſioned, left no leiſure to purſue a deſign which required attention and circumſpection, as well as a ſtrong military power. The inveterate adherence of the Iriſh to their ancient manners and inſtitutions, was the great obſtacle to the vicegerent, in his attempts to preſerve the inhabitants within the bounds of obedience. But the principal diſtreſs of the Engliſh government, in this reign, aroſe from the factious diſorders of the great northern family of O'Nial, who kindled in Tirowen a flame of war, which, though it ſubſided at intervals, was not extinguiſhed for many years.

Meanwhile, the death of Edward confounded all the weak efforts which had hitherto been made to introduce the reformation into Ireland. The council in England had been induced to comply with the weak and precipitate meaſures of the duke of Northumberland, and tranſmitted an order for proclaiming the lady Jane in Ireland. But this was quickly followed by a letter expreſſing their concern at the conduct which they had been obliged to purſue; declaring at the ſame time, that their ſovereign lady queen Mary had been proclaimed in London, and directing that like proclamation ſhould be made to all her loving ſubjects of Ireland. The officers of ſtate were confirmed in their ſeveral departments: Dowdal was reſtored to the dignity and office of primate of all Ireland, and inveſted with the priory of Athirdee, in conſideration of the ſpoil made in his archbiſhoprick during his abſence. A general pardon was granted to all the queen's ſubjects of Ireland: no violent changes were as yet attempted in the religious eſtabliſhment: a licence only was publiſhed, as in England, for the celebration of maſs, without penalty or compulſion; and among the royal titles, that of ſupreme head, on earth, of the church of Ireland continued to be inſerted in the acts of ſtate. A.D. 1553. Mary.

Among the acts of grace extended by Mary, in the firſt year of her reign, was the reſtoration of the family of Kildare to its honours and eſtates. O'Connor, chieftain of O'Fally, who had ſo long been impriſoned, was enabled, through the intereſt of his daughter, to procure his

his liberty; and his return to Ireland naturally alarmed the jealouſy of thoſe who had received grants of his demeſnes. They impreſſed the deputy with dreadful apprehenſions of his turbulence and diſaffection; and obliged him to renew his ſubmiſſion, and to give up his ſon a hoſtage for his peaceable behaviour *.

Sir Anthony Saintleger, who had been entruſted with the government of Ireland, when the new regulations of divine worſhip were to be eſtabliſhed, in the preceding reign, was again made the deputy under whoſe auſpices they were to be aboliſhed. The return of Dowdal was a ſignal to the reformed clergy of the approaching ſtorm. Bale of Oſſory, the violent enemy to popery, and Caſey of Limerick, fled in diſmay; but others, who might likewiſe be obnoxious, were leſs alarmed. The general pardon, granted by the queen at her coronation, in effect ſecured them from very ſevere animadverſions on their former conduct; but many of them, on renouncing the authority of Rome, had taken wives, and were thereby become obnoxious to the popiſh canons. Dowdal received a commiſſion to enquire into the offence, and in conjunction with one Walſh already nominated to the ſee of Meath, to deprive the married clergy of their benefices. Staples was firſt removed, to make way for his ſucceſſor. Browne of Dublin, whoſe former zeal and authority now rendered him an object of vengeance, Lancaſter of Kildare, and Traverſe of Leighlin, were ſucceſſively ejected; and their ſees given to eccleſiaſtics devoted to the Romiſh communion. Several of the inferior clergy was treated with like ſeverity; and Dowdal outran the zeal of government in re-eſtabliſhing the whole popiſh ſyſtem.

Religious ordinances being now ſettled, Saintleger, and his ſucceſſor Fitz-Walter, earl of Suſſex, were left at leiſure to repreſs the diſorders perpetually ariſing in different quarters of the iſland. The old Iriſh inhabitants of Leix and O'Fally, could not patiently reſign their claims and poſſeſſions to the new ſettlers. Having taken up arms, numbers of them were cut off in the field, or executed by martial law; and the whole race would have been extirpated, had not the earls of Kildare and Ormond interceded

* Uſher.

interceded with the queen, and become ſureties for the peaceable behaviour of ſome ſurvivors.

The flames of perſecution were now kindled in England, and it was determined by the court to tear up in Ireland every root of hereſy. Suſſex was directed to convene a parliament, for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing the ancient faith. On the meeting of this aſſembly, the deputy preſented it with a bull from cardinal Pole, which was read aloud by the chancellor, kneeling, and received by the lords and commons in the ſame humble poſture. This bull repreſented the ſeparation of Ireland from the ſee of Rome, as the effect of fear rather than free will: it pronounced a plenary abſolution to all the inhabitants for this heinous offence; ratifying, at the ſame time, all diſpoſitions of benefices, confirming marriages, diſpenſations, and other eccleſiaſtical proceedings, during the late ſchiſm; ſecuring the poſſeſſion of church-lands to thoſe who had been inveſted with them, but not without a gentle admonition to beware of ſacrilege, and to reſtore at leaſt what might be neceſſary for the maintenance of parſonages and vicarages; and enjoining the parliament to abrogate all laws enacted againſt the ſupremacy of Rome. A.D 1556.

The parliament began with declaring that the queen's majeſty had been born in lawful wedlock, and repealing all ſentences of divorce, and all acts paſſed in the reign of Henry, by which the ſucceſſion to the crown was eſtabliſhed to the prejudice of Mary. They repealed all acts made againſt the holy ſee, ſince the twentieth year of Henry VIII. re-eſtabliſhed the juriſdiction of the pope, and reſtored to the church the rectories, glebes, and other emoluments veſted in the crown ſince the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII. reſerving only the lands granted to the laity, which no zeal for religion could induce them to reſign, and which it was deemed highly dangerous to wreſt from them, in either of the kingdoms. But the law of this parliament, which has ſince been deemed of the greateſt importance, was that for explanation of the memorable act of Poynings. It was enacted, that no parliament ſhould be ſummoned or held in Ireland, until the chief governors and council ſhould certify the cauſes and conſiderations, and ſuch acts and ordinances as they

judged proper to be enacted; that when these were approved, and returned under the great-seal of England, a parliament should be summoned for the purpose of passing such acts, and no other. But, as events might happen during the time of parliament, necessary to be provided for, the chief governors and council were empowered and directed to certify such other causes and provisions, after the summons and meeting of parliament, as they shall think good to be enacted; which, and no others, shall be passed, in every such parliament, if agreed to by the three estates. At the same time, it was provided, that all the parliaments, and all the acts passed since the tenth year of Henry VII. should remain in the same force as if this act had not been made; and that nothing which it contained should extend to the defeating of any provisos made in the present session. Such was the act which finally determined the usage of holding parliaments and enacting laws in Ireland, and which have since continued to be the rule for the proceedings of the legislature in that kingdom.

A.D. 1558. Elizabeth.

The earl of Sussex, for some time, with a small force, retained Ireland in a greater degree of tranquillity than it had usually enjoyed; but none of its provinces were, at the accession of Elizabeth, free from disorders; and the change, which was likely again to take place in the religious establishment of the kingdom, afforded reason to expect fresh commotions. The queen having determined to propagate the reformed doctrines, commissioned Sussex to assemble a parliament, for enacting statutes similar to those already made in England. In a session of a few weeks, the whole system of Mary was reversed *. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restored to the crown, and a new oath of supremacy appointed; laws against heresy repealed; the use of the Common Prayer enforced, with such alterations as had been already made in England; and all subjects obliged to attend the public service of the church. The first fruits and twentieth parts of all church revenues were restored to the crown; and the form of electing prelates by deans and chapters, by virtue of a congé d'elire, was abolished, as attended with unnecessary delays and costs, and derogatory to the royal prerogative.

* Ware.

gative. It was provided, that the queen and her heirs, by letters-patent, or the chief governor duly authoriſed, ſhall collate to all vacant ſees; that perſons ſo collated, ſhall be conſecrated and inveſted with their rights, and that the prelates directed to conſecrate them, ſhall pay due obedience to the royal mandate, within twenty days, under the penalties of the ſtatute of premunire.

Suſſex was ſo much alarmed by the oppoſition he had experienced in this parliament, that he diſſolved it in a few weeks; and repairing to the queen, entruſted the government, by her direction, to ſir William Fitz-William. The partizans of Rome inveighed againſt the heretical queen and her impious miniſters. The clergy, who refuſed to conform, abandoned their cures; no reformed miniſters could be found to ſupply their places; the churches fell to ruin; and the people were left without any eccleſiaſtical inſtitution. Even in the places moſt civilized, the ſtatutes lately made were evaded or neglected with impunity; the people were exhorted to ſtand prepared for aſſerting their ancient religion; and were aſſured of effectual ſupport, both from the pope and the king of Spain, the latter of whom was now particularly offended at Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, the turbulent O'Nial again raiſed an inſurrection in the North; nor was he reduced to obedience without conceſſions on the ſide of the deputy. Suſſex reſigning his high ſtation, and Arnold, an Engliſh knight, his immediate ſucceſſor, being found incapable of the office, the reins of government were entruſted to ſir Henry Sydney, from whoſe adminiſtration the moſt ſanguine hopes were conceived. To aſſiſt him in the conduct of the ſtate, ſir William Saintleger was ſtationed in Munſter, with the title of lord preſident of this province, to decide controverſies, enforce the execution of the law, and maintain the public peace. The civil and eccleſiaſtical ſtate of the kingdom was in the moſt alarming diſorder; but ſtill the moſt preſſing danger was from the reſtleſs O'Nial. The excurſions of this chieftain were ſudden and violent: he razed ſeveral caſtles on the borders of the Pale; burned the church of Armagh, where the reformed worſhip was maintained by Henry Loftus, lately made archbiſhop of this ſee. He ravaged the whole

diſtrict of Fermanagh, expelled the chieftain, who had refuſed to acknowledge his ſuperiority; diſpatched his emiſſaries into Munſter to prevail upon the earl of Deſmond to unite with him; attempted to engage the Iriſh lords of Connaught in his cauſe; and, in the ſtyle of ſovereignty, ſent his ambaſſadors to Rome and Spain, to procure aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy. The fame of this dangerous inſurgent ſpread through all the iſland; and his progreſs became every where an intereſting object of attention *.

Sydney knew the moſt effectual method of reducing this turbulent chieftain, and purſued it with vigour and addreſs. He engaged firmly to the intereſts of the crown, the northern Iriſh, who had been injured by O'Nial; and thus raiſed up againſt him a number of neighbouring enemies. The chieftain was at once attacked from different quarters: in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, his forces were defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter: every diſgrace or diſappointment enraged his pride; and in the fury of vexation he treated his followers with a barbarous ſeverity. They deſerted in great numbers; and at length O'Nial, abandoned to deſpair, reſolved to throw himſelf at the feet of ſir Henry Sydney, and implore his mercy. Juſt as he prepared to execute this purpoſe, one of his favourite attendants ventured to expreſs his fears of the event. He repreſented to O'Nial, that if he muſt caſt himſelf upon the mercy of an enemy, the Scottiſh inhabitants of Ulſter were moſt likely to receive him with favour. A conſiderable party of the Scots were now encamped in Clanhuboy; who, however they might repreſent his former conduct, were ſtill enemies to the Engliſh, and thus the war might be at leaſt protracted, until he could obtain better terms, than in his preſent deſperate ſituation he had reaſon to expect. O'Nial, pleaſed with this council, determined to adopt it, and immediately proceeded to make overtures of a confederacy. By the perſuaſion of an Engliſh officer, named Piers, who practiſed upon the Scots, O'Nial's propoſal was received with ſeeming ſatisfaction; and he was invited by the commander to an entertainment, where a quarrel being purpoſely raiſed, he, with others of the gueſts, was aſſaſſinated. The intelligence

* Davis.

telligence of his death was conveyed to the deputy by Piers, who ſent his head to Dublin, and received a thouſand marks as his reward *.

By orders of the queen, the deputy ſoon after convened a parliament, among the bills tranſmitted to which were two particularly offenſive to the members of the Pale: one for granting the queen a new impoſt upon wines; the other, a bill for the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, and authoriſing all the acts to be made in the preſent parliament, without being previouſly certified and tranſmitted. The former was exclaimed againſt as an oppreſſive innovation; but the latter was oppoſed with ſtill greater clamour, as an attempt againſt the foundation of public ſecurity; to deliver up the realm at once to the mercy of a viceroy, who, with the aſſiſtance of his Engliſh burgeſſes, might enact, without controul, ſuch laws as he judged neceſſary for his own clandeſtine purpoſes. The debates on this ſubject became ſo outrageous, that the aſſembly, was adjourned in confuſion. But in a few days, the violence of contending parties was ſo far allayed, that they conſented to proceed on the public buſineſs. After a ſhort prorogation, the bill for ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law was enacted: but, to allay the jealouſies and ſuſpicions raiſed by the leaders of the oppoſition, it was afterwards provided by a particular ſtatute, that no bill ſhould ever be certified into England for the repeal or ſuſpenſion of this law, until it had been firſt agreed on, by a majority of lords and commons in the Iriſh parliament.

By the attainder of John O'Nial and his aſſociates, which alſo paſſed this parliament, more than the half of Ulſter was veſted in the queen, to be diſpoſed of, as might be deemed moſt expedient for the intereſt and ſecurity of the government †. The power and extortions of the great Iriſh chieftains were declared illegal, and the inferiors directed to acknowledge no authority but that of the Engliſh crown. But the law for aboliſhing the juriſdictions of the chieftains, in a great meaſure, defeated its own purpoſe, by excepting ſuch as ſhould be granted by letters-patent, which were found by experience to be too eaſily obtained: and though the lands of Ulſter were declared to be forfeited to the crown, yet no immediate ſeizure

* Uſher, Ware. † Davis.

ſeizure was made, the Iriſh being ſtill permitted to enjoy them without duty or acknowledgement; ſo that even the abbey-lands and houſes were poſſeſſed by the clergy, and three northern biſhoprics, thoſe of Clogher, Derry and Raphoe, were ſtill granted by the pope without controul.

The defects obſerved in the execution of thoſe laws, however, are principally to be imputed, not to any want of vigour and penetration in the governor, but to thoſe perpetual commotions, which ſhewed that Ireland had not been yet reduced to ſuch a ſtate as might admit a regular eſtabliſhment of polity. Even during the meeting of the parliament, Sydney was alarmed by dangerous commotions in the South. Sir Edmund Butler, by his conduct in the houſe of commons, had become peculiarly obnoxious to the deputy, who inveighed againſt him with more warmth than prudence, affected to aſcribe his conduct to diſloyalty, and even expreſſed ſome menaces againſt him. Butler, in the pride of power and family, was little careful to conceal his indignation; and on returning to his own country, he was ſo much impelled by reſentment, as to take up arms againſt the deputy's authority. The alarm of this inſurrection, however, was greater than the real danger. The earl of Ormond, who reſided at the court of England, laboured to quiet the apprehenſions of the queen; and even offered his own ſervices to reſtore the tranquillity of Munſter. He was accordingly ſent into Ireland for this purpoſe, and found the lord-deputy already employed againſt the inſurgents of the South. He eaſily prevailed upon ſir Edmund Butler, before he had as yet proceeded to any enormous act of rebellion, to appear before the deputy at Limerick; and though he contrived to eſcape from the durance to which he was committed, yet he and two more of the earl's brothers were again prevailed on to reſign themſelves to juſtice. A progreſs made by Sydney through the ſouthern and weſtern provinces, ſerved to encourage the well-affected, and to intimidate the enemies of government. Many of the moſt conſiderable rank in Munſter renewed their engagements of loyalty, and aſſociated againſt the rebels. In Leinſter, the enemies of government were quelled and over-awed by the queen's forces; ſo that the inſurgents of the South were left without any

ſupport

ſupport to maintain their own precipitate rebellion. To complete their confuſion, ſir John Perrot was appointed preſident of Munſter, an auſtere and vigorous officer, ſuppoſed to be the natural ſon of Henry VIII. He purſued the rebels with great fury; ſtorming their forts, and chaſing them from their haunts without reſpite; until Fitz-Maurice, with ſome of his adherents, worn out with toil and famine, were compelled to caſt themſelves at his feet. The inferior agents in this inſurrection were inſtantly condemned to all the rigours of martial law; while their leader was reſerved for the queen's diſpoſal.

From ſuppreſſing the late rebellion, Perrot proceeded vigorouſly to the complete pacification of Munſter. He held his courts in different quarters; heard and redreſſed grievances; and enforced a ſtrict execution of Engliſh law, ſo as to give an unuſual appearance of peace, induſtry, and civilization, to the whole province *. Such was the queen's confidence in the abilities of this officer, that on his firſt appointment to the command in Ireland, ſir Henry Sydney was permitted to return to England, and the government entruſted to his brother, ſir William Fitz-William.

At the time when it became a prevailing faſhion to look abroad for ſettlements, Walter Devereux, lately created earl of Eſſex, formed a ſcheme of a colony in Ireland, and offered his ſervices to the queen for reducing the diſaffected inhabitants of Clan-huboy, a diſtrict of Ulſter, and planting it with Engliſh ſettlers. It was readily agreed that he ſhould be inveſted with a moiety of the country to be thus occupied; that one thouſand two hundred forces ſhould be maintained, and fortifications raiſed, at the joint expence of the queen and earl; that the earl ſhould be commander in. chief for ſeven years, and in concurrence with the crown, continue the plantation until a thouſand Engliſh inhabitants ſhould be ſettled on each moiety. Eſſex prepared for this expedition with ſuch ſanguine hopes, that he mortgaged his eſtate to the queen for ten thouſand pounds.

Fitz-William, who naturally foreſaw that the preſence of a nobleman inveſted with an independent authority, and attended with a conſiderable force, muſt neceſſarily leſſen A.D. 1573.

* Hooker.

leſſen his conſequence, remonſtrated warmly againſt this commiſſion granted to the earl, and the unſeaſonable attempt to form a new ſettlement in Ulſter, which he repreſented to be in a ſtate of violent commotion. But the queen, to quiet the jealouſy of Fitz-William, propoſed that Eſſex ſhould receive his commiſſion from the lord-deputy of Ireland, ſo as to act apparently under his authority. This commiſſion, however, was affectedly delayed; ſo that when the earl landed with his troops, the northern natives, notwithſtanding their promiſes of aſſiſtance, quickly learned to deſpiſe their numbers; and received ſecret intimations that they might oppoſe him with impunity. Accordingly two Iriſh chieftains in that diſtrict united againſt him, and harraſſed his forces by perpetual ſkirmiſhes. It now appeared that his embarkation had been too long delayed, the ſoldiers furniſhed by the queen ill-choſen and ineffective, tardily ſupplied with proviſions, and even theſe unſound. Eſſex pathetically repreſented to the queen the diſtreſſes of his ſituation; and was on the point of being recalled, when his enemies at court found new pretences for detaining him in Ireland; to aſſiſt, as they alledged, her lord-deputy againſt the enemies of government.

Eſſex, therefore, after a ſhort excurſion againſt the earl of Deſmond returned to the proſecution of his ſchemes in Ulſter, where the turbulence and perfidiouſneſs of the Iriſh, with the ſecret practices of Leiceſter and his partizans, involved him in a ſeries of perplexities *. When he had been wearied into a reſignation of his authority, he was commanded to reſume it: when he had reſumed, and for a while proceeded with ſucceſs, he was ordered to reſign it. When he had at length obtained permiſſion to return to England, he was remanded into Ireland, with the inſignificant title of earl marſhal of this country. Here vexation and diſappointment ſoon put a period to his life, not without the ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned by Leiceſter, whoſe conduct in haſtily marrying the counteſs of Eſſex, ſeemed to confirm the ſurmiſe.

Meanwhile, the repeated inſtances of ſir William Fitz-William, to be relieved from the burden of his Iriſh government,

* Camden.

ment, ſo wrought upon the queen, that ſhe determined once more to entruſt the management of this diſordered country to the abilities and experience of ſir Henry Sydney. This gentleman would gladly have declined the charge: but to conquer his reluctance, he was inveſted with the moſt honourable and extenſive powers, and aſſured of an annual remittance of twenty thouſand pounds, in addition to the ordinary revenues of Ireland. On his landing, to A.D. 1576. reſume the adminiſtration, a plague, which raged through the Engliſh Pale, prevented him from repairing to the ſeat of government; and advices received of various diſorders in the North, determined him to march into the province of Ulſter. His preſence was ſufficient to ſuppreſs all commotion; and in a circuit which he continued through the ſeveral provinces, with a force conſiſting only of ſix hundred men, without drawing a ſword, he ſuppreſſed every diſorder, adminiſtered juſtice, and executed the laws, even with ſeverity *.

Among the regulations now deviſed by Sydney, he provided for the good government of the South, by prevailing on the queen to appoint ſir William Drury lord-preſident of Munſter, in the room of Perrot, who had returned to England. This officer acquitted himſelf with great reputation; he adminiſtered juſtice impartially, and enforced a dutiful ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh law. The county palatine of Kerry was now the only part of Munſter in which malefactors found any refuge; and thither they reſorted, under the protection of the earl of Deſmond, who had obtained the royalties of this country from Edward III. But Drury, without regard to ancient patents, reſolved to extend his juriſdiction into Kerry; Deſmond pleaded the privilege of his family; but finding the lord preſident obſtinate in his purpoſe, relinquiſhed, for the preſent, his claim; aſſuring Drury, in the mean time, that he ſhould be received in Kerry with all due ſubmiſſion, and inviting him to reſide at his houſe in Tralee. Drury accepted the invitation; and on his arrival, with a train of a hundred and twenty men in arms, a body of ſeven hundred of Deſmond's followers appeared at ſome diſtance, and advanced upon him. Drury unacquainted with the cuſtom of this diſtrict, at once concluded that he

* Hooker.

he had been betrayed, and was to be ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Without waiting, therefore, to be attacked, he encouraged his followers to charge the ſuppoſed enemy. Aſtoniſhed at this reception, the Deſmonians, without attempting the leaſt hoſtility, immediately fled; and the counteſs of Deſmond was left to explain this extraordinary incident. She aſſured the preſident that theſe men had aſſembled peaceably to do him honour; that they neither intended nor expected hoſtilities; that their flight was not the effect of cowardice, but amazement and confuſion; and that they had been collected by the earl merely to entertain the preſident with hunting, in which the men of Kerry were remarkably expert. Drury affected to be ſatisfied with this explanation, made an apology for his ignorance, and proceeded to execute the laws in that diſtrict, without controul or oppoſition.

The enormous diſproportion between the revenue of Ireland, and the charge of maintaining the Engliſh power in this country, was the conſtant ſubject of complaint in England; and Sydney, from his ſolicitude for the intereſt and ſervice of the crown, was deſirous of alleviating this burden. It had long been the practice to impoſe upon the Engliſh diſtricts a certain rate of proviſions for the royal garriſons, and for the maintenance of the governor's houſhold. Sydney conceived the deſign of converting this occaſional ſubſidy into a regular and permanent revenue, by ſubſtituting a compoſition in place of the aſſeſſment, and exacting it from all the ſubjects. Having communicated his deſign to the court of England, he was encouraged to purſue it. He began by proclamation to diſſolve thoſe liberties which had ever claimed an exemption from the ancient charge of purveyance; and then proceeded to a general impoſition of the new tax, by the authority of the council, and by virtue of the queen's prerogative.

A general and violent clamour was the immediate conſequence of this bold act of government, which was conſidered as unconſtitutional and oppreſſive. A ſpirited remonſtrance on this ſubject was preſented to the lord-deputy and council, who endeavoured to juſtify their procedure by ſeveral arguments, and among theſe, by the queen's prerogative, which was not to be impeached. But ſo

confident

confident were the remonſtrants of the validity of their plea, that they beſought the deputy's permiſſion to repair to the court of England, in order to lay their cauſe before the queen; and in this meaſure, they were left by the deputy to be guided by their own inclination.

In ſo popular a cauſe, oppoſition grew every day more powerful. The principal lords, through all parts of the realm, refuſed obedience to the edict of council, and enjoined all their dependents not to pay the aſſeſſment. In an aſſembly of the inhabitants of the Pale, it was reſolved to ſend three agents into England, with letters to the queen and the Engliſh council. In theſe, they complained of the oppreſſion of the tax, its illegality, and the various abuſes committed in the execution of it. Sydney having previouſly taken care to prepoſſeſs the queen and her council with the moſt unfavourable opinion both of the cauſe of the agents and their characters, the matter was heard with a prejudice unexpected by the remonſtrants. Four Iriſh lords, at this time attendant on the court, Kildare, Ormond, Gormanſtown, and Dunſany, were ſummoned to attend, and their opinion demanded on the allegations of their countrymen. They acknowledged that an aſſeſſment had been always practiſed for maintenance of the queen's garriſons, and the houſhold of her deputy; and, cautiouſly avoiding the point of prerogative, confined themſelves to the neceſſities and condition of the Iriſh, whom they repreſented as really incapable of well ſupporting the preſent impoſition, and prayed that it might be moderated. The council was now diſpoſed to ſatisfy the Iriſh ſubjects, and the queen herſelf liſtened to their complaints with affected tenderneſs and compaſſion. She is ſaid to have exclaimed, "Ah! how I fear leſt it be objected to us, as it was to Tiberius by Bato, concerning the Dalmatian commotions: you, you it is that are in fault, who have committed your flocks not to ſhepherds, but to wolves."

This imperious princeſs, however, gave ready ear to thoſe counſellors who recommended the maintenance of her prerogative. The Iriſh agents, who had fondly relied on the ſupport of law and juſtice, were inſtantly committed to the Fleet, as contumacious oppoſers of the royal authority *. The queen not content with ſhowing this

* Hooker.

this mark of her diſpleaſure, ſent letters to ſir Henry Sydney and the Iriſh council, reprimanding them for not having immediately committed and puniſhed thoſe who had preſumed to deny the legality of the preſent compoſition; commanding that all who had ſubſcribed the application to the throne ſhould be ſummoned before them, and if they perſevered in diſputing her prerogative, that they ſhould be committed to priſon until they acknowledged their offence. She, at the ſame time, commanded, that thoſe of her ſervants and counſellors, learned in the law, who had been preſent at the original complaint, and neglected to maintain her royal prerogative, ſhould be removed from their offices.

But all this reſolution and ſeverity had no effect on the lords and gentlemen of the Pale. They appeared before the council, where peremptorily adhering to their former declarations, and denying the legality of any tax not regularly impoſed by parliament, were committed to impriſonment in the caſtle of Dublin. Their agents in England, on a ſecond examination, appeared equally determined; and were therefore removed from the Fleet to the Tower, as perſons deemed guilty of treaſon. The whole body of Iriſh ſubjects were alarmed and confounded at this rigour, which imputing to the practices of Sydney, they loaded him with the moſt virulent invectives; and their clamours were ſo violent, as to ſtartle the queen and her counſellors; who, dreading the conſequence of general diſcontent in a country which harboured ſo many ſecret enemies to government, were glad to accept an equivocal ſubmiſſion from the Iriſh agents: the latter acknowledged that their manner of application had been undutiful, but diſavowed all intention of impeaching the queen's juſt prerogative. They gave ſecurity to preſent themſelves before the lord-deputy, and were remitted to Ireland, where they repeated their ſubmiſſion, and were diſmiſſed. Some of the confined lords and gentlemen regained their liberty by a like ſubmiſſion: nor did the more ſpirited and obſtinate meet with any farther ſeverity. Sydney was inſtructed to bring this violent and dangerous diſpute to ſome ſpeedy accommodation. A compoſition for purveyance was by the deputy and council, with the concurrence of the lords and gentlemen of

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the Pale, ſettled for ſeven years; and the malecontents were diſcharged. All the rage of indignation and reſentment fell on the lord-deputy; who was accuſed of wantonly alienating the affections of the Iriſh ſubjects; of ruling without policy or diſcretion; of laviſhing the revenue; of diſcouraging the well-affected; and of careleſly or corruptly pardoning the moſt notorious offenders. Sydney, conſcious of his great unpopularity, made preſſing inſtances to the queen that ſhe would be pleaſed to recall him.

A petty invaſion of the Spaniards, who had hoped to excite a formidable inſurrection in Ireland, was the next occurrence in that country; but neither the force of the invaders, nor the number of thoſe who joined them, was ſuch as to produce events which merit any particular detail. In a ſecond attempt made by Philip, ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians contrived to make good their landing at Smerwick. They brought arms and ammunition for five thouſand men, and a large ſum of money, which they were directed to deliver to the earl of Deſmond, his brother John, and one doctor Saunders. They proceeded to finiſh a fort, which their countrymen had formerly begun, and which they called the Golden Fort; diſpatching, at the ſame time, their emiſſaries to Spain, to notify their arrival, and to haſten the embarkation of thoſe ſuccours which they had been promiſed. The earl of Ormond now commanded in Munſter, and, on the firſt alarm of this deſcent, marched boldly againſt the invaders; who, terrified at his approach, at once abandoned their poſt, and, under the guidance of their Iriſh friends, ſought ſhelter in ſome neighbouring woods. This motion produced a ſkirmiſh, in which ſome of the foreigners were made priſoners, and diſcovered their numbers and their intentions. But the fugitives learning that the forces of Ormond were not ſo great as they at firſt imagined, their commander, with about three hundred of his men, returned to their original ſtation. Ormond was not provided with neceſſaries for a ſiege; but he ſtill hovered round them, until a ſucceſsful ſally forced him to retreat to Rathkeal, and there to expect the arrival of the new deputy. Lord Grey ſoon appeared at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had led from Dublin; and a fleet,

A.D. 1578.

A.D. 1580.

a fleet, under ſir William Winter, ſupported his operations. The fort was thus inveſted by land and ſea; but, before any aſſault was begun, the garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender; and to declare for what purpoſe they were ſent; and why they had preſumed to fortify themſelves in the queen's dominions. Their anſwer was bold and peremptory; that they were ſent by the pope and the king of Spain, to extirpate hereſy, and to reduce the land to the obedience of king Philip, who was by the holy father veſted with the ſovereignty of Ireland *.

This anſwer was ſeconded by a vigorous ſally, in which the foreigners, however, were repulſed. The next night Winter landed the artillery from the ſhips; and, with the utmoſt vigour and diſpatch, cutting through a bank, which lay between the ſhore and the fort, drew up the cannon, and completed his battery before the dawn of day; while lord Grey made the like proviſions by land. The fort was again ſummoned, with ſome offers of mercy, if the garriſon would ſurrender. But theſe foreigners, who had not yet diſcovered their danger, and the ſituation of the beſiegers, ſtill boldly anſwered, that they would maintain the poſt they had gained, and endeavour to extend their acquiſitions. The batteries now began to play furiouſly againſt the fort; no ſuccours arrived from Spain, as had been daily expected; and none of the diſaffected Iriſh appeared in the field. The commander of the fort, an Italian, called San Joſepo, was terrified; and, in a few days, contrary to the opinion of his officers, determined to capitulate. But Grey now replied, with haughtineſs and auſterity, that he diſdained to grant any terms to them or their abettors. Several attempts were made to gain any conditions, not totally deſperate: Grey continued inexorable, and the garriſon, reduced to extremity, fatally ſurrendered at diſcretion. That mercy, which they implored, was rigidly denied them. As ſoon as they were diſarmed, an Engliſh company was ſent into the fort: the Iriſh rebels found there were reſerved for execution by martial law: the Italian general and ſome officers were made priſoners of war; but the garriſon was put to the ſword. Nor is it without pain that we find this odious ſervice committed to ſir Walter

* Ware.

Walter Raleigh. The excuſes alledged for this ſeverity were, that the number was too formidable to be made priſoners; that the Iriſh were approaching in a body of one thouſand five hundred men; that no ſhipping was prepared to carry away the foreigners; and that the ſoldiers threatened to mutiny if not allowed to ſupply their neceſſities by the ſpoil of the fort. Grey was ſaid to have ſhed tears at the determination of this court-martial; and Elizabeth expreſſed the utmoſt concern and diſpleaſure at this barbarous execution *.

On the firſt fame of this invaſion, the diſaffected in ſeveral parts of the kingdom roſe into arms; but the appearance of the lord-deputy was now ſufficient to quell all commotion. On his return to the capital, however, he was alarmed with reports of a ſecret conſpiracy formed in the very ſeat of government. Among thoſe ſuſpected of this plot were the earl of Kildare, and his ſon-in-law, lord Delvin; who were committed to the cuſtody of Wingfield, maſter of the ordnance. Lord Henry, the earl's ſon, alarmed at this event, and taught that Grey intended nothing leſs than the extirpation of every great family of the old Engliſh race, fled for ſhelter to his Iriſh foſterers in O'Fally; who declared that they would protect him from the malice of his enemies, and were on the point of riſing in arms. After many repeated efforts to prevail upon them to give him up, they at length conſented to reſign him to the earl of Ormond. With his father and the baron of Delvin he was ſent into England, where, on a fair and candid examination, all were acquitted of every charge or ſuſpicion of diſloyalty. The precipitation with which ſome other perſons, ſuſpected of the conſpiracy, had been executed, now became doubly odious. Grey was repreſented as a man of ſanguinary principles, who had not only diſhonoured his nation and ſovereign among foreigners, but alienated the hearts of all the Iriſh ſubjects, by repeated barbarities. He therefore grew weary of his charge, and deſired to be recalled. His requeſt was granted, and Loftus, archbiſhop of Dublin, and ſir Henry Wallop, treaſurer at war, were appointed lords juſtices. A. D. 15[illegible].

The earl of Ormond, who was ſent into Munſter with a new

* Davis.

a new body of forces, pierced into the woods, where the rebels ſtill continued to aſſemble, drove them from their haunts, and purſued them with indefatigable vigour. The unhappy earl of Deſmond (who had co-operated with the Spaniards, and was not included in the late pardon, though he ſtill intreated to be received to mercy) was haunted from one wretched retreat to another, frequently in danger of being taken, diſguiſed among the meaneſt of his followers, lurking with them in woods and bogs, and depending on their benevolence for the ſupport of nature. In the extremity of diſtreſs, two horſemen and a few kerns ventured to ſeize ſome cattle for his ſubſiſtence. The owner exclaimed at this violence, and a few ſoldiers of an Engliſh garriſon purſued the prey. They came up to the opening of a valley, in which was a ſmall grove, where they determined to repoſe: but ſpying a light at ſome diſtance in a miſerable hut, their leader, Kelly of Morierta, ordered one of his party to advance cautiouſly, and diſcover how many were here poſted; for it was immediately concluded that they had fallen upon a party of the rebels. He was informed that ſix perſons only were concealed in this retreat. Kelly and his party ruſhed forwards; but, on entering the hut, found that the rebels had fled at his approach, except one man of venerable aſpect, ſtretched languidly before a fire. The leader aſſailed and wounded him: he exclaimed, "Spare me, for I am the earl of Deſmond." Kelly ſmote off his head, and brought it to the earl of Ormond, by whom it was conveyed to the queen, and impaled on London-bridge.

In this manner was extinguiſhed a family, which had flouriſhed for four centuries in rude ſplendor and magnificence, and had frequently proved too powerful to be governed.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Tranſactions from the Year 1582 to the death of Queen Elizabeth.

THE death of the earl of Deſmond, and the ſuppreſſion of his adherents, left Ireland free from any conſiderable diſorder, and ſeemed to afford a fair occaſion for effectually regulating this country upon the principles of juſtice and liberal policy. But beſide the averſion of Elizabeth to every ſcheme which muſt be attended with conſiderable expence, ſome of her counſellors appear to have entertained an odious jealouſy, which reconciled them to the diſtractions and miſeries of Ireland. At the preſent juncture, however, the intereſt of the crown required that a prudent and vigorous adminiſtration ſhould be eſtabliſhed in Ireland. The ſouthern provinces ſeemed to be totally depopulated, and, except within the cities, exhibited a hideous ſcene of famine and deſolation. The vaſt tract of lands forfeited by Deſmond and his followers, was to be parcelled out to new tenants: ſchemes were to be deviſed for leſſening the annual expence of Ireland, a provoking burden to the queen, and increaſing the revenue. The government of the kingdom was, therefore, committed to ſir John Perrot, a man univerſally eſteemed for his impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, one who had long ſtudied the intereſts of Ireland, and whoſe policy was liberal and benevolent. He aſſumed the reins of government at a time when war and inſurrection ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, and when the laſt remaining rebel of any note, lord Baltinglaſs, had retired in deſpair to Spain. The firſt act of his adminiſtration was the publiſhing a general amneſty, and aſſurance of pardon and protection to all who ſhould return to their allegiance. The ſon of the earl of Deſmond, who had been delivered up, he ſent into England to be educated in the principles of loyalty, ſo as to render him worthy of any favours which the royal clemency might beſtow. A. D. 1584.

The new governor ſoon entered upon a progreſs into the different provinces of the kingdom. He began with that of Connaught, where a numerous rabble of the

De Burghs had been ready for inſurrection, but were now effectually intimidated by the preſence of the deputy. They flocked to him with profeſſions of loyalty, and the Iriſh chieftains were equally ſubmiſſive. To give them the advantages of a regular execution of the laws, he appointed ſheriffs for ſix counties, Clare, Galway, Sligo, Mayo, Roſcommon, and Leitrim; and preſidency of the whole province was aſſigned to Sir Richard Bingham *.

The lord deputy proceeded thence to the ſouthern province. On arriving at Limerick, intelligence was received that ſome Scottiſh troops, to the amount of a thouſand men, had made a deſcent upon the northern coaſt, and joined with their countrymen already ſettled in Ulſter, who ſeemed to meditate ſome innovation. He therefore returned to Dublin, where he received the ſubmiſſions and engagement of ſome Leinſter chieftains ſuſpected of diſaffection, and marched into the North. Here, alſo, the appearance of a governor, renowned for valour and juſtice, as well as for a humane attention to the ancient natives, had a ſudden and powerful effect. The new-arrived Scots fled to their ſhips, and left their brethren of Ulſter, after ſome ineffectual hoſtilities, to make their peace with government. The Iriſh chieftains crowded to Perrot with the moſt zealous profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion. They renewed their oaths of allegiance; ſeveral ſurrendered their lands, and received them from the queen by Engliſh tenures. Perrot, who knew how to improve theſe favourable diſpoſitions, proceeded farther, and prevailed on them to conſent to an aſſeſſment or compoſition, by which eleven hundred troops might be maintained in their province, without charge to the queen. Some of the moſt conſiderable Iriſh chieftains, who were engaged in conteſts about property, ſuch as had hitherto been uſually decided by arms, were now perſuaded to ſue each other in the queen's courts, and to abide by the determination of law †. And ſuch a ſenſe did they expreſs of the benefit of Engliſh law, and ſuch a deſire of receiving it, that Perrot projected a diviſion of the unreformed parts of Ulſter into ſeven new counties, Armagh, Monaghan, Tyrone, Colerain, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan;

* Uſher. † Hiſtory of the Government of Sir J. Perrot.

Cavan; for each of which he appointed ſheriffs, commiſſioners of the peace, coroners, and other neceſſary officers.

This ſucceſs of his negociations with the moſt powerful Iriſh chieftains, and the general tranquillity of the kingdom, encouraged Perrot to form more extenſive ſchemes for the improvement of Ireland. He propoſed to the privy-council of England, that fifty thouſand pounds, at which he rated the annual expence of the crown in maintaining the dominion of Ireland, ſhould be granted him for three years; engaging on this condition to maintain a body of two thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe: to fortify ſeven towns, each of the extent of one mile; to build as many bridges, and to erect the like number of forts in proper ſituations, ſo as to encompaſs and ſtrengthen the whole kingdom with royal garriſons, connected by an eaſy and ſecure communication. But though the propoſition was repeated to the Engliſh parliament, yet neither the crown nor the legiſlature could be perſuaded to adopt this ſalutary meaſure. England, at preſent, was alarmed with inteſtine dangers, and the apprehenſion of foreign invaſion. The queen was impatient at the expences of the Iriſh government, and inſtead of conſenting to augment them, expected that Ireland ſhould ſupply forces for the Low Countries. All that Perrot could obtain was a ſmall ſum, in aid of the Ulſter compoſition, and a body of ſix hundred men, which he repreſented as abſolutely neceſſary to be incorporated with the forces of that province.

In April, 1585, he convened a parliament at Dublin. A. D. 1585.
By this time it ſeemed to have become a mark of confidence in the chief governor, for the parliament to conſent to the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, and which it was in ſome ſort diſreputable not to obtain. The friends of ſir John Perrot accordingly moved for the ſuſpenſion of this law, in the houſe of commons, that the proceedings of parliament might be conducted with greater freedom and expedition. But the members of the Pale, who formed what in modern times is called the country-party, were by no means diſpoſed to entruſt a governor with the power of aſſenting to any laws which might be procured in parliament. It appears from their letters to the Engliſh council, that they particularly apprehended ſome ſcheme

of extraordinary and oppreſſive taxation. Whatever were their motives, they gave a vigorous oppoſition to the bill for ſuſpending Poynings' law, and notwithſtanding the moſt zealous efforts of the court, were enabled to overthrow it. Such was the temper of this houſe, that they refuſed to inveſt the queen with the lands of attainted perſons, without office or inquiſition; and to declare thoſe guilty of treaſon who ſhould rebelliouſly detain any of her caſtles.

New appearances of danger and diſorder in the North called the deputy again into this province. The king of Scots had promiſed to controul his roving ſubjects, and prevent their perpetual irruptions into Ulſter, but without effect. A freſh deſcent was made by a conſiderable body, which, with the aſſiſtance of ſome unreformed Iriſh, infeſted the northern garriſons. This incident alone ſeemed not ſufficient to require the preſence of the chief governor: but Perrot had been alarmed with intelligence of ſchemes formed by the popiſh clergy, to introduce a foreign army into Ulſter. Senſible of the inconſtancy of the Iriſh, and that the firſt ſtorm of inſurrection might ſubvert thoſe arrangements which he had eſtabliſhed in the northern province, he therefore marched into Ulſter, where he ſoon learned that the danger from the Scots was already vaniſhed. They had been encountered by the queen's troops, and totally defeated. Perrot had now only to ſummon the Iriſh chieftains, who readily attended him at Dungannon. From thoſe ſuſpected of diſaffection he demanded hoſtages, which by moſt of them were delivered. After compoſing their private diſſenſions, and ſettling the government of the province, he returned to Dublin, whither he was attended by Sorleboy, the old Scottiſh chieftain, who ſubmitted and renewed his engagements to government. An Engliſhman was ſo mean and barbarous as to inſult the unhappy father on the misfortune of his ſon, who had been executed after their defeat; and to point exultingly to his head, which was erected on a pole: the brave old Scot viewed the ſpectacle with a ſtern compoſure, and turning to his inſulter, with a menacing and indignant aſpect, "My ſon, ſaid he, hath many heads *.

All

* Ware.

All Perrot's cares and efforts for the complete ſettlement and reformation of the kingdom, could not ſecure him from the attacks of malice and diſcontent. As the eſtabliſhment of a univerſity in Ireland was become a favourite object, he had conceived the deſign of diſſolving the cathedral of St. Patrick, and converting its revenues to this purpoſe; a ſcheme which kindled the implacable reſentment of Loftus, archbiſhop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, whoſe intereſt was conſiderably affected by it. His enemies were induſtrious to repreſent his conduct in the moſt exceptionable view; and were heard with too much attention in England. Even fraud and forgery were employed to effect his ruin. A letter was counterfeited, and ſent into England, in the name of Tirlaugh Lynnogh, complaining of the moſt oppreſſive injuries ſuſtained from the deputy. But this chieftain, in the warmth of gratitude for kindneſſes received, was at pains to diſcover the letter, and bear teſtimony to the rectitude of ſir John Perrot's tranſactions with him. Another forgery, importing a protection granted by the deputy to a popiſh prieſt, in which were uſed the expreſſions of *our* kingdom of Ireland, and *our* caſtle of Dublin, was tranſmitted into England, and made a ſhameful impreſſion on the mind of Elizabeth. In her reſentment againſt him, ſhe ſeemed even to have forgotten her own intereſt. Though a Spaniſh invaſion was expected to fall on the South of Ireland, perpetual draughts were made from her garriſons, for the ſervice of the Low Countries; nor could Perrot's moſt earneſt applications obtain either forces or proviſions for guarding againſt the danger. But with whatever neglect his propoſitions in this and other inſtances were received, he continued to adminiſter his government with fidelity and zeal; until, at laſt, after a variety of mortifications, he earneſtly petitioned Elizabeth to relieve him from a burden, which the perverſeneſs of her ſubjects in Ireland, of the Engliſh race, had rendered utterly intolerable; and whom, by reſtraining their oppreſſions of the ancient natives, he had provoked beyond all poſſibility of reconciliation. The queen conſented to appoint a ſucceſſor: but as the Spaniſh invaſion was now expected, Perrot took care, before the intelligence of his ſpeedy departure was divulged, to ſummon to the capital a number

a number of lords and chieftains, who might be ſuſpected of favouring a foreign enemy. In this time of danger he exhorted them to give the fulleſt aſſurances of their peaceable and loyal intentions, by delivering hoſtages to government. Having convinced them of the propriety of this meaſure, they were induced to conſent. He then reſigned the government to ſir William Fitz-William, and embarked on his return to England, with the cordial acclamations, particularly of the lower orders of the people, who had felt the benefits of his adminiſtration. Old Tirlaugh of Tirowen followed him to the water-ſide, bathed in tears.

The new deputy aſſumed the reins of government at a favourable period, when an interval of tranquillity had put the kingdom in a proſperous ſtate; when the provinces of Connaught and Munſter were governed with vigour by ſir Richard Bingham, and ſir Thomas Norris, deputy to his brother John; when the diſcontents and ſecret practices of Ulſter had not yet broken out into any violence, and might have eaſily been ſtifled by a moderate and equitable conduct. But the new governor appears not to have been diſintereſted or even uncorrupt, much leſs poſſeſſed with liberal principles of policy.

A. D. 1588. On the defeat of the Spaniſh armada, ſeventeen ſhips of that fleet, containing about five thouſand four hundred men, were driven by ſtorm on the north and north-weſt coaſts of Ireland; where they were received by the natives, who conſidered them as their kinſmen, with the utmoſt kindneſs and hoſpitality *. The earl of Tyrone was ſuſpected of having entered into a formal treaty with the Spaniards, and concerted dangerous ſchemes for favouring a future invaſion. Others of the Iriſh lords avowed their attachment to Spain with leſs reſerve. One thouſand Spaniards, under the command of Antonio de Leva, were caſt on the territory of O'Ruarc, the Iriſh chieftain of Breſſney, and there hoſpitably entertained. Bingham prepared to attack them, but the Iriſhman obſtinately oppoſed the attempt. The latter, according to the ideas of his countrymen, conſidered ſuch a troop as a powerful army; and, in conjunction with a neighbouring chieftain, urged Antonio to ſtay in Ireland, and to declare

* Moryſon.

declare war againſt Elizabeth, whoſe power, he aſſured the Spaniard, might be eaſily overthrown. The foreigner, however, who probably entertained a different opinion, replied, that at preſent he was not warranted to engage in ſuch an enterprize; but that he ſhould ſpeedily return with ſuch powers, and ſuch an armament, as would effectually anſwer the purpoſe. He ſet ſail; but even in ſight of the Iriſh ſhore his ſhip foundered, and the whole crew periſhed. O'Ruarc was now abandoned to the vengeance of the lord preſident; who, after ſome hoſtilities, drove him for ſhelter into Scotland; where he was ſeized by order of the king, delivered to Elizabeth, and afterwards executed in London as a traitor.

Meanwhile, reports were conveyed to the lord deputy, that vaſt treaſures and ſtores of various kinds had been brought by the Spaniards into Ireland, and now lay ſecreted in the places where they had been entertained. Fitz-William, fired with the hopes of poſſeſſing himſelf of this maſs of wealth, firſt iſſued a commiſſion for ſearching and ſecuring it, as the property of the queen: but this expedient proving ineffectual, he marched in perſon into Ulſter, in the depth of winter, at no ſmall expence to the ſtate, in purſuit of this treaſure, which, whether his intelligence was falſe, or his ſearches artfully evaded, could not be found. Sir Owen Mac Toole, father-in-law to the earl of Tyrone, and ſir John O'Dougherty, were ſaid to have poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable part of the ſuppoſed ſtores. In the vexation of diſappointment, Fitz-William ſeized them, and, without the ſmalleſt proof of guilt, committed to cloſe durance in the caſtle of Dublin, two gentlemen who had done ſervices, and were known to be well-affected to government. The former was not releaſed until the ſeverity of his confinement had reduced him to the point of death. The latter, after an impriſonment of two years, was ſaid to have purchaſed his liberty by a conſiderable bribe.

This ſevere and arbitrary treatment of two perſons beloved and eſteemed among their countrymen, excited univerſal indignation. Many repented of their ſubmiſſions; and the diſaffected were confirmed in their inveteracy. The earl of Tyrone, whoſe conſciouſneſs of his own ſecret practices, ſerved to alarm him the more, and who

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was generally ſuſpected, determined to withdraw himſelf from the violence of Fitz-William; and with an affectation of duty and loyalty repaired to England, to caſt himſelf at the queen's feet, and renew his aſſurances of fidelity. Having departed without leave of the deputy, he was at firſt put under confinement; but ſo well diſſembled was the zeal of his ſubmiſſion and attachment to the government, that he was admitted before the privy-council, to give ſuch aſſurance of his future loyalty as ſhould be demanded. He agreed to find ſureties for his good behaviour, beſide hoſtages to be delivered to the Iriſh deputy, and to be exchanged once in three months *.

This accommodation was ſcarcely completed, when the ſons of John O'Nial, who envied and dreaded the riſing power of Tyrone, made a bold attempt to effect his ruin. Hugh, a baſtard ſon of John's, was commiſſioned to repair to the court of England, and to accuſe the earl of ſeveral articles of treaſon, particularly of having entered into ſecret negociations with Spain, by means of thoſe Spaniards who had been ſhipwrecked on his coaſt. Tyrone affected to treat this accuſation with contempt: he imputed it to the enmity which his countrymen had conceived againſt him for his attachment to the queen; and obſerved, that he who had adviſed the extinction of the name of Nial, never could be forgiven by that haughty ſept. By theſe plauſible allegations he ſo wrought upon the council, that the accuſer was neglected, and the earl permitted to return to Ireland. His promiſes and aſſurances of fulfilling his engagemements were renewed to the lord deputy; but when preſſed to execute his indentures in due form, he artfully replied, that all his neighbouring lords ſtood equally engaged with him, and that when they were ready to appear before the council, and enter into the neceſſary ſecurities, he ſhould be found equally prepared; but to execute his indentures ſingly while they continued free, would only expoſe his country to their lawleſs depredations, and deprive himſelf of all power of defence.

Meanwhile, the ſon of Donnel, who had been ſeized by the artifice of Perrot, with ſome of the O'Nials, ſons to John, and other hoſtages of the northern lords, impatient

* Moryſon.

tient of a dishonourable and severe captivity in the castle of Dublin, contrived to make their escape. They first attempted to bribe their keeper, who disclosed their offer to the lord deputy. The man was instantly displaced, and succeeded by one of the deputy's own servants; a circumstance which gave rise to a suspicion that Fitz-William himself was not unacquainted with their design, nor averse to favouring it. However this may be, the hostages effected their escape; and some of them proceeded directly, and without any difficulty, to their own country. Hugh O'Donnel, and Arthur, a youth of the family of O'Nial, being hotly pursued, fled for shelter to some of the Irish septs in the neighbourhood of the capital and gained a miserable retreat in the dreary season of the year; where their friends, terrified by the queen's troops, left them for some days to struggle with the miseries of cold and hunger; and when they at length ventured to their relief, found the young Nial expiring with famine, and Hugh O'Donnel deprived of the use of his limbs, by the severity of cold, lamenting over his companion. He was carried to a house, attended, and restored. He regained his country with an implacable detestation of the English power, and was soon after, upon the resignation of his father, invested with the Irish chieftainry of Tirconnel, so as to be enabled to give a freer course to his resentment.

Fitz-William, by his intemperate conduct, inflamed the animosity which was brooding in the northern province. Mac-Mahon, chieftain of the district called Monaghan, had surrendered to the queen his lands, formerly held by tainistry, and received a new grant of them, under the great-seal of England, to him and his heirs male, and in default of such issue, to his brother Hugh. As he died without issue, this brother petitioned to be admitted to his inheritance. He is said to have promised a considerable bribe, in order to facilitate his suit; and to his failure of payment it is imputed, that, on his arrival in Dublin, he was imprisoned for some days. Fitz-William, however, was prevailed upon to promise that he would settle him in peaceable possession of his inheritance, and for this purpose, that he meant to go in person into Monaghan. But the deputy had scarcely arrived in that district, when

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he eagerly received a new accuſation againſt Hugh, that two years before, he had entered hoſtilely into a neighbouring diſtrict, to recover by force of arms ſome rent which was due to him. In the unreformed parts of Ireland, ſuch actions were common and unnoticed; but the Engliſh law declared them treaſonable. The unhappy Mac Mahon, for an offence committed before the law which rendered it capital had been eſtabliſhed in his country, was tried, condemned by a jury ſaid to be formed of private ſoldiers, and executed in two days; to the utter conſternation of his countrymen. His eſtate was diſtributed to ſir Henry Bagnal and other adventurers, with four of the old Iriſh ſept *.

The condemnation of this chieftain confirmed the Iriſh in their averſion to the Engliſh government, which they conſidered as a ſyſtem of the moſt odious and cruel tyranny. They combined in a reſolution to oppoſe the admittance of ſheriffs, and other officers of juſtice, into their reſpective counties. When Fitz-William intimated to the chieftain of Fermanagh that he intended to ſend a ſheriff into that diſtrict, Mac Guire anſwered, with a well-affected ſimplicity, "Your ſheriff ſhall be welcome; but let me know his erick, that if my people ſhould cut off his head, I may levy it upon the country."

The northerns were not yet ready to riſe up in open oppoſition to the Engliſh government, but they were induſtrious in concerting meaſures for this purpoſe. The young chieftain of Tirconnel, to increaſe his conſequence, married a daughter of the earl of Tyrone's; an alliance which ſerved to augment the ſuſpicions already entertained of this earl by the friends of adminiſtration. He had found means to ſecure the perſon of his late accuſer; and at once to gratify revenge, and to prevent all farther diſcovery of his ſecret practices, he inſtantly condemned the captive to die by the hand of the executioner.

The ſtate was alarmed, and the queen highly offended at this preſumptuous act of violence. But the earl pleaded that he had only exerciſed his power of martial law, in cutting off a notorious traitor: and as he was regularly inveſted with his power, the government could only expreſs its reſentment by withdrawing his commiſſion.

Tirlaugh

* Iriſh MSS.

Tirlaugh O'Nial complained of his outrages. Sir Henry Bagnal accuſed him of ſeducing the affections of his ſiſter, and marrying her while his former wife was living. But Tyrone, who ſtill found it neceſſary to diſſemble, declared that his alliance with O'Donnel was intended merely to keep that chieftain firm to his allegiance; that the outrages which Tirlaugh had ſuffered were the conſequences of his own lawleſs violence; that far from ſeducing the ſiſter of ſir Henry Bagnal, ſhe had freely conſented to become his conſort; and that he was equally at liberty to accept her, as he had been regularly divorced from his former wife. He accuſed his brother-in-law of uſurping in Ulſter an authority inconſiſtent with his juſt rights; but at the ſame time, artfully requeſted the lords of her majeſty's council to prevail on Bagnal to be reconciled to him, that they might live as kinſmen and neighbours, and concur amicably in the ſervice of government. To give theſe profeſſions a greater air of ſincerity, he admitted his country to be formed into a ſhire, and divided into baronies, after the Engliſh model. The northern province, which harboured the moſt dangerous diſaffection, now ſeemed to be pacified; and the government found leiſure to attend to other diſtricts of the iſland. A compoſition for purveyance was eſtabliſhed in Munſter for three years; and the queen flattered by finding every province of Ireland at length diſpoſed to contribute to the augmentation of her revenue.

This interval of tranquillity was diſtinguiſhed by an event of ſtill greater honour to the queen's government, as well as of greater advantage to Ireland. This was the foundation of the univerſity of Dublin. The firſt attempt made by the Engliſh ſettlers to eſtabliſh an academical body in Ireland, was by Leck, archbiſhop of Dublin, in the year 1311. He procured a bull from Rome for the erection of a univerſity in Dublin; but the project ended with his death. The ſecond attempt was by his ſucceſſor Bricknor, immediately after the Scottiſh war, in the reign of Edward II. In the time of Edward IV. an act paſſed the Iriſh parliament, that a univerſity ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the town of Drogheda, with the ſame privileges as that of Oxford. But this, like other acts

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of Iriſh legiſlation, was totally diſregarded and forgotten in the tumult of civil affairs.

A.D.1594. The ſpirit of diſaffection, which had by this time poſſeſſed moſt of the northern Iriſh, though it had not yet broken out into any conſiderable act of violence, yet could not entirely eſcape the vigilance of government. The conduct of Tyrone, in particular, had in many inſtances appeared highly ſuſpicious. Sir Henry Bagnal, now his avowed enemy, had received ſuch information as he deemed ſufficient ground for a formal impeachment of this earl. He exhibited againſt him, to the council, ſeveral articles of treaſon, which were favourably received. Tyrone anſwered, by letter, the points he alledged. Fitz-William, however, forgetting the impartiality becoming his ſtation, tranſmitted to England the accuſation, but ſuppreſſed the reply *.

In the mean time, a creature of the lord deputy's who had ventured to exerciſe the office of ſheriff in Fermanagh, proceeded in the uſual way of ſpoiling and oppreſſing the wretched inhabitants, with his rapacious train of followers. Mac Guire, the Iriſh chieftain of this diſtrict, was ſo provoked, that he roſe up in arms, and was on the point of cutting off the ſheriff and all his attendants, when Tyrone interpoſed, and, with an affected ſolicitude for their ſafety, prevailed on his countrymen to allow them a peaceable departure. He knew how to diſplay this ſervice in England; and thither he inſtantly tranſmitted the moſt pathetic complaints of the lord deputy's partiality, and the iniquity of Bagnal. To every article on which he was accuſed, he ſent a plauſible reply, offering even to appear in England, and there defend his cauſe, or to maintain his innocence in ſingle combat with his adverſary. By this means he ſo wrought upon the lords of Engliſh council, that they declared themſelves fully ſatisfied with his defence, commended his conduct in Fermanagh, and reproved the lord-deputy for his partiality.

The earl ſoon found another occaſion of diſplaying his pretended loyalty. The outrage committed by Mac Guire determined the lord-deputy and council to oppoſe him as a traitor. Bagnal was ordered with ſome troops to attack him in Fermanagh: Bingham led the queen's forces

* Iriſh MSS. Moryſon.

forces to oppoſe his machinations in Connaught, whither he proceeded at the inſtigation of one Mac Guaran, a factious eccleſiaſtic, whom the pope had inveſted with the title of prelate of Armagh. In this province the chieftain gained ſome aſſociates, and excited ſome commotions, by means of a commiſſion which Mac Guaran pretended to have received from the king of Spain; and the aſſurances which he laviſhed of an immediate and effectual ſupport from that monarch. Bingham preſſed with vigour on the inſurgents: in the firſt encounter the turbulent prieſt was killed, and Mac Guire driven into his own territory; where the chieftain of Tyrconnel, and ſome mercenary Scots, united with him againſt the Engliſh. The earl of Tyrone, with all the alacrity of a faithful ſubject, joined the ſtandard of Bagnal; and in an action, in which the Iriſh aſſociates were defeated, diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſuch zeal, that he received a wound in the thigh. Yet with all this appearance of loyalty, his countrymen acknowledge, that he now held a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy: and ſuch was his conſciouſneſs of guilt, or, as he pretended, his fears of Bagnal, that he ſuddenly withdrew from the camp, without taking any farther part in this petty war. Enniſkillen, the chief fortreſs of Mac Guire, was taken, or, as the Iriſh writers alledge, was betrayed to ſir Richard Bingham. But no ſooner had an Engliſh garriſon been ſtationed there, and the reſt of the queen's forces withdrawn, than it was again cloſely inveſted by O'Donnel. This chieftain, with leſs inſidious caution than Tyrone, openly declared hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh; ſent one of the popiſh biſhops into Spain to ſolicit aſſiſtance from Philip; and, provoked to impatience at the duplicity of the earl, declared, that if he delayed any longer to unite with his countrymen, he ſhould conſider him as an enemy. This precipitation little ſuited with the policy of Tyrone, who was inclined to wait the arrival of a powerful foreign ſuccour, to give the greater effect to their inſurrection. To pacify the chieftain of Tyrconnel, however, his brother, Cormac O'Nial, marched with ſome troops to his aſſiſtance.

But however cautiouſly this earl avoided a premature declaration againſt the Engliſh government, yet new incidents obliged him, for his own intereſt and ſecurity,

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to give ſome farther offence. Tirlaugh, who had ſo long enjoyed the Iriſh chieftainry of Tyrone by permiſſion of the government, was now approaching to his diſſolution. The earl knew ſufficiently the conſequence of ſucceeding to a title which commanded a habitual reverence and obedience in his country. His only rivals were the ſons of the late John O'Nial, who had been ſuffered to eſcape from the caſtle of Dublin. Theſe he contrived to ſeize, and caſt into chains; and, on the death of the old chieftain, immediately aſſumed the important title of O'Nial. Nor was he without pretences for palliating theſe acts of outrage. He pleaded in particular, that he had aſſumed the chieftainry merely to prevent its being ſeized by ſome other of his ſept, leſs favourably diſpoſed than himſelf to the Engliſh government; and that he determined to reſign it, whenever a regular polity ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his territory. However unſatisfactory theſe reaſons might be deemed, the members of adminiſtration, on account of the preſent weakneſs of the ſtate, were obliged to appear contented.

The lord-deputy Fitz-William having ſolicited and obtained his recal, was ſucceeded by ſir William Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford. Tyrone, who had for ſome time affected the greateſt terror of the government, and entirely abſented himſelf from the capital, now ſuddenly appeared before the new governor, (as if the injuſtice of Fitz-William had been his only ground of apprehenſion) lamented the injuries he had ſuſtained from the malicious inſinuations of his enemies, and made the moſt zealous profeſſions of his ſubmiſſion and devotion to the queen. Ruſſel, leſs acquainted with his character, was affected with the apparent ſincerity of theſe profeſſions: but Bagnal, who knew his inſidious practices, and was beſides poſſeſſed with a perſonal enmity towards him, aſſured the deputy that all the diſorders of the North had been owing to the machinations of this dangerous ſubject; and by enumerating the ſuſpicious circumſtances of his conduct, and charging him with ſeveral acts of diſloyalty, ſo far prevailed, that it became a queſtion, whether the earl ſhould not be committed to cuſtody. Ruſſel declared for this meaſure; but the majority of the council, either through fear, or affection, pleaded againſt

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ſuch rigour: and, to the utter diſſatisfaction of the queen's Engliſh miniſters, Tyrone was diſmiſſed, to concert new ſchemes againſt the public tranquillity *.

The deputy now reſolved to proſecute the inſurgents of the North, and particularly to relieve the caſtle of Enniſkillen. For this purpoſe, leaving the earl of Ormond to command in Leinſter, which was harraſſed by the turbulence of the Iriſh ſepts, he led his forces towards Fermanagh; but ſoon learned that his expedition was too late. The Engliſh troops, detached againſt the beſiegers, had received a total defeat from O'Donnel and his confederates; and the garriſon, reduced to extreme diſtreſs, had ſurrendered; and were without mercy butchered by the Iriſh, who pleaded, that they thus revenged the cruelty exerciſed by Bingham on reducing this fort. In all the licentious triumph of victorious barbarians, they penetrated into Connaught, committed the moſt cruel outrages in all the well-affected quarters, beſieged the Engliſh fort of Belleek, cut off a detachment ſent to its relief, and practiſed their uſual barbarity on the garriſon, when famine had compelled them to ſurrender. To complete his triumph, O'Donnel was enabled to eſtabliſh one of the degenerate De Burghos, his aſſociate, chieftain of this diſtrict, by the name of the Mac-William; while Bingham, the lord preſident of Connaught, had no military force ſufficient to oppoſe theſe outrages.

The queen and her miniſters were alarmed at the intelligence of theſe hoſtilities, and convinced of the neceſſity of ſome vigorous exertion in defence of her Iriſh intereſts. Her ſervants in Ireland had unwarily, by overtures of accommodation, inflamed the ſpirits of the inſurgents, who thereby diſcovered the weakneſs of the government, and were conſequently encouraged to make their demands the more arrogant. Though the queen affected to reject the idea of all diſhonourable conceſſions, her deputy was yet inſtructed to practice with O'Donnel, and to endeavour to detach him from Tyrone, who was conſidered as the ſecret ſpring of all the northern commotions. But what was of greater conſequence, two thouſand veteran troops, who, under their leader Norris, had been diſtinguiſhed in Brittany, and one thouſand more,

* Ware.

more, levied in England, were now deſtined for the Iriſh ſervice. And as Ruſſel had inadvertently ſolicited the queen, that ſome experienced commander ſhould be appointed to aſſiſt him in the conduct of the war, ſhe ſent thither ſir John Norris, an officer of ſuch diſtinguiſhed character, as muſt eclipſe the deputy, and was beſides entruſted, in his abſence, with the abſolute command of all military affairs *.

Tyrone juſtly dreaded theſe preparations, eſpecially as it was the avowed intention of the government to form a chain of forts round the territories of the diſaffected lords of Ulſter, ſo as to keep them in continual awe, and effectually reſtrain their incurſions. This earl, knowing that his countrymen were to be retained only by an appearance of activity and valour, determined to ſtrike ſome important blow before the enemy ſhould be reinforced. A. D. 1595. On a frivolous pretence of injuries received from the Engliſh ſoldiers at Blackwater, he ventured to attack their fort, and to expel the gariſon. And, as if the boldneſs of this outrage had confounded and diſtracted him, he endeavoured by letters to exaſperate the earl of Kildare againſt the government, and to ſeduce him from his allegiance; he diſpatched his emiſſaries to Spain, with moſt preſſing inſtances for immediate ſuccours: and at the ſame time, when the deputy, with the Engliſh forces, was advancing againſt him, he, by other letters, profeſſed his ſubmiſſion and attachment to the crown; imputing his late conduct to neceſſity and ſelf-defence; entreating the queen's miniſter to entertain favourable ſentiments of him, and not to drive him headlong into rebellion, by a rigorous and unmerited proſecution. But Bagnal, his inveterate enemy, by contriving to intercept and ſecrete theſe letters, gave him a pretence for continuing his hoſtilities. The caſtle of Monaghan, where an Engliſh garriſon had been ſtationed, was inveſted by the inſurgents; and the attempts of Norris to relieve it produced ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which the danger and addreſs of Tyrone were the moſt remarkable. One Sedgrave, an Engliſh officer, obſerving where he had taken his ſtation, and was iſſuing his orders, aſſaulted and unhorſed him. The earl in falling, contrived to ſeize his antagoniſt,

* Ware.

antagoniſt, and dragged him to the ground. The Engliſhman, who ſtill had the advantage, prepared to diſpatch him; but the earl, proſtrate and incumbered as he was, had the dexterity to ſave himſelf, by plunging a dagger deeply into the body of Sedgrave *.

Theſe petty hoſtilities were ſoon ſuſpended by the weak and temporizing policy of the queen, impatient to diſengage herſelf, by any means, from the diſorders of Ireland. She ſent over a commiſſion, empowering Wallop, the treaſurer at war, and Gardiner, the chief juſtice, to treat with Tyrone and his aſſociates, to hear their complaints, and to receive their overtures, in order to an effectual accommodation. The inſurgents accepted the propoſal, but peremptorily refuſed to meet the commiſſioners at Dundalk. The conference was held in the open field. Tyrone firſt explained his grievances; complained of the injuſtice of Bagnal, in uſurping in Ulſter a juriſdiction inconſiſtent with his juſt rights; of his unreaſonable and implacable reſentment in attempting to ſeparate him from his wife, and with-holding her portion; of his perfidy in ſecreting his letters to the governor, and by a ſeries of injuries forcing him to take arms, and to apply to the queen's enemies for protection. He required a full pardon for himſelf and his followers; that they ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; that Bagnal ſhould be compelled to pay the portion of his ſiſter, who had now ſunk under the affliction occaſioned by his cruelty; that his country ſhould be freed from Engliſh garriſons and ſheriffs; that his troop of horſe ſhould be reſtored to him; and that all thoſe who had ravaged his territory ſhould be obliged to make due reſtitution. O'Donnel next proceeded to expatiate on his grievances, as did every inferior chieftain; and all concurred in the ſame general demands of a free exerciſe of religion, and an exemption from garriſons and ſheriffs. They were heard with temper: ſome of their allegations were confeſſed to be juſt; and ſome indulgence acknowledged to be reaſonable. In the eſſential articles, they were informed no deciſion could be made, until the royal pleaſure ſhould be known. In the mean time, ſome points were propounded on the queen's part, tending to ſuſpend their

* Davis.

hoſtilities. It was demanded that the inſurgents ſhould lay down their arms, admit ſheriffs into their country, repair the forts they had demoliſhed, leave the Engliſh garriſons unmoleſted, reſtore what they had unjuſtly ſeized, diſcover upon oath their tranſactions with foreign princes, and ſolemnly promiſe never more to enter into any engagements againſt their ſovereign. But theſe haughty lords, who, in the condeſcenſions of the government, diſcerned its fears and weakneſs, rejected ſuch overtures with diſdain; and broke up the congreſs, conſenting only to a truce of a few days.

This inſolence of the northern inſurgents had a dangerous influence on the diſaffected in other parts of Ireland. In Connaught the flame of war had been already kindled, and notwithſtanding all the efforts of ſir Richard Bingham, the Iriſh gained ſeveral advantages; while the diſaffected of Munſter, ſecretly encouraged by emiſſaries, grew likewiſe turbulent and alarming. Even in Leinſter, the petty Iriſh chieftains boldly demanded a reſtoration of their ancient power and poſſeſſions, and extended their outrages from Wexford to the walls of Dublin *.

Theſe complicated diſorders were to be oppoſed by an army, which, though lately reinforced, was ſtill utterly inadequate to ſuch a ſervice; encumbered rather than ſtrengthened by numbers of the Iriſh race, all of whom were ſuſpected, and many really ill-diſpoſed to the cauſe in which they were engaged. The Engliſh ſoldiers were naturally leſs robuſt and active, leſs patient of labour and hardſhips than their antagoniſts, and the air and food of Ireland ever proved unfriendly to their conſtitutions. They were not duly ſupplied either with proviſions or ammunition. Their general, the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſoldier of the age, was not only ſenſible of all theſe diſadvantages, but was piqued at the lord deputy, who betrayed the utmoſt diſſatisfaction, and moſt diſhonourable envy, at his character and authority, and ſtudied to controul and diſtreſs him.

Though Norris was, from his diſcernment, inclined to lenient and conciliating meaſures, rather than a vigorous proſecution of the rebels, yet, at the expiration of the truce, he marched with the lord-deputy to the borders of Tyrone,

* MSS. Trin. Col. Dub.

Tyrone, with a force ſo terrifying to the inſurgents in that quarter, that the rebel earl abandoned the fort of Blackwater, ſet fire to the town of Dungannon, without ſparing his own houſe, deſtroyed the adjacent villages, and retired into the woods, which then overſpread thoſe parts of Ulſter. In this progreſs, Tyrone and his principal aſſociates were indicted, ſummoned, condemned in a regular procedure, and proclaimed traitors. But ſuch was the diſtreſs occaſioned by their laying the country waſte, that the lord-deputy was ſoon obliged to return to Dublin; having firſt ſtationed garriſons at Armagh and Monaghan, the latter of which places had been reduced, and was now abandoned by the enemy. Sir John Norris was left with part of the royal army on the borders of Ulſter, to proſecute the war againſt the northern inſurgents, while the lord-deputy profeſſed to march againſt thoſe of Leinſter.

Winter now approaching, the Iriſh covered themſelves in their retreats; while Norris judged it expedient to keep his ſtation, without venturing to ſeek them out. During this ſuſpenſion of military operations, the northern Iriſh had leiſure to reflect calmly on their enterpriſe. Spain, their principal reliance, had not yet ſent any ſuccours. They were oppoſed by an experienced general, and a greater force than had uſually been collected againſt them. They determined, therefore, to recur to the arts of diſſimulation, by which at leaſt the time might be protracted, until a foreign invaſion ſhould arrive. They diſpatched to the queen letters full of penitence and ſubmiſſion; and at the ſame time Tyrone made the moſt pathetic addreſſes to ſir John Norris, lamenting the condition to which he was reduced, by injuſtice and cruelty, and expreſſing the moſt ardent deſire to return to duty and allegiance. His repreſentations were ſo plauſible and inſinuating, that Norris was confirmed in his former ſentiments of moderation, and even felt compaſſion for this apparently injured and unhappy lord. The queen, principally attentive to other objects, was well pleaſed at any proſpect of compoſing the inſurrections of Ireland; and by her commiſſion to ſir John Norris, and ſir Geoffry Fenton, his Iriſh ſecretary of ſtate, empowered them to grant pardon to all rebels who ſhould with due humility ſeek her royal mercy. At another congreſs, appointed at Dundalk, Tyrone renewed A.D. 1596.

his profeſſions of ſubmiſſion, imploring the king's pardon, "upon the knees of his heart," as he expreſſed it, and confirming his ſincerity by the moſt ſolemn imprecations. He promiſed to deſiſt from aiding the rebels; to admit a ſheriff into his country; to renounce the title of O'Nial; to confeſs his intelligence with foreign powers; to rebuild the fort and bridge of Blackwater; to ſupply the Engliſh garriſon to be ſtationed there; to lay down his arms; deliver hoſtages; to pay a fine to the queen; and with reſpect to the enlargement of John O'Nial's ſons, he conſented that it ſhould be referred to the queen's future pleaſure, after ſhe had heard and underſtood their offences. O'Donnel, Magwire, O'Ruarc, and others of his confederates, agreed to like articles, and made the like ſubmiſſions. A promiſe of pardon was delivered to each lord on his ſubmiſſion; and, that they might not be moleſted by any act of hoſtility, a proclamation of theſe tranſactions was made to the queen's ſubjects *.

Whether theſe conceſſions of the northern Iriſh were made in conſequence of a premeditated ſcheme of perfidy and fraud, merely calculated to gain time; or whether they proceeded from deſpair of any ſuccours from Spain, as Philip was now entirely engaged by the war in France; certain it is, that ſcarcely had the treaty been concluded, when the inſurgents repented of it. The king of Spain, though he could not at preſent ſpare any conſiderable force for an invaſion of Ireland, was yet deſirous to encourage the malcontents of this kingdom, until he ſhould be at leiſure to derive ſome advantage from them. Three pinnaces from Spain arrived on the northern coaſts, with ſome ſtores of ammunition, and letters from Philip to the Iriſh chieftains, exhorting them to perſevere in their oppoſition to the Engliſh power, and aſſuring them of immediate ſupport. The Iriſh, fired with this intereſting intelligence, were aſhamed of their late conceſſions, and impatient for ſome pretence to violate their treaty. Tyrone, with his uſual diſſimulation, tranſmitted to the lord-deputy and the council a letter, declaring the ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion; and, at the ſame time, took care to convey the aſſurances of a ſpeedy invaſion to Pheah Mac-Hugh, chieftain of the ſept of O'Birne, and the principal

* Ware.

cipal inſurgents of Leinſter, as well as to the diſaffected of Munſter; all of whom were exhorted to take arms, and unite with the northerns, for the aſſiſtance of the catholic religion.

Meanwhile, Norris, who imagined that he had reſtored the peace of Ulſter, judged it proper to march into Connaught, to ſuppreſs the commotions in that province, where the malcontents had ſeized ſome of the Engliſh forts, and foiled the attempts of Bingham to recover them. Their numbers were ſo conſiderable, that Norris demanded from the lord-deputy ſome additional forces, as well as a ſupply of proviſions, to enable him to act againſt them with the neceſſary vigour. Ruſſel, not diſpleaſed at his diſtreſſes, coldly replied, that the country muſt ſupply the wants of his army; and as to men, he could not ſend them, as himſelf intended to march into the Weſt. The united efforts of the lord-deputy and general, ſoon quelled the inſurgents of this province. One caſtle only made any ſhew of reſiſtance. Here the Iriſh gallantly replied to Ruſſel's ſummons, that they would not ſurrender, though his whole army were lord-deputies; and accordingly obliged him to force it by ſtorm. Others fled to their private haunts, or ſubmitted; pleading in alleviation of their offence, that they had been drove into rebellion by the intolerable oppreſſions of ſir Richard Bingham. So clamorous and poſitive were theſe charges, that Bingham, impatient to juſtify his conduct, hurried without leave into England. The queen, inſtead of hearing his defence, ordered him inſtantly to priſon; whence he was conveyed to Connaught, in cuſtody of ſir Conyers Clifford, who was appointed to ſucceed him as lord-preſident of this province. Commiſſioners were directed to hear his cauſe, in the place where his accuſers had full opportunity of proving their allegations. He was acquitted, reſtored to favour, and afterwards employed by the queen.

While the malcontents of Connaught retired before the queen's forces, and waited for ſome favourable occaſion of returning to the field, the chieftains of the North grew ſtill more impatient of their late treaty, and were meditating how to reſcind it. Tyrone, in particular, complained of freſh injuries and provocations; inſolently adding to his liſt of grievances, that after the pacification of

Connaught

Connaught, the government had preſumed to proſecute his friend and ally Pheah Mac-Hugh, with others of the inſurgents of Leinſter. In revenge of this intolerable wrong, the earl harraſſed the Engliſh garriſon at Armagh, cut off their proviſions, and inveſted the town. In conſequence of theſe outrages, Norris again marched to the northern borders. Before his arrival, the garriſon of Armagh had been obliged to capitulate, and were diſmiſſed with honour and ſafety: and agreeably to that pernicious policy, which the general himſelf had but too much favoured, a commiſſion arrived from England for treating once more with the earl of Tyrone, and accommodating the differences of the North by an amicable conference. The rebel earl had engaged in his petty hoſtilities merely to keep alive the zeal and ſpirit of his countrymen: the ſucceſs of his practices in other provinces of Ireland, as well as of his negociations with Spain, was as yet uncertain: he therefore gladly embraced the opportunity of delaying and amuſing the Engliſh government. He attended the commiſſioners with all the affectation of humility and reſignation, repeated his ſolemn aſſeverations of the ſincerity and integrity of his intentions, pretended to reveal all the ſecret practices of his aſſociates and their correſpondence with Spain; renouncing all his hopes of happineſs both here and hereafter, if he were not truly and faithfully determined to approve himſelf a loyal ſubject to the queen, provided he might be pardoned, and taken under her majeſty's protection *.

The commiſſioners had now to tranſmit to the Engliſh miniſtry a report of this conference, with the profeſſions of Tyrone, and to wait for new inſtructions; until the arrival of which, hoſtilities were ſuſpended. Meanwhile Tyrone trained and exerciſed his men; the diſaffected, who, from all quarters of the kingdom poured into his territory, were retained, and inſtructed in the uſe of arms. Emiſſaries were privately diſpatched to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the weſtern Iriſh, to concert ſchemes of inſurrection with the rebellious ſepts of Leinſter, and to encourage the enemies of government in Munſter, to revenge the ſeverities they had endured, and to exterminate the new uſurpers of their lands. Every day gave Tyrone additional

* Ware.

additional ſtrength, and fairer proſpects of ſucceſs; ſo that when inſtructions arrived for holding a ſecond conference, in which he was to be finally reſtored to favour, he recurred to his old pretences of breach of promiſe on the part of government; that his hoſtages had not been exchanged according to agreement, nor reſtitution made for the ravages committed in his lands; and that he could not attend the commiſſioners with ſafety or with honour. This article produced a mean ſolicitation on the part of government to Tyrone, that he would not wantonly reject the laſt offers of mercy and reconciliation which the queen would deign to make. He coldly replied, that he had little hope of any performance of articles, as he had been already deceived by confiding in the queen's officers: that the intentions of the general indeed had ever been juſt and honourable, but had been fatally counteracted by the deputy: and as ſir John Norris was to be ſpeedily removed from his command, and the grievances of the Northerns to be ſubmitted to a new chief governor, whoſe principles and character were entirely unknown, he had the leſs reaſon to expect a favourable concluſion of their differences. He condeſcended, however, to propoſe a time and ſcene of conference, which, he well knew, could not be accepted. A. D. 1597.

The crafty earl was not deceived in the intelligence which had encouraged him to this reply. The Engliſh miniſters, not conſidering the wants and difficulties which ſir John Norris had to encounter, nor the nature of the ſervice in which he was engaged, were aſtoniſhed that a commander of ſuch great reputation had not gained ſome important advantages in Ireland. The earl of Eſſex, the queen's diſtinguiſhed favourite, had been the rival, and was the enemy of Norris. By his practices, a new lord-deputy, lord Burgh, a man of ſufficient ability in war, was ſent into Ireland with full powers, both in civil and military affairs. On his arrival, ſir John Norris was abruptly ordered to his government of Munſter, where the anguiſh of diſappointment and diſgrace ſo wrought on the ſenſibility of this gallant leader, that in the ſpace of two months, without any apparent malady, he ſuddenly expired in the embraces of his brother.

Lord Burgh entered on his government with a full perſuaſion

ſuaſion that no dependence was to be placed on the inſidious profeſſions of Tyrone, and that the diſorders of Ireland could never be terminated by the proſecution of conferences, and ignominious conceſſions *. He had been inſtructed, and was determined, to purſue the rebels with vigour, as the only effectual means of ſecuring their obedience. He deemed it expedient, however, at the inſtances of Tyrone, to grant a ceſſation of arms for one month; and this interval he employed in collecting his forces, and concerting his operations. The earl of Kildare, the baron of Trimbleſton, and other lords of the Pale, attended his ſtandard with their followers; and as he reſolved to penetrate into the very heart of the northern inſurrection, ſir Conyers Clifford was ordered to march his forces through Connaught, and meet the deputy at the fort of Blackwater. Tyrone acted on his part with equal vigour: he lay with his main body ſtrongly intrenched near the town of Armagh. Tyrrel, a degenerate Engliſhman, his aſſociate, was ſent into Leinſter with a troop of five hundred men, to incite the diſaffected ſepts to make a powerful diverſion in that province; while his emiſſaries in Connaught animated the malcontents to oppoſe the intended progreſs of ſir Conyers Clifford.

The commencement of hoſtilities ſeemed to preſage a favourable iſſue to the Iriſh. A ſon of lord Trimbleſton's was detached with a thouſand men to attack Tyrrel and his party; when the experience and addreſs of the rebel-leader ſupplying the deficiency of his numbers, he gave the royaliſts a total defeat, and ſent their young commander a priſoner to Tyrone, otherwiſe called O'Nial. Clifford, who led his ſmall body of ſeven hundred men towards the northern province, found himſelf ſuddenly oppoſed by two thouſand deſperate rebels, whom he was utterly unable to encounter. Being obliged to make a retreat, he conducted it with ſo much judgement and ſucceſs, that, though inceſſantly harraſſed by the enemy in a march of thirty miles, he yet regained his quarters without any conſiderable loſs.

Lord Burgh, undaunted by theſe diſaſters, marched into Ulſter, and boldly attacked the northern army in its intrench-

* Sulliv.

intrenchments *. The reſiſtance of the rebels was obſtinate; but the Engliſh forces perſevered, and were ſucceſsful. They forced their way to the fort of Blackwater, which was eaſily taken; but the rebels again appeared, and renewed the attack; nor were they repelled without ſome loſs and danger. The deputy, having ſtationed an Engliſh garriſon in the fort, reſolved to pierce to Dungannon, the chief reſidence of Tyrone. The Iriſh forces occupied the defiles, and ſeemed determined to oppoſe his paſſage. But the ſudden death of lord Burgh relaxed all military operations. The command of the royal army now devolved to the earl of Kildare, who deemed it moſt prudent to ſecure the ground already gained; but he did not long ſurvive the lord-deputy. His two foſter-brethren had been killed, in reſcuing him from the enemy; and ſuch was his ſenſibility, and the tender affection he bore for them, that he pined with affliction, and died lamenting their fall †.

On the death of lord Burgh, the council, as uſual, appointed a temporary ſucceſſor, and committed the reins of government to ſir Thomas Norris, lord preſident of Munſter: but at his own requeſt, the queen immediately appointed a new adminiſtration. The civil government was committed to Loftus, archbiſhop of Dublin, and chancellor of Ireland, and to ſir Robert Gardiner, chief-juſtice. The military was entruſted to the earl of Ormond, with the title of lord-lieutenant of the army. So alarming were the diſorders of Leinſter, that the new general thought it neceſſary to confine himſelf to this province; while ſir Henry Bagnal was detached to the borders of Ulſter, to awe the northerns, and ſupport the garriſons of Armagh and Blackwater. But Tyrone now found it expedient to recur to his former artifices. He affected particular ſatisfaction that ſo conſiderable a ſhare of authority in Ireland had been committed to the earl of Ormond, from whom he looked for the regards of a countryman. Addreſſing himſelf, in his uſual terms of humiliation, to this lord, he lamented his unhappy condition, pleaded his grievances, and implored the earl's favourable interpoſition with the queen, for pardon and protection to a penitent offender, whoſe baſe relapſes could

* Sulliv. † Cox.

could not indeed be juſtified, but were palliated by the wrongs he had ſuſtained. This new overture of accommodation was tranſmitted to the queen, and Ormond empowered to confer with him at Dundalk, where it was agreed, that a ceſſation of arms ſhould be made for eight weeks, in order to give the northern lords an opportunity of ſtating their grievances at large, and tranſmitting them to the queen *. Tyrone, on his part, engaged to recal his forces from Leinſter; to hold no correſpondence with Spain during the ceſſation, but to diſcover any intelligence he might receive thence; neither to commit nor countenance any outrage, nor aid thoſe who ſhould preſume to violate the truce; to give ſafe-conduct to her majeſty's officers; to victual the fort of Blackwater; and, as a token of his ſubmiſſion, to deliver forty beeves for the uſe of the garriſon. Ormond promiſed that the Northerns ſhould have the ſame permiſſion to purchaſe proviſions in the Pale, which the queen's ſubjects were to be allowed in Ulſter; that ſome of Tyrone's aſſociates depending on the truce, ſhould be ſeized by the government, without his conſent; and that the ſoldiery ſhould be reſtrained from all violence and rapine.

To this conference ſucceeded another, in which the rebel-earl was informed of the conditions required by the queen, in return for granting her gracious pardon to him, and all the inhabitants of Tyrone. He was deſired to renew his ſubmiſſion publickly and ſolemnly; to detach himſelf from his confederates, diſperſe his forces, and diſmiſs all ſtrangers; to renounce the title of O'Nial, with all its pretended rights and juriſdictions; to repair the damages formerly made by him in the fort and bridge of Blackwater, and to furniſh the garriſon with proviſions at an equitable rate; to diſcover all his tranſactions with Spain; and to admit a ſheriff into his country; to pay a fine in ſatisfaction for his offence; to deliver up all traitors who ſhould attempt to conceal themſelves in his lands; to ſurrender the ſons of John O'Nial into the hands of Ormond; and, as a ſurety for the faithful performance of theſe articles, to give his eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage.

Tyrone, with leſs humility than he had formerly aſ-

ſumed,

* Moryſon.

ſumed, canvaſſed all theſe articles; to ſome he objected, and to others he demanded explanations. He could not engage to detach himſelf from his confederates, unleſs time were granted them to come in and ſubmit, ſo that they might not charge him with a clandeſtine deſertion of their intereſts. While he promiſed to renounce the name of O'Nial, he reſerved the rights uſually annexed to the chieftainry of his country: as he had not received the ſons of John from the ſtate, he peremptorily refuſed to ſurrender them: he agreed to receive a ſheriff; but required that a gentleman of the county only ſhould be choſen to this office; and that the appointment ſhould for ſome time be deferred.

Though theſe conditions were far from being honourable to the influence or power of the adminiſtration, yet his pardon, at the preſſing inſtances of the earl of Ormond, received the great ſeal. At the ſame time, O'Ruarc, the principal inſurgent of Connaught, made ſubmiſſion to ſir Conyers Clifford, and promiſed, for himſelf and his followers, the moſt faithful allegiance to the crown.

From theſe auſpicious events, the queen and her miniſters entertained ſanguine hopes of a ſpeedy reſtoration of tranquillity to this diſtracted kingdom; but they had the mortification of an immediate and ſevere diſappointment. Tyrone, with an affected diſregard of that mercy, which he had repeatedly and ſo eaſily obtained, or rather extorted, omitted to plead his pardon, or to proceed through thoſe forms of law, neceſſary to reinſtate him in the condition of a loyal ſubject. In the late conference, he had artfully demanded a ceſſation for one year; expecting, probably, that by this time he ſhould receive ſuccours from the king of Spain; and that the queen, who evidently regarded the affairs of Ireland with diſguſt, as a great embarraſſment to her favourite purſuits, would inadvertently ſuffer her forces in this country to waſte in a ſervice of diſtreſs, and an unfavourable climate. And though he could obtain only a truce of two months, yet he knew that the army under Ormond, from its ſhattered condition, could not be recruited to any formidable degree at the expiration of that period. Fully ſenſible of the weakneſs of the enemy, he determined to recommence

mence hoſtilities, without any regard to promiſes or treaties, which he conſidered as mere temporary expedients.

His firſt attempt was to cut off the Engliſh garriſon of Armagh from their uſual ſupplies of proviſion; to effect which purpoſe he encamped between that town and Newry, where Bagnal was ſtationed with his forces*. After an unſucceſsful, but inconſiderable encounter, he proceeded to attack the fort of Blackwater, his great obſtacle and diſgrace: but the place being obſtinately defended againſt all his efforts, he determined, as the only expedient left, to reduce it by famine. In this ſituation, Bagnal received orders to relieve the fort; to which he marched with an army conſiſting of four thouſand five hundred foot, and five hundred horſe. At the diſtance of three miles from the place, he found the rebel forces drawn up to oppoſe him, and amounting to four thouſand five hundred foot, and ſix hundred horſe. The generals on each ſide were enflamed with mortal enmity againſt each other; and the ſuperſtitious Iriſh were animated even to phrenzy by their prieſts, who aſſured them, upon the faith of old prophecies, that this day would prove fatal to hereſy. Their aſſault correſponded to the fury with which they were actuated; and the diſpoſitions of Bagnal are ſaid to have been by no means judicious. In the heat of the engagement, an accidental exploſion of ſome powder threw the loyaliſts into great diſorder; and was immediately ſucceeded by the death of their general, who, in raiſing his beaver, received a fatal ſhot in the forehead. The rebels obtained a complete victory. Fifteen hundred ſoldiers of the royal army, and thirteen gallant officers, were ſlain in the field. The Iriſh acknowledged only the loſs of two hundred ſlain, and ſix hundred wounded. They became maſters of all the artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, of the royal army,
A. D. 1598. beſide a quantity of arms. The fort of Blackwater immediately ſurrendered; and the remains of the royaliſts, who had fled for ſhelter to Armagh, were ſoon obliged to evacuate that town †.

In the preſent ſituation of affairs in Ireland, this victory was of the utmoſt importance. The illuſtrious O'Nial was every where extolled as the deliverer of his country. Thoſe

* Sulliv. † Ibid.

Thoſe in Ulſter, who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance, now declared at once againſt the government. In Connaught the revolt was general. The Iriſh ſepts of Leinſter, who had formerly confined themſelves to ſome ſhort occaſional inſurrections, now broke out in the full fury of rebellion, and bade defiance to Engliſh government. Various were the diſcontents of the great Iriſh lords of the South. Thoſe particularly, whoſe lands had been forfeited in the Deſmond rebellion, were inſpired with implacable reſentment. Such as had undertaken the plantation of theſe lands, either entirely abandoned them, or neglected to fulfil their engagements: the diſaffected Iriſh ſwarmed in their eſtates; and inſtead of being able to furniſh two thouſand fighting men, the number ſtipulated with the government, no more than two hundred, of Engliſh birth, could be found among them, on the entrance of the rebels into Munſter. The flame of inſurrection was inſtantly lighted up, and ſpread through all the ſouthern province. Thoſe Geraldines, known by the fantaſtical Iriſh titles of Knight of the Valley, and the White Knight, joined in the rebellion: and to give their party greater weight, James, nephew to the late unfortunate lord Gerald, was by the agents of Tyrone ſolemnly inveſted with the title of the earl of Deſmond; which, with his lands, now to be recovered, he ſtipulated to hold in vaſſalage to the O'Nials. Having no enemy to encounter, the rebels every where committed the moſt deſperate outrages.

The preſent condition of the Engliſh government appeared extremely deſperate. The royaliſts, cooped up in towns, acted every where on the defenſive, harraſſed and inſulted by the enemy, who rioted in all enormities through every quarter of the kingdom. The chieftain of Tyrone, who claimed the merit of all this havock, diſpatched his emiſſaries to the king of Spain, magnifying his ſucceſſes, profeſſing his attachment, and requeſting ſuccours for effectually accompliſhing the extinction of the Engliſh government. On the other hand repeated diſpatches were ſent into England, repreſenting the dangerous ſituation of Iriſh affairs, with preſſing inſtances for a reinforcement. The queen, more provoked at the vexatious burden, than ſolicitous for the welfare of her

Iriſh

Iriſh dominions, condemned the conduct of Ormond in not undertaking the northern war in perſon, inſtead of entruſting it to ſir Henry Bagnal; gave him the ſtricteſt injunctions to purge the army of Iriſh; named ſir Richard Bingham, now reſtored to favour, to ſucceed the former, as marſhal of Ireland; and on his ſudden death, appointed ſir Samuel Bagnal to lead two thouſand men into this kingdom.

But this proviſion was by no means thought adequate to the preſſing neceſſities of Ireland. At a time when this country was one general ſcene of inſurrection, Elizabeth received intelligence from the king of Scots, that Philip of Spain was preparing for a powerful invaſion of her dominions; that forty thouſand men were raiſed for a deſcent on England, as was ſuppoſed; and twelve thouſand deſtined for the ſupport of her rebellious ſubjects in Ireland. The preſervation of this kingdom was now become an object of the moſt ſerious attention in her councils, and it was unanimouſly agreed, that nothing but a formidable army, and an experienced general, could ſave the realm of Ireland from becoming an acquiſition to the crown of Spain.

The earl of Eſſex had been for ſome time the great favourite of Elizabeth; and though he had lately provoked her by the unguarded haughtineſs of his behaviour, and paſſionately expreſſed his reſentment at a mark which he had received of the queen's indignation, yet was he reſtored to grace. The death of lord Burleigh left him without any rival in her confidence; though ſtill expoſed to the envy of aſpiring courtiers, who interpreted all his actions with a ſecret malignity. On the preſent deliberations about the affairs of Ireland, he repreſented that the military command in that country required a brave and ſkilful general, one of weight and dignity, one known to poſſeſs the confidence of his royal miſtreſs, who muſt there ſtand ſuperior to the intrigues of faction. So diſtinctly did he mark out his own character, that his deſire of being inveſted with the government of Ireland could not be miſtaken; and both his friends and enemies concurred in rendering his deſire effectual, though the queen had before propoſed to commit the government of Ireland to Blount lord Mountjoy. Eſſex was therefore appointed

pointed to the command, with the title of lord-lieutenant, and with more extenſive power than almoſt any governor had before enjoyed. Beſide an extraordinary authority of pardoning all treaſons, even ſuch as touched the queen's perſon; of removing officers, and conferring dignities, he was left to conduct the war at his own diſcretion, and furniſhed with an army of twenty thouſand men: ſuch a force as had not yet been ſent into Ireland, and ſuch as thoſe who were ſtrangers to this country conceived to be irreſiſtible.

The Iriſh inſurgents ſeemed not to be diſmayed by this formidable preparation. On Eſſex's arrival in Ireland, the earl of Tyrone who had called a council of war, determined to oppoſe the queen's forces in the North with a body of ſix thouſand men; while O'Donnel, with four thouſand, was to carry on the war in Connaught. The rebels of Munſter had ſolemnly bound themſelves by an oath to be faithful to their cauſe. Not one of the inſurgents, as was uſual at the appearance of great military preparations, deigned to ſubmit and ſue for pardon. Even thoſe ſubjects who had not yet ſwerved from their allegiance, were ſo far tainted by the artful repreſentations of the inſurgents, that they betrayed manifeſt ſigns of reluctance to ſerve the queen; and ſeveral of them were known to hold correſpondence with the rebels.

Eſſex began his adminiſtration in ſuch a manner, as gave the ſtrongeſt reaſon to ſuſpect that his object was to ſtrengthen his own perſonal power and influence *. Contrary to the queen's directions, he made his friend, the earl of Southampton, general of horſe; and in ſpite of her remonſtrances, continued him in this command. With equal diſregard to his inſtructions, he laviſhed the honour of knighthood, ſo highly eſteemed at this time, on every perſon whom he thought worth purchaſing to his party. He had been expreſly commanded to ſtrike directly at the northern rebels; and at the ſame time to plant garriſons at Loughfoyle and Ballyſhannon, ſo as to ſurround them with his forces; but, in deference to the opinion of the Iriſh privy counſellors, he marched to the South; on his paſſage whither he had the mortification of being conſiderably harraſſed by O'Moore, the chieftain of

* Camden. Moryſon.

of Leix. He arrived at his deſtination, only to lay ſiege to a caſtle belonging to the lord Cahir; and by the oppoſition he received from the titular earl of Deſmond, ten days were waſted in the reduction of it.

Meanwhile, the northern inſurgents proceeded with alarming vigour. Tyrone was indefatigable in confirming his adherents, and defeating every attempt to ſeduce them. He ſtationed parties at the pages of Loughfoyle and Ballyſhannon, to oppoſe any Engliſh garriſons that might attempt to ſettle there. He received ammunition from Spain; and in concurrence with O'Donnel, hired a conſiderable body of Scottiſh iſlanders to ſtrengthen their forces, which now amounted to nine thouſand foot, and fourteen hundred horſe. He lay with his main body, ſtrongly entrenched, on an advantageous ground between Dundalk and Newry; declaring at once his reſolution of giving battle, and his confidence of ſucceſs. Even the rebels of Leinſter, though leſs numerous, had learned to look on their enemies without terror. About ſix hundred of the queen's forces were encountered by the ſept of O'Bryne; and inſtead of bravely defending themſelves againſt inferior numbers, were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and ſhamefully defeated. And when Eſſex returned into Leinſter with an enfeebled and diminiſhed army, he could expreſs his vexation only by decimating the unfortunate troops, caſhiering their officers, and executing the chief delinquent.

The account of his diſaſters was received with delight by his enemies in England; the ſanguine hopes which the queen had conceived of the adminiſtration of her favourite, were entirely defeated; and every artifice was uſed to exaſperate her diſappointment. The intelligence which the earl now ſent of the ſtate of Ireland, afforded the moſt melancholy proſpect. He repreſented the diſaffection as general, ariſing from an averſion both to the religion and government of England; and that, though the arms of England ſhould in the end prove ſucceſsful, the conteſt muſt be the work of great care, expence, and time.

Sir Conyers Clifford, lord preſident of Connaught, was ordered to draw his forces to Beleek, in order to make a diverſion on that ſide, while Eſſex, now reinforced with two

two thouſand men more from England, made his grand attack upon the rebels. Clifford accordingly marched with fifteen hundred foot, and about two hundred cavalry; but O'Ruarc, one of the rebel leaders, iſſuing ſuddenly from an ambuſh, with only two hundred men, attacked the party in a mountainous and embarraſſed ſituation, caſt them into confuſion, killed one hundred and twenty, among whom Clifford himſelf, and ſome other officers, fell at the firſt onſet. He then purſued the victory, until by the valour of the horſe he was again driven into the woods. The loſs in this encounter was of little moment, compared to the impreſſion which it made on the minds of the ſoldiery. The Engliſh levies ſhewed the utmoſt reluctance to march through a ſtrange country, where at every ſtep they were liable to be ſurpriſed by the enemy, and deſerted in conſiderable numbers; while the Iriſh loyaliſts, deſpiſing an unſucceſsful general, united with their countrymen. Eſſex now wrote to England, that the whole number of forces under his immediate command amounted to no more than four thouſand effective men; that all his intended enterpriſes muſt neceſſarily be ſuſpended; and that for this reaſon he could but draw towards the borders of Ulſter three thouſand five hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. With this force, therefore, he marched to the northern borders. Tyrone, who beſide his expectation of powerful aſſiſtance from Spain, knew that the moſt effectual means of ruining the royal army, was by protracting the war, determined to recur to his old artifices. He appeared with his forces at ſome diſtance, and ſent a meſſenger to Eſſex to deſire a parley. He was anſwered, that the lord-lieutenant ſhould meet him next morning at the head of his army. He again entreated for a conference, repeated his aſſurances that he would throw himſelf on the royal mercy, and at length obtained permiſſion to attend the earl. The place appointed for the interview was at a ford, near the principal town of the county of Louth. The earl deigned to confer for a conſiderable time with Tyrone, without any witneſs of their parley. While Eſſex, with the ſtatelineſs of a ſuperior, ſtopped at the bank of the river to receive the chieftain's overtures, the latter, who had an inſinuating and flattering addreſs, plunged into

the ſtream up to his very ſaddle, as if with an impatience to caſt himſelf at the feet of this illuſtrious governor. He urged his grievances with a well-diſſembled humility; and well informed of the character of Eſſex, ſeems to have led him into a confidential ſtrain of converſation, in which the lord-lieutenant incautiouſly laid open ſome of the extravagant and crude ſchemes of his ambition. When this private interview had been carried on for a conſiderable time, Eſſex at length called on Southampton, and five other principal officers, to attend him. Tyrone, on his part, ſummoned his brother Cormac, and an equal number of his party.

The conference being now opened in due form, Tyrone repeated the grievances which had induced the Northerns to take arms, and propoſed the conditions on which they conſented to return to their allegiance; a general amneſty, a free exerciſe of religion, the reſtoration of their lands, and an exemption from Engliſh government. Eſſex promiſed to tranſmit their deſires to the queen, and was even accuſed of promiſing to prevail on her to grant them, as highly equitable and reaſonable. Meanwhile, they agreed on a truce for ſix weeks, to be renewed from time to time for the ſame term, leaving each party at liberty to renew the war on fourteen days previous notice. And if any of the confederate Iriſh refuſed to adhere to this agreement, Tyrone engaged to leave them to be proſecuted by the lord-lieutenant at his pleaſure *.

This accommodation, made with an enemy who had ſo often proved unfaithful, completed the mortification of the queen, and afforded ſecret triumph to the enemies of her favourite. She did not impute the diſhonourable procedure of the earl to any deficiency of ſpirit; but dreaded ſome clandeſtine ſcheme, not yet unravelled; and in this ſhe was encouraged by thoſe who were envious of the earl's authority. Before ſhe had yet heard of the ceſſation made with the Northerns, ſhe contented herſelf with ſending the Iriſh governor and council a letter, in which ſhe enlarged on all the miſconduct of the war in ſuch terms of diſpleaſure as ſuited an offended ſovereign. Every word pierced deep into the heart of Eſſex; and as he imputed the whole to the practices of his enemies, his

* Moryſon.

his impatience burſt into the moſt extravagant menaces of revenge. His ſcheme, which he had entertained for ſome time, was nothing leſs than that of marching into England with the flower of his army, and executing his vengeance by force of arms; confident that his popularity would ſoon procure him many partizans. The firſt ſuſpicions of this deſign were carefully tranſmitted to the Engliſh court, by men who were purpoſely employed to watch his words and actions. A rumour, induſtriouſly propagated, that the king of Spain meditated an invaſion of England, was made a pretence for ſuddenly levying ſix thouſand men in London; of whom three thouſand were appointed to guard the queen's perſon. But intelligence leſs alarming being received from Ireland, theſe troops were ſpeedily diſbanded. The temperate counſels of the earl of Southampton, and ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, had allayed the firſt fury of Eſſex's reſentment. Soon after his arrival in Ireland, he had the precaution to obtain from the queen a warrant, empowering him, at any time, to repair to England, and delegate his government to two lords-juſtices; provided that he ſhould never venture to return, untill the kingdom ſhould be ſo ſettled, that no danger might ariſe from his abſence. Though the queen's laſt letter expreſly directed him to attend to the affairs of his government, he determined to avail himſelf of this warrant; a meaſure to which he was encouraged, by recollecting that the earl of Leiceſter had returned from the Low Countries contrary to command, had made his peace with the queen, and had confounded his enemies. Hoping no leſs ſucceſs, he ſuddenly departed, with a few gentlemen in his train; leaving the government to the chancellor Loftus, and ſir George Carew. He appeared at court before his intentions were ſuſpected; ruſhed through the apartments, covered with duſt and ſweat, and ſurpriſed the queen, who was newly riſen, and dreſſing in her bed-chamber, by falling on his knees before her, and kiſſing her hand. In the firſt unguarded emotions of her heart, ſhe forgot his miſconduct, and received him graciouſly. But when her pride was awaked, and her policy found leiſure to operate, ſhe changed her behaviour, and commanded him to confine himſelf to his chamber, until her farther pleaſure

ſhould be known. She directed her council to examine him; and as the explanations of his conduct was by no means ſatisfactory, he was committed to the cuſtody of the lord-keeper*.

Scarcely had the earl of Eſſex returned to England, when new ſupplies of money and ammunition arrived from Spain; accompanied with freſh aſſurances of a powerful reinforcement from that country. With theſe ſupplies arrived Don Mattheo Oviedo, a Spaniſh eccleſiaſtic, on whom the pope had conferred the title of archbiſhop of Dublin. And as a token of the affection and regard of the Roman pontiff for the prince of Ulſter, (as Tyrone was called) this prelate preſented him with a hallowed plume, which the holy father gravely declared to be the feathers of a phœnix. Tyrone, animated by this flattering mark of attention, declared himſelf the champion of the holy faith: and in full confidence of ſucceſs, ſoon after the expiration of the firſt period of his truce, recommenced hoſtilities. The royaliſts, who were not well prepared to oppoſe him, expoſtulated on this violation of his treaty. He coldly replied, that he had given the neceſſary notification of his intentions; and could not recal them, as his confederates had been diſpatched into different quarters of the kingdom to renew the war †. The earl of Ormond, who had been again appointed lord-lieutenant of the army, now proceeded againſt the northern inſurgents with ſuch forces as he could collect; when Tyrone again deemed it expedient to parley; and after ſome arrogant menaces, which were retorted with due ſpirit, to renew the ceſſation for a month. This interval the rebel lord left not unimproved. He publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to all his countrymen, exhorting them to forſake the ſhameful cauſe of hereſy; to unite with him in defence of the liberty of their country, and chiefly of the catholic religion, for which he principally contended, and the ſacred intereſts of which, no perſonal advantage ſhould ever prevail upon him to abandon. To impreſs the populace with an idea of his extraordinary piety, and at the ſame time to gain an opportunity of concerting meaſures, with his ſouthern aſſociates, he affected to make a pilgrimage to the holy croſs of Tipperary.

While

* Uſher. † Moryſon.

While the inſurgents were preparing vigorouſly for renewing the war, the only hope which the royaliſts had at preſent, was from acting on the defenſive. Ormond was indefatigable in ſtrengthening and ſupplying the forts and garriſons, and collecting the forces from the Pale. He repreſented to the Engliſh miniſtry the dangers and apprehenſions of thoſe who were well affected to the government; and earneſtly entreated, that ſome effectual proviſions ſhould be made for their protection, before the rebels might be enabled to break into the Pale, and overwhelm them. At the ſame time, on the expiration of the truce, he marched into Munſter, and by his activity not only foiled ſome attempts of Tyrone, but gained ſome advantage over his confederates.

In this ſituation of affairs, lord Mountjoy was appointed by the queen lord-deputy of Ireland, and aſſumed the reins of government. So mean was the opinion formed of his military capacity by the Iriſh, who miſtook the refinement of his manners for effeminacy, that Tyrone exulted in the choice which the queen had made of a commander. Elizabeth herſelf ſeems to have entruſted him with this charge, not without ſome diffidence; for the earl of Ormond was continued lord-lieutenant of the army; and her principal reliance ſeems to have been placed on this nobleman, and on the abilities and experience of ſir George Carew, whom ſhe appointed lord-preſident of Munſter. The inſtructions which Mountjoy received, were the ſame which Eſſex had fatally neglected; to plant ſtrong garriſons at Loughfoyle and Ballyſhannon, ſo as at any time to iſſue from theſe quarters upon the Ulſter rebels: to ſtation others at Armagh, Blackwater, and ſuch other quarters as might check their irruptions into the Pale; and by thus encompaſſing the Northerns, either to confine them at home, and to cut off their ſupplies; or, if they ſhould break into other diſtricts, to have their lands and effects at the mercy of the queen's troops. A.D. 1600.

But the very day after his arrival, intelligence was received from Ormond, that Tyrone lay with a conſiderable force in the weſtern part of Munſter; that the troops of the earls of Thomond and Clanricarde, thoſe of the commiſſioners for executing the office of preſident of Munſter

until

until the arrival of Carew, and thoſe commanded by Ormond himſelf, were ſo ſtationed, that he could not poſſibly eſcape, except by the weſtern borders of the Pale; ſo that if the deputy ſhould draw his forces thither, he would have a fair opportunity of intercepting, and encountering him with advantage. Mountjoy, in conſequence of theſe advices, marched to Mullingar, where, after expecting the enemy for ſome time, and being amuſed with various reports, he at length learned, that Tyrone had contrived to paſs the river Inny, and fled into the North with ſuch precipitation, as plainly ſhewed his terror of the royaliſts. An eſcape ſo unexpected naturally raiſed ſuſpicions in the mind of a new chief governor, of ſome neglect, if not of ſome treachery, in thoſe who were to watch his motions. It was reported that Tyrone had practiſed with the earl of Clanricarde in particular; and that the latter waited only the return of his ſon, lord Dunkellin, from England, to declare openly for the rebels. But an unexpected incident ſerved to fix ſuſpicions upon a character of ſtill greater conſequence.

On the departure of ſir George Carew for his government of Munſter, he was received at Kilkenny by the earl of Ormond, who informed him that he was the next morning to hold a parley with O'Moore, the principal rebel of Leinſter; inviting him and the earl of Thomond, his companion, to attend the conference. They accepted the offer, adviſing the earl, that his own troop of two hundred horſe, joined by that of one hundred, which was in the preſident's train, ſhould attend them as a guard. Ormond ſlightly anſwered, that the precaution was unneceſſary, and even commanded his own troop to halt within two miles of the appointed place of meeting, advancing only with ſeventeen armed men; while O'Moore awaited him with a complete band of pikemen, leaving his main body, conſiſting of five hundred foot and twenty horſe, in an adjacent wood, ready to ruſh out at his command. Carew, who diſliked the ſituation of the places, as well as the circumſtances and the behaviour of the enemy, preſſed the earl of Ormond to retire. But in a long and fruitleſs conference with O'Moore, he demanded to ſpeak with one Archer, a Jeſuit, noted as a great incendiary. During his interview with this perſon, the rebel troop gradually advanced,

advanced, ſurrounded his company, and at length ſeized the earl. Carew and Thomond ſpurred forward, and burſt through them, ſo as, with ſome danger and difficulty, to effect their eſcape. Ormond remained their priſoner; nor could his troop be perſuaded to attempt his reſcue *.

This incautious behaviour of Ormond, who had uſually acted with circumſpection, naturally excited in the friends of government a ſuſpicion that he had formed a clandeſtine ſcheme of delivering himſelf into the hands of the rebels. Mountjoy, who perhaps was not diſſatisfied at the removal of a man who rivalled him in authority, affected to treat this incident with indifference. He ſoon received from O'Moore the terms on which the earl's liberty was to be purchaſed. Theſe were, that her majeſty's garriſons were to be removed from his territory of Leix, and ſufficient ſecurities given that none others ſhould be planted there; that if ſuch ſecurities ſhould be denied, then the garriſons of O'Fally alſo ſhould be removed; that O'Moore and his followers ſhould be received into protection for ſix weeks; in which interval no forces ſhould be ſent againſt their confederates of Ulſter. Mountjoy rejected their inſolent overtures with a ſilent diſdain, and proceeded in his military operations.

Mountjoy's firſt care was to ſend detachments to different quarters, to keep the northern rebels in awe, and confine them to their own territory; to ſtation four thouſand men at Loughfoyle; to provide for the ſecurity of Leinſter; and to ſend ſupplies to the Engliſh garriſons of Leix and O'Fally, which he effected, in ſpite of the boaſted oppoſition of O'Moore. He then marched northwards, where he found Tyrone entrenched between Newry and Armagh, and prepared to diſpute his paſſage. He attacked the Northerns vigorouſly; and after ſome reſiſtance, drove them to their woods. At the ſame time intelligence was received, that ſir Henry Dowkra, who commanded the detachment of Loughfoyle, had made good his landing, and was employed in fortifying the city of Derry †.

Theſe diſaſters made a great impreſſion upon the ficklenes of the Iriſh: numbers of them deſerted to Dowkra; and ſome of their principal partizans applied to the lord-deputy

* Sullivan, Moryſon. † Ibid.

deputy for pardon and protection. Sir Arthur O'Nial, ſon of the late Tirlaugh Lynnogh, made overtures of ſubmiſſion, hoping to be inveſted with the title and eſtate of Tyrone. One of the O'Donnels ſtipulated for the chieftainry of Tir-Connel, as the price of his deſertion. And though the demands of all were not granted in their full extent, yet by ſome conceſſions, and aſſurances of farther favour, ſuch men were retained in a dependance on the government.

Mountjoy had not been long in the northern borders, when he was again called into Leinſter, by the inſolence of the rebellious ſepts of this province. Here alſo the well-affected were encouraged, and the inſurgents confounded, by his ſucceſsful excurſions. He purſued Tyrrel and O'Moore in their retreats in Leix, where in a bold attack upon the Engliſh forces, the latter of theſe chieftains was killed. The Leinſter rebels, by driving the royaliſts into their fortified towns, and living without moleſtation, had cultivated their lands, and eſtabliſhed in their diſtricts an unuſual degree of proſperity. But now they were expoſed to unmerciful havock, from the queen's forces. The ſoldiers, encouraged by the example of their officers, every where cut down the ſtanding corn with their ſwords, and left no means undeviſed to deprive the wretched inhabitants of all the neceſſaries of life, as famine was judged the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual means of reducing them *.

The ſame melancholy expedient was practiſed in the northern provinces. All the Engliſh garriſons were daily employed in pillaging and waſting; while Tyrone, with his diſpirited army, ſhrunk gradually within narrower bounds. They were effectually prevented from ſowing and cultivating their lands; and at the approach of winter, the deputy again appeared on their borders. He again drove Tyrone from his intrenchments, and demoliſhed his works. The want of neceſſaries having driven the Engliſh garriſon from Armagh, and made it impracticable to maintain this poſt, in a waſted country; he therefore, eight miles diſtant from this town, erected a new fort, which he called Mount Norris, in honour of the late general of that name. During the progreſs of the

* Sullivan. Moryſon.

the work, he attempted every day to interrupt him by his vigour and prudent diſpoſitions. The laſt effort made by Tyrone was to oppoſe his return by Carlingford; but here alſo he was bravely repelled with conſiderable loſs: ſo that the reputation of this chieftain, ſo long the idol of his barbarous countrymen, was utterly overthrown; and his followers, in all quarters, flying from the miſeries of war, ſued to government for pardon and protection.

The expences of maintaining the Iriſh war had gradually encreaſed to the annual amount of four or five hundred thouſand pounds: and it was found, that by the regular payment of the army in ſterling money, England had been drained of an alarming quantity; of which a conſiderable part, either by inroads and plunder, or by traffic for proviſions, and other ways of commerce, fell into the hands of Tyrone and his aſſociates; who were thereby enabled to procure from the continent a regular ſupply of arms, ammunition, and proviſions, ſo as to maintain the war againſt the queen with her own treaſure*. To remedy this inconvenience, and at the ſame time to leſſen the burden of ſupporting the royal army, the queen was perſuaded to order a baſe coin to be ſent into Ireland, and there to be taken as ſterling money; ſtrictly prohibiting the importation of any other ſpecies into that kingdom, and decrying thoſe already current. This ſcheme ſerved to encreaſe the diſtreſſes of the rebels, to whom, in the purchaſe of proviſions from foreign countries, it would not paſs above its intrinſic value. But as traders took care, in conſequence of this coinage, to raiſe the prices of all commodities exceedingly, and as great quantities of ſpurious coinage were made by rebels and ſtrangers, the exchange ſoon failed; and great murmurs took place among the ſoldiers.

At the firſt intimation of this meaſure, Mountjoy, who juſtly apprehended that ſo conſiderable a defalcation of their pay might provoke the army to an immediate mutiny, reſolved to keep them buſily employed. For this purpoſe he marched to the northern borders, where he ſupplied and reinforced his garriſons, received the ſubmiſſions of thoſe rebels who returned to their allegiance; and, without engaging in any important enterpriſe, kept Tyrone

* Pacat. Hib.

Tyrone in perpetual alarm, and harraſſed him in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes*. But new incidents ſoon called him into the ſouthern province, which now became the principal ſeat of war.

When ſir George Carew entered on the preſidency of this part of Ireland, he was furniſhed with three thouſand foot, and two hundred and fifty horſe, for the whole ſervice of his province; a force utterly incapable of making the ſlighteſt reſiſtance to the rebels, if theſe had been united into one body. But their numbers, however formidable in appearance, were made up of various bodies, under the direction of ſeparate and independent leaders, each ſeeking his own private emolument, divided with jealouſies, reſtrained by no ſuperior authority, and but weakly influenced by any common principle, national or religious. Carew ſtationed himſelf at Cork, where ſtudying the characters and different intereſts of his enemies, he was ſoon convinced that the moſt effectual means of ſubduing muſt be to diſunite them, by mutual jealouſies and ſuſpicions. He began by alarming them with rumours and excurſions ſpeedily to be made from his head quarters, which muſt ravage the adjacent country. The chieftains of theſe diſtricts were terrified, and ſubmitted to the royal mercy. Florence Mac-Arthy, with ſome difficulty, conſented to a neutrality; which, though not expected to be permanent, was uſeful on the preſent occaſion. The principal leaders whom Carew had now to deal with, were the titular earl of Deſmond, who commanded the provincial troops, and O'Connor, chief leader of the mercenaries. It was in vain to practiſe with the former, as he was determined not to relinquiſh his claims to the honours and eſtate of Deſmond, and the queen equally determined not to grant them. But O'Connor was a ſoldier of fortune, ready to engage with any party, which tended moſt to his advantage. He had married the daughter of the late earl of Deſmond; an alliance which, by the honour it conferred upon him, put him entirely under the influence of his wife. This lady, who, by an Engliſh education, contracted an affection for the Engliſh government, and was particularly ſolicitous for the intereſt of her brother, naturally hated the

* Moryſon.

the uſurper of his title, and prevailed upon her huſband, for a ſum of money, to form a ſcheme for delivering the titular earl into the hands of the lord-preſident. To promote the ſucceſs of this plot, all the motions of Carew were directed, and Connor was actually ſeized; but before Carew could receive him, he was reſcued by a ſtrong party of the inſurgents.

Carew, at the ſame time that he condeſcended to theſe methods of making war, proceeded boldly in his military operations. He took the chief caſtle of the knight of the Valley, in ſpite of a vigorous defence, and engaged in other exploits of the ſame kind, even while the enemy was in view *. He penetrated into Kerry, where he took the caſtle of the lord of Lixnaw, who died of grief at this mortification, leaving a ſon no leſs determined in his enmity to the Engliſh, though for the preſent obliged to ſubmit, and ſue for the protection of government. His excurſions were attended with the moſt diſmal havock, through all the diſaffected country. Numbers of the moſt deſperate rebels relented at the proſpect of deſolation and famine; and theſe champions of the faith applied to the court of Rome, to be abſolved from the ſin of ſubmitting to a heretical government, and to be permitted to continue in a temporal obedience to the ſtate.

Such was the ſituation of the ſouthern province, when aſſurances were ſpread through Ireland, that the Spaniſh ſuccours ſo long expected by the malcontents, were ſpeedily to embark; and that Munſter was to be the ſcene of their invaſion. O'Nial, who at the ſame time received a flattering letter from the pope, renewed his exertions with freſh vigour, and diſpatched his emiſſaries to the diſaffected lords in every province, exhorting them to prepare for the reception of their foreign allies, and now, if ever, to exert themſelves againſt the pagan beaſt, (for ſuch was the language of one of his intercepted letters). The deſigns of Spain in ſupport of the Iriſh inſurgents, which the queen's miniſters had ſo long affected to diſbelieve, became at length but too apparent; for intelligence was received that their fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail, ſeventeen of which were ſhips of war, were diſcovered

* Moryſon.

diſcovered to the north of Cape Finiſterre, ſteering their courſe to the coaſt of Ireland. On the firſt aſſurance of their embarkation, two thouſand troops were ſent from England, and three thouſand more prepared for the ſervice of Munſter. Carew had ever reſolved to maintain the city of Cork, againſt the invaders; and now received intelligence from ſir Charles Wilmot, who commanded the city in his abſence, that the Spaniſh fleet appeared before the mouth of the harbour. Another expreſs informed him, that on the ſlackening of the wind, the fleet had tacked about, and were now anchored in the harbour of Kinſale. In conſequence of this intelligence, which Carew communicated to the lord-deputy, the latter proceeded to Cork, as if fully prepared to meet the invaders.

While one part of the Spaniſh forces was driven by ſtorm into Baltimore, the main body, commanded by don Juan d'Aquila, general of the expedition, entered Kinſale without reſiſtance, the ſmall Engliſh garriſon retiring at their approach *. Diſpatches were immediately ſent into the North to notify their arrival; and to preſs Tyrone and O'Donnel, the two leaders who invited them into Ireland, to march without delay to join their allies. Oviedo and other eccleſiaſtics attended them, to ſhake the allegiance of the people by their exhortations and ſpiritual cenſures. But, in ſpite of all their efforts, the provincials of Munſter were ſo reluctant to engage in freſh hoſtilities, that on the arrival of the lord-deputy at Cork, ſeveral of their chieftains preſented themſelves before him, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their loyalty; while others ſeemed to wait the uncertain event of war, in a ſtate of neutrality. The Spaniards, who had come with the vain hopes of meeting a whole kingdom at their devotion, now found themſelves confined within an inconſiderable town, unaſſiſted by the natives, and beſieged by the queen's forces. Sallies were frequently made, ſuſtained, and repelled with due vigour. The caſtle of Kincorran, ſituated upon the river of Kinſale, without half a mile of the town, convenient for annoying the Engliſh ſhipping, and which the Spaniards, therefore, had been careful to occupy, was violently aſſaulted, and after an

* Pacat. Hib.

an obſtinate defence, at length ſurrendered to the lord-deputy.

The approaches of the beſiegers were every day advanced, when intelligence arrived that the northern forces were in full march to join the invaders; that O'Donnel, with an army of followers from Connaught and Leinſter, had already penetrated into the territories of Ormond; and was followed by Tyrone, with the flower of his Ulſter forces. It was inſtantly reſolved to divide the royal army; and while the deputy with one part continued the ſiege, that the lord-preſident of Munſter ſhould, with another body, march againſt the chieftain of Tyrconnel. Carew engaged in this ſervice contrary to his own ſentiments. Though he preſſed cloſely upon the rebels, yet, as he had foreſeen, no intelligence of their ſituation or motions could be obtained from a country too well-affected to their cauſe. They kept themſelves ſecure in woods and moraſſes, until, gaining the advantage of a ſevere froſt, they marched rapidly over a mountain, otherwiſe impaſſable, and penetrated into Munſter, leaving the lord-preſident to return to Kinſale, from a fruitleſs and harraſſing expedition.

To conſole the lord-deputy for this diſappointment, ſir Chriſtopher St. Lawrence came to his aſſiſtance with ſome forces of the Pale; the earl of Clanricarde arrived at the head of a gallant troop; the earl of Thomond, another zealous royaliſt, who had been ſent into England, returned with one thouſand men; two thouſand infantry and ſome cavalry landed at Waterford; ſir Richard Leviſton, one of the queen's admirals, arrived at Cork with ten ſhips of war, two thouſand infantry, and military ſtores. Notwithſtanding theſe reinforcements, it was ſtill reſolved not to attempt the town by ſtorm, until the enemy ſhould be weakened by ſword or ſickneſs. Caſtlepark, another adjacent fort, was attacked and ſurrendered. The beſiegers continued to advance in their approaches, and defeated every attempt of the Spaniards to diſtreſs them *.

Hitherto the provincials of Munſter, who had lately ſubmitted and received their pardons, looked on the contending parties without interfering. But ſix Spaniſh ſhips now arrived at Caſtlehaven, and landed troops, ſaid to amount

* Ware.

amount to two thouſand, with ſtores, ordnance, and ammunition. Six other veſſels, they declared, had ſailed with them from the Groyne, but had been ſeparated by a ſtorm; and that a farther embarkation was preparing, as the king of Spain determined to ſupport the Iriſh war with the utmoſt vigour. O'Donnel inſtantly united with theſe new invaders; Tyrone had penetrated into Munſter, and was at hand. The diſaffected ſepts conceived that the period of their being delivered from the Engliſh power was at length arrived: they at once caſt off the maſk of ſubmiſſion; all the Iriſh, and ſeveral of the Engliſh race in Kerry and Deſmond, all from Kinſale and Limerick weſtward, declared for the invaders. O'Driſcal, lord of a fort at Caſtlehaven, which commanded the harbour, delivered it to his foreign allies. Another of his race put them in poſſeſſion of his caſtles at Baltimore, and the iſland of Inniſherken. Daniel O'Sullivan, with the ſame zeal, reſigned into their hands his fort of Dunboy, a poſt of conſiderable ſtrength, which commanded Berehaven. D'Aquila, by his new reinforcement, was enabled to place garriſons in theſe ſeveral ſtations; his gold was laviſhed among the revolters; their principals were honoured with commiſſions from the king of Spain, and their followers taken into his pay. Admiral Leviſton, who was ſent to Caſtlehaven, after ſinking and deſtroying ſome of the Spaniſh veſſels, was by contrary winds expoſed to a battery erected by the enemy on ſhore, and which did ſo much execution that he was obliged to return to Kinſale in a ſhattered ſtate.

To increaſe the diſtreſs of the beſiegers, the northern army, commanded by Tyrone, now lay at ſix miles diſtance from their camp, and cut off all intercourſe with Cork. Surrounded by their enemies, they were prevented from foraging; while their men, weakened with hunger, and harraſſed by the toils of a winter-ſiege, dropt dead even upon their poſts. Numbers deſerted, and their Engliſh ſupplies came in ſcantily and ſlowly. In theſe circumſtances, nothing was neceſſary for the complete deſtruction of this little army, but for the inſurgents to continue obſtinately in their preſent ſituation. Tyrone ſeems to have been ſenſible of this; and is ſaid to have declared loudly againſt the chance of battle. But don

Juan,

Juan, more captivated with the brilliant proſpect of victory, ſent the moſt preſſing inſtances both to Tyrone and O'Donnel to advance againſt the enemy's camp, aſſuring them that nothing but one vigorous impreſſion was wanting to effect the deſtruction of the enemy. Several of the Iriſh chieftains eagerly embraced the ſame ſentiments; and Tyrone, impelled by their united counſels, advanced reluctantly againſt the Engliſh camp.

While the preſident was appointed to conduct the ſiege, the lord-deputy, with no more than twelve hundred foot, and four hundred horſe, marched againſt the rebels; and as the Spaniards, not ſuſpecting that their beſiegers would make this bold attempt, kept within their walls, the Engliſh had but one enemy to encounter. All the avenues to the town were occupied by ſtrong guards; and ſo alarmed were the enemy at the diſpoſitions made by the lord-deputy, and ſo diffident of their own ſtrength, that the confederate Iriſh, who, as they advanced, had conſidered only how they ſhould diſpoſe of their priſoners, retired with evident diſmay at the firſt appearance of the Engliſh forces. They were purſued, halted, and offered battle; the earl of Clanricarde, and Wingfield, marſhal of the army, charged their horſe vigorouſly; and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, the body which covered their retreat, and was compoſed of northern chieftains and other Iriſh of note, took to flight, to the amazement and terror of their aſſociates. The vanguard, commanded by Tyrrel, made ſome reſiſtance, but was alſo ſoon broken and put to flight, leaving the Spaniards of Caſtlehaven to the mercy of the Engliſh. The foreigners, after ſome ineffectual oppoſition, fell bravely in the field, except a few, who, with their general, Ocampo, were made priſoners. The main body, commanded by Tyrone, was diſcomfited with equal eaſe; and the rear, in which O'Donnel was ſtationed, fled without attempting a ſingle blow. Twelve hundred of the enemy were wounded, with no greater loſs on the part of the Engliſh, than that of one cornet killed, and a few ſoldiers wounded *.

By this victory, obtained with ſuch aſtoniſhing eaſe, the dreadful ſtorm which threatened the royal army was at once entirely diſſipated. O'Donnel, impatient of the firſt

* Ware.

firſt reverſe of fortune, fled into Spain: the Iriſh forces gradually fell away from an unſucceſsful leader; and Tyrone, ſtung with diſappointment and diſgrace, fled with the wretched remains of his followers, and concealed himſelf in his own territory. The Spaniſh general, don Juan, not entertaining the leaſt ſuſpicion that Tyrone could be ſo eaſily defeated, miſtook the volleys which they Engliſh diſcharged in honour of their victory, for the ſignal of the Iriſh army's approach, and ſallied from the town; but ſoon perceiving the Spaniſh colours taken, and finding the beſiegers fully prepared to receive him, he retired. When informed of the circumſtances of the rout, he could impute a flight ſo precipitate from ſuch inferior numbers, and preceded by an evident reluctance to engage, to no other cauſe but ſome ſecret treachery in Tyrone or his aſſociates. In the rage of indignation and reſentment, he deſired a parley with the lord-deputy, and demanded that ſome gentlemen ſhould be ſent to him, whom he would acquaint with the conditions on which the town ſhould be ſurrendered. A capitulation at length took place, by which the town of Kinſale was delivered up to the deputy: Caſtlehaven, after ſome ineffectual oppoſition from the Iriſh chieftain O'Driſcal, was alſo ſurrendered: and Baltimore, with other poſts occupied by the Spaniards, were ceded in due form. But when Dunboy, the fort of Berehaven, was on the point of being delivered, Daniel O'Sullivan, who had reſigned the ſtrong poſt into the hands of the Spaniards, provoked at their capitulation, and diſdaining to acknowledge their right to diveſt him of his ancient property, ſurpriſed the fort, diſarmed the Spaniſh garriſon, and ſeizing their ordnance and ſtores, reſolved to defend it againſt the Engliſh. Don Juan, whoſe delicate ſenſe of honour was ſhocked at this obſtruction to the fulfilling of his engagement, offered his ſervice to reduce Dunboy before his departure; but was told that the queen's forces would take care to chaſtiſe the rebels. For this purpoſe Carew conveyed troops and ammunition thither by ſea. Tyrrel and O'Sullivan attempted to oppoſe this bold enterprize, but were put to flight. The caſtle was furiouſly aſſaulted, and defended with vigour by men ſtimulated even to enthuſiaſm by the exhortations of their prieſts, and conſcious

ſcious of the ſevere treatment to which they would be expoſed from the beſiegers. When the Engliſh had gained the upper part by ſtorm, the rebels continued to make an obſtinate reſiſtance from the lower chambers; and the governor, Magaghaghan, when mortally wounded, made a deſperate effort to ſet fire to ſome barrels of powder, and at one blow to deſtroy both friends and enemies. But the horrible attempt was defeated, and the caſtle was demoliſhed by the aſſailants.

Notwithſtanding the repeated ſucceſſes of the royaliſts, and the dreadful calamities ſuſtained by the inſurgents, the ſpirit of diſaffection was induſtriouſly kept alive in Munſter by the rumours of a new Spaniſh invaſion, which were propagated by a few Romiſh prieſts, who thundered out their excommunications againſt all thoſe who took arms in defence of herefy, and againſt thoſe who ſhould ſhew mercy to ſuch as were taken fighting on the ſide of the Engliſh government. The mutual rancour of the oppoſite parties was exerciſed in a ſeries of barbarous executions, until at length the rebels, foiled and confounded by the judicious diſpoſitions of Carew, either ſought the mercy of the government, or endeavoured to fly from their diſtreſſes into other parts of Ireland: and the gradual reduction of every leader of the rebellion brought the province to that ſtate of compoſure, which gave the wretched inhabitants leiſure to reflect on their calamities *.

The ſame vigour was exerted againſt Tyrone and the northern rebels by the lord deputy. So cloſely was the earl purſued that he ſet fire to his town of Dungannon; while his adverſary, by building two new forts, excluded the chieftain from his own territories. The miſeries which the wretched Iriſh endured, from the vicinity of the royal forces, which prevented them from ſeeking any means of ſubſiſtence, were ſuch as drew compaſſion even from the enemy. Thouſands periſhed by famine; and every road and diſtrict was encumbered with their unburied carcaſes. The hideous reſources ſought for allaying the rage of hunger were more terrible even than ſuch deſolation. In this extremity of diſtreſs, Tyrone, whoſe adherents were every day diminiſhing, made overtures of accommodation,

* Pacat. Hibernia.

accommodation, with a ſincerity to which he had hitherto been a ſtranger. The expence and tedioufneſs of the war, and the fear of another invaſion from Spain, determined Mountjoy to liſten to thoſe overtures with favour. But the queen poſitively diſcharged him from receiving Tyrone upon any other conditions than an abſolute ſubmiſſion to her mercy in all things, except his life; and even this conceſſion ſhe afterwards retracted, in peeviſh oppoſition to the ſentiments of her council. The manner in which this arch-rebel ſhould be treated, became a matter of debate in the Engliſh cabinet; and on this ſubject the queen's reſolutions appear to have greatly fluctuated. Incontradiction to her former orders, ſhe directed Mountjoy to grant the earl a promiſe of life: in a few days after ſhe enlarged her commiſſion, and directed that he ſhould be aſſured of life, liberty, and pardon. Another letter, almoſt at the ſame time, from the ſecretary, inſtructed him to grant the earl pardon, either by the title of baron of Dungannon, or by ſome new title. While Mountjoy was diſtracted by this variety of inſtructions, he received alarming intimations of the queen's ſickneſs, which were quickly followed by private aſſurances of her death. This event, if once divulged, he knew muſt prove of dangerous conſequence in ſupporting among them the ſpirit of revolt; for which reaſon he determined to cut off all delays, and to conclude an accommodation with Tyrone, by virtue of the queen's commiſſion, without attending to any ſubſequent inſtructions. Sir William Godolphin was diſpatched to the earl with a ſafe conduct, and preſſed him as he regarded his deareſt intereſts, to repair immediately to the lord-deputy, and to accept of thoſe honourable conditions which that nobleman was now empowered to grant, but which might immediately be revoked. The chieftain, in his former pride, would have conſidered ſuch advances as an indication of the weakneſs and apprehenſions of the government, and rejected them with contempt; but he was now reduced to a ſtate of real humiliation. Inſtantly complying, he ſet out to attend the lord-deputy, who, at Mellifont, received him with a dignity becoming the repreſentative of an offended ſovereign. Tyrone fell upon his knees, and petitioned for mercy with an air and aſpect of diſtreſs. He ſubſcribed

his

his ſubmiſſion, which was conceived in the ampleſt form. He implored the queen's gracious commiſeration; humbly ſuing to be reſtored to his dignity and the ſtate of a ſubject, which he had ſo juſtly forfeited. He utterly renounced the name of O'Nial, with all its honourable diſtinctions and pretended authority; abjured all foreign power, and all dependency but on the crown of England; and promiſed to aſſiſt the government in aboliſhing all barbarous cuſtoms, and eſtabliſhing law and civility among his people. The lord-deputy, on the part of the queen, promiſed a full pardon to him and all his followers; to himſelf, the reſtoration of his blood and honour, with a new patent for his lands, except ſome portions reſerved for certain chieftains received into favour, and ſome for the uſe of Engliſh garriſons; to which reſervations the earl readily conſented. This accommodation being concluded, Tyrone accompanied the lord-deputy to Dublin; where, on hearing of the death of the queen, he was obſerved to burſt into a flood of tears. He pretended that his emotion aroſe from the affection which he entertained for a princeſs, who had treated him with ſuch unmerited clemency. But it was obvious that this paſſion really proceeded from a ſenſe of his precipitate ſubmiſſion; when, by perſevering but a few days, his reputation with his countrymen might have been inviolate, and the war renewed with conſiderable advantage; or, at worſt, he might have made a merit with the new ſovereign, that immediately on his acceſſion he had freely ſubmitted to mercy. As it was now impoſſible to recede, he renewed his ſubmiſſion, in the form before preſcribed, to the king. No inſurgent remained in the kingdom, who had not obtained or ſued for mercy. Many were driven by neceſſity to the continent, and earned a ſubſiſtence in the armies of Spain, where they continued to maintain a malignant reſentment againſt the Engliſh*.

* Sulliv.

CHAP. V.

From the Acceſſion of James to the Engliſh Crown, to the Battle of Kilruſh, in the Reign of Charles I.

A. D. 1603. James I.

THUS, after a perpetual conteſt of four hundred and forty years, the enemies of the Engliſh crown were entirely ſubdued in this iſland. But there yet remained for ſome future ſovereign the nobler work of eſtabliſhing the authority of laws, in a country ſo long cut off by civil diſcord from the moſt valuable advantages of ſociety. It was ſtill, however, the misfortune of Ireland to be infeſted by the emiſſaries of Rome; who, on the acceſſion of James, in many places encouraged their votaries, by aſſuring them that the new king was of the catholic religion. Such were the effects of theſe peſtilent inſinuations, that ſeveral cities of Leinſter, and almoſt all thoſe of Munſter, now conſpired to avow their contempt of penal ſtatutes, and to reſtore the Romiſh worſhip in its full ſplendor. In Cork, the factious eccleſiaſtics were particularly numerous and turbulent. Their magiſtrates at firſt refuſed to proclaim the king; but not daring to perſevere in this inſolent oppoſition to authority, they at length publiſhed the proclamation of their liberties; and at the ſame time that they notified this event to the lord-deputy, they demanded that Halbowling, a fort built in the late reign to protect the city againſt invaſion, ſhould be delivered into the hands of their corporation. The commiſſioners for executing the preſidency of Munſter on the departure of ſir George Carew, and the officers of the army, were juſtly alarmed at their extravagances, and determined to ſtrengthen every poſt in the neighbourhood of Cork, by which the ſeditious inhabitants might be kept in awe; a meaſure which was not effected without oppoſition and ſome bloodſhed *.

This ſeditious ſpirit, ſo generally diffuſed through the cities of the South, was particularly embarraſſing, at a time when the calamities which war and devaſtation had produced, required the whole attention of the government. Mountjoy ſoon determined to march into Munſter at

* Ware.

at the head of the royal army. At Waterford he found the gates ſhut againſt him; the citizens pleading, that, by a charter from king John, the were exempt from quartering ſoldiers. Two eccleſiaſtics, in the habits of their order, and with the croſs erected, preſented themſelves before the lord-deputy in his camp, and inſolently declared, that the citizens of Waterford could not in conſcience obey any prince that perſecuted the catholic faith. But this expedient having no effect in altering the reſolution of the deputy, he threatened, that, if the inhabitants proved refractory, he would level the city with the ground. In conſequence of this declaration, he was immediately admitted; the inhabitants at once ſwore allegiance, and renounced all foreign juriſdiction; and a ſtrong garriſon was ſtationed in the city, to retain them in ſubjection. Caſhel, Clonmel, Limerick, and other cities, which had declared for the free exerciſe of popery, were intimidated by the vigour of Mountjoy, and reduced to the ſame compliances. Cork had been actually inveſted by the ſouthern forces as a rebellious city; but on the firſt appearance of the lord-deputy, the gates were opened to him without ſtipulation.

In order to the full re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity, it was judged expedient to paſs an act of oblivion and indemnity. All offences againſt the crown, and all particular treſpaſſes between ſubjects, committed before the king's acceſſion, were declared to be extinguiſhed; and the whole body of the Iriſh yeomanry was received into his majeſty's immediate protection, to the utter excluſion of the ancient juriſdiction of their chieftains. This ſalutary ordinance was the laſt act of Mountjoy's vigorous and ſucceſsful adminiſtration. He was conſtituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, but permitted to appoint ſir George Carew his deputy, and returned to England, attended by the earl of Tyrone, and Roderic O'Donnel, the brother and rival of Nial Garruff, whoſe inſolence grew ſo offenſive, that the government was inclined to favour his competitor. Both the Iriſh chieftains were received by the king with marks of favour. Roderic was by the good offices of Mountjoy, created earl of Tyrconnel; and Tyrone was confirmed in his honours and poſſeſſions; but

but ſuch was the deteſtation expreſſed by the populace againſt the man, whoſe rebellion had proved ſo fatal to many of their friends, that he could not travel in ſecurity, without a powerful eſcort.

The government next proceeded to the extenſion of law, and the eſtabliſhment of public juſtice. During the A.D. 1604. ſhort adminiſtration of Carew, ſheriffs were ſent into the counties of Tyrconnel and Tyrone, and itinerant judges viſited the whole northern province. Sir Arthur Chicheſter, who ſucceeded to Carew, advanced the work of reformation yet farther. The dangerous ſept of O'Byrnes, who had for ages harraſſed even the capital by their inſurrections, he brought under due ſubjection to the government, and converted their territory into a county. He eſtabliſhed ſeſſions of juſtice in the province of Connaught*; and reſtored the circuit of Munſter after a diſcontinuance of two hundred years. The old Iriſh cuſtoms of tainiſtry and gavelkind were aboliſhed by judgment in the King's Bench, and the Iriſh eſtates were made deſcendible, according to the courſe of the common law of England. In exchange for the Brehon juriſdiction, the native Iriſh were thus inveſted with all the privileges of ſubjects, and admitted to all the benefits of the Engliſh law; while inferiors were univerſally emancipated from the tyranny of barbarous chieftains.

To aſcertain the rights of individuals, and ſettle the poſſeſſions of all the inhabitants of the realm, was the next great object of the government. A commiſſion of grace, as it was called, iſſued under the great ſeal of England, for ſecuring the ſubjects of Ireland againſt all claims of the crown. The chief governor was empowered to accept the ſurrender of thoſe Iriſh lords who held eſtates by their old precarious tenure, and to regrant them on a more permanent ſecurity. Many embraced the opportunity of converting their preſent tenure for life, to an eſtate in fee, which deſcended to their children. No chieftainries were now granted by patent; and no pretended officers of juſtice were ſtationed in the remote parts to exerciſe an Iriſh ſeigniory over the wretched inhabitants. Every lord, by his new patent, was inveſted only with the lands found to be in his immediate poſ-

* Davis's Reports.

poſſeſſion; and his followers were confirmed in their tenures, on condition only of paying him the annual rent at which his duties were rated, in the place of all uncertain and arbitrary exactions. Building, planting, cultivation, and univerſal improvement, were the conſequences of theſe ſalutary regulations. The trading towns and corporations through the kingdom ſoon followed the example of the land-holders; they ſurrendered their old, and accepted new charters, with ſuch regulations and privileges, as tended to keep them in ſubjection to the crown, and promote the intereſts of peace and commerce *.

But the progreſs of theſe ſchemes of reformation were unhappily interrupted by the virulence of religious faction. Popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſtill practiſed with their votaries in different quarters of the kingdom. They denounced the vengeance of their ſpiritual authority on all who ſhould attend on the eſtabliſhed worſhip. Abbeys and monaſteries were repaired; churches were refitted and furniſhed for the Romiſh rites, which were again publicly celebrated in ſeveral parts of the realm. The popiſh clergy proceeded yet farther; preſuming even to arraign the civil adminiſtration, and to review cauſes determined in the king's courts. And amidſt all theſe exceſſes, they were induſtriouſly flattered in an opinion, that their new ſovereign entertained a ſecret propenſity to the catholic faith. But whatever tenderneſs James expreſſed for the religious tenets of Rome, he had a ſincere abhorrence of thoſe who maintained the ſupremacy of the papal juriſdiction; and whatever were his private diſpoſitions, he was obliged to keep ſome terms with the puritans, who whiſpered their ſuſpicions of his being popiſhly inclined. As he had, therefore, publiſhed a proclamation in England, commanding all Jeſuits and other prieſts, having orders from any foreign power, to depart from the kingdom, ſo, by a like proclamation, was the popiſh clergy of Ireland commanded to depart within a limited time, unleſs they conformed to the laws of the land. This ordinance was intended to be executed with equal lenity in both kingdoms; but in Ireland, inſtead of terrifying the delinquents, it enraged them. The chief governor and council, perceiving the daring ſpirits of the recuſants, determined

* Davis's Reports.

termined to revive the penal ſtatutes, and began by enjoining the magiſtrates and principal citizens of Dublin to repair to the eſtabliſhed churches. Repeated admonitions and conferences ſerved but to render them more obſtinate. They were fined and committed to priſon; when in an inſtant, all the old Engliſh families of the Pale took the alarm, and boldly remonſtrated againſt the ſeverity of theſe proceedings. Their remonſtrance, and petition for the free exerciſe of religion, was preſented to the council, by an unuſual concourſe, on the very day when intelligence was received of the gunpowder conſpiracy; a circumſtance which excited in the king's miniſters a ſuſpicion of ſome concert between the conſpirators in England and the popiſh party of Ireland. The chief petitioners were confined in the caſtle of Dublin, and ſir Patrick Barnewell, their great agent, was, by the king's command, ſent under cuſtody into England.

The inveteracy and inſolence of the recuſants of the Pale, as well as the aſſiduity of the popiſh emiſſaries, naturally tended to keep the government in a ſtate of perpetual alarm. A letter, dropt in the privy-council chamber, intimating a ſcheme of rebellion, formed by the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with other Iriſh lords and gentlemen of the North; that they had ſolicited aſſiſtance from Spain and Bruſſels, and intended to begin the war with ſurpriſing the caſtle of Dublin, and aſſaſſinating the lord-deputy and council *. It is certain, that on the very firſt alarm of the government, Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled to the continent, and abandoned their vaſt poſſeſſions to the diſpoſal of the crown. Nothing could be more favourable to that paſſion which James indulged for reforming Ireland, than the temerity of theſe Northerns, and their precipitate flight. The greater and moſt valuable part of Ulſter was thus relinquiſhed to his diſpoſal, and opened a fair field for the exerciſe of that policy in which he affected to excel. To take the ſpeedieſt advantage of this incident, judges were immediately diſpatched into the counties of Tyrone and Tyrconnel; ſome of the conſpirators, who had been ſeized, were tried, condemned, and executed; and the two earls, with other fugitives of inferior note, were attainted according to the courſe of the common law.

But

* Cox, ex MS. Lamb.

But the projects of the king and his miniſters were for ſome time ſuſpended by actual inſurrections, which, being of no conſiderable importance, and eaſily ſubdued, ſerved only to confirm the ſubjection of the diſaffected inhabitants *. By their conſpiracies and rebellion a vaſt tract of land eſcheated to the crown, in ſix northern counties, amounting to about five hundred thouſand acres; a tract of country covered with woods, where rebels and banditti found a ſecure ſhelter, deſolated by war and famine, and deſtined to lie waſte, without the rigorous interpoſition of the government. James reſolved to diſpoſe of theſe lands in ſuch a manner, as might introduce all the happy conſequences of peace and cultivation. Senſible of the errors and miſcarriages of the plantation formed in Munſter by his predeceſſor, he proceeded with deliberation; he enquired, conſulted, and encouraged men of abilities to propoſe their plans. The man whoſe counſels were of greateſt ſervice on this occaſion, was ſir Arthur Chicheſter, now lord-deputy of Ireland. At his inſtances it was reſolved, that the perſons to whom lands were aſſigned, ſhould be either new undertakers from Great Britain, eſpecially from Scotland, where it was ſuppoſed that the inhabitants might be tempted to remove, by a ſhort and eaſy paſſage, into a country more fertile than their own; or to ſervitors, as they were called, that is, men who had for ſome time ſerved in Ireland, either in military or civil offices; or old Iriſh chieftains and inhabitants. In the laſt ſort were included even thoſe Iriſh who had engaged in the rebellion of Tyrone, and ſtill harboured their ſecret diſcontents. To gain them, if poſſible, by favour and lenity, they were treated with particular indulgence. Their under-tenants and ſervants were allowed to be of their own country and religion; and while all the other planters were obliged to take the oath of ſupremacy, they were tacitly exempted. The ſervitors were allowed to take their tenants either from Ireland or Britain, ſo that no recuſants were admitted; the Britiſh undertakers were reſtricted from entertaining any but Engliſh and Scottiſh. To the Britiſh adventurers were aſſigned places of the greateſt ſtrength and command; to the ſervitors, ſtations of moſt danger and greateſt

* Ibid.

greateſt advantage to the ſervice of the crown. But as this appeared a hardſhip, they were allowed guards and entertainment, until the country ſhould be effectually planted.

By the preſent ſcheme, the lands were divided into three different proportions, the greateſt to conſiſt of two thouſand Engliſh acres, the leaſt of one thouſand, and the intermediate of fifteen hundred. The undertakers of two thouſand acres were to hold of the king in capite; thoſe of fifteen hundred by knights ſervice; and thoſe of a thouſand in common ſoccage. An annual rent from all the lands was reſerved to the crown, for every ſixty Engliſh acres, ſix ſhillings and eight pence from the Britiſh undertakers, ten ſhillings from ſervitors, and thirteen ſhillings and four pence from Iriſh natives. But for two years they were exempt from ſuch payment; except the natives, who were not ſubject to the charge of tranſportation.

But ſcarcely had the lands been allotted to the different patentees, when conſiderable portions were reclaimed by the clergy as their rightful property. So far had the northern biſhopricks been embarraſſed, both by the uſurpations of the Iriſh lords, and the claims of the patentees, that they had hardly a competent, much leſs an honourable proviſion for men of worth and learning; while the ſtate of the parochial clergy was ſtill more deplorable. Moſt of the northern churches had been either deſtroyed in the late wars, or fallen to ruin. The benefices were ſmall, and either ſhamefully kept by the biſhops, in the way of commendam or ſequeſtration, or filled by miniſters of the moſt deſpicable characters. The wretched flock was totally abandoned; and for many years divine ſervice had not been uſed in any pariſh-church of Ulſter, except in cities or great towns. To remedy theſe abuſes, and to provide for the inſtruction of a people immerſed in lamentable ignorance; it was ordained, that all eccleſiaſtical lands ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective ſees and churches; and that all lands ſhould be deemed eccleſiaſtical, from which biſhops had in former times received rents or penſions.

That proviſion might be made for the inferior clergy, the biſhops were obliged to reſign all their impropriations, and relinquiſh the tythes paid them out of pariſhes, to the reſpective

reſpective incumbents, for which ample recompence was made out of the king's lands. Free-ſchools were alſo endowed in the principal towns, and conſiderable grants of lands conferred on the univerſity of Dublin, with the advowſon of ſix parochial churches, three of the largeſt, and three of the middle proportion, in each county.

Such was the general ſcheme of this famous northern plantation, ſo honourable to the Engliſh government, and of ſuch importance to Ireland. The happy effects of this eſtabliſhment were immediately perceived, though the execution by no means correſponded with the deſign. Buildings proceeded ſlowly; Britiſh tenants were found difficult to be procured in ſufficient numbers; the old natives who were at hand offered higher rents, and were received into thoſe diſtricts from which it was intended to exclude them. After all, a number of loyal and induſtrious inhabitants was poured into the northern counties, conſiderable improvements were made by the planters, and many towns erected; ſeveral of which were incorporated, and obtained the right of repreſentation in the Iriſh parliament.

To ſupport the arrangements lately made, and to remove all real grievances, it was deemed neceſſary by the government to convene a parliament in Ireland; where, during twenty-ſeven years of tumult and diſtraction, no national aſſembly had been held in this kingdom. The novelty, therefore, of this deſign, and the nature of the aſſembly to be convened, ſerved to awaken all the fears of the numerous party of recuſants. Many of the new boroughs being too poor to afford wages to their repreſentatives, it was readily conceived that they muſt be entirely influenced by government; and a ſuſpicion aroſe among the adherents to the ancient doctrines, that ſome additional ſeverities againſt thoſe who refuſed to abandon the Romiſh communion, ſome new penal ſtatutes, or at leaſt the revival of thoſe already enacted, were ſecretly meditated by the adminiſtration. On the firſt declaration of the royal intentions to call a parliament in Ireland, ſix lords, of diſtinguiſhed conſequence in the Pale, addreſſed a letter to the king, in which they boldly expreſſed their apprehenſions from a deſign of convening a parliament, and requeſt that the creation of boroughs might be ſuſpended.

ſpended. But James pronounced their petition to be raſh and inſolent; and the deputy continued to increaſe the new boroughs to the number of forty, and ſeveral were not incorporated until the writs for ſummoning a parliament had already iſſued. It was neceſſary to take every meaſure for ſtrengthening the intereſt of the Iriſh government, as the recuſants were indefatigable in forming their party. They diſpatched agents from the Pale into every province to ſupport the elections of their friends. The clergy preached the cauſe of religion, and denounced excommunication on thoſe who ſhould preſume to vote againſt the adherents to the Romiſh church. They even aſſured the vulgar that Tyrone was preparing to invade the kingdom, encouraging them to ſtand firm to the faith, which ſhould ſoon prove triumphant over all its enemies. The recuſant lawyers practiſed with thoſe of better condition. Every artifice of policy and faction was employed to gain thoſe who could be of ſervice in the elections; and ſo ſucceſsful were their efforts, that moſt of the privy-counſellors, who ſtood for knights of the ſhire, were rejected, for their factious and turbulent competitors.

The recuſants now formed the moſt confident expectations of a ſuperiority in the houſe of commons *. Exulting in their ſucceſs, the principals of the party made their entry into Dublin with ſplendor and magnificence. As if they meditated violence, or meant to intimidate their opponents, bands of one or two hundred armed followers attended them; nor did they fail, at the ſame time, to affect alarms and apprehenſions. They objected to the caſtle of Dublin as the place of ſeſſion, where they were in danger of periſhing by an exploſion of the ſtores of powder; and where, as the lord-deputy's guards ſurrounded the houſe of parliament, the freedom of debate might be controuled. Their turbulence was exaſperated by diſappointment, as they had now the mortification of finding themſelves miſtaken in their numbers. Two hundred and thirty-two members had been returned: ſix were abſent; of the remainder, one hundred and twenty-five were proteſtants, and one hundred and one formed the ſtrength of the recuſant party. The upper houſe conſiſted of twenty-five temporal lords, and the ſame

* Carte.

ſame number of proteſtant prelates; of which number a conſiderable majority were friends to the adminiſtration. None were admitted into the houſe but the returned members, who were directed to enter without arms. The competitors for the office of ſpeaker were ſir John Davis, the Iriſh attorney-general, and ſir John Everard, a recuſant, who had been a juſtice of the King's Bench, and on reſigning this ſtation, rather than take the oaths, was indulged with a penſion. Thoſe who ſupported the latter contended, that before the election of a ſpeaker could be made, the right of electing ſhould be firſt determined. On this ſubject a violent altercation enſued; when ſir Oliver St. John, maſter of the ordnance, obſerved, that controverſies were to be decided by queſtions, and queſtions by votes; that the affirmative party uſually went out of the houſe, while the negative kept their ſeats; he therefore called on thoſe who voted for ſir John Davis, to attend him to the lobby, and was followed by the majority. The recuſant party refuſed to be numbered, and in the abſence of their opponents were readily perſuaded that as they formed the majority of legal members, they had a right to proceed to the election, while the others were withdrawn. With an unanimous clamour for Everard, they ſeated him tumultuouſly in the ſpeaker's chair. The friends of government on their return, exclaimed againſt this outrage, declared Davis duly elected, attempted to force his competitor from the chair; were violently oppoſed, and ſeated their ſpeaker in the lap of Everard. This ſcene of tumult was cloſed by a ſeceſſion of the recuſants, who obſtinately refuſed to accept ſir John Davis as their ſpeaker, or to take any ſhare in the proceedings of an aſſembly which they deemed ſo illegal and arbitrary. The recuſant lords followed the example of their brethren of the lower houſe; clamoured againſt the new corporations, affected to doubt of the lord-deputy's commiſſion to hold the parliament, and peremptorily refuſed to attend, until the controverſy ſubſiſting among the commons ſhould be decided; deſiring licence to ſend agents into England, to lay their grievances before the king *.

The violence of this oppoſition was juſtly alarming to the government, at a time when the whole military force of

* Davis.

of the kingdom had been reduced to the inconſiderable number of ſeventeen hundred foot and two hundred horſe; and the diſorders of the capital ſeemed ripening to an inſurrection. The lord-deputy wiſely reſolved to act with moderation: he commanded by a proclamation, and he ſeparately ſummoned, the ſeceding lords to attend their duty. He endeavoured to remonſtrate with the party, and even to entreat them to unite with the other members of each houſe, at leaſt in paſſing an act of recognition of the king's title: he offered that all differences ſhould be ſubmitted to a committee choſen equally from both ſides; and finding them continue obſtinate, he, without attempting to impriſon any of the ſeditious members, prorogued the parliament, that the animoſities of the oppoſite ſides might have time to be allayed.

This conduct, though the moſt prudent that could be adopted, yet gave offence to the Puritans, who affected to condemn him as not knowing how to govern turbulent people, or not daring to exerciſe his authority with the neceſſary vigour. The complaints of the malecontents infected even the privy-council, the members of which imputed to the lenity of the governor the ſtrength and extravagance of the popiſh faction. But Chicheſter was the leſs alarmed at theſe complaints, as he knew, that pacific meaſures were moſt agreeable to the king.

The recuſant lords and commoners, immediately on their ſeceſſion, diſpatched letters to the king and the Engliſh council, urging the grievance of the new boroughs, and the violence done to Everard, who, they alledged, had been choſen ſpeaker by a majority of the members. To enforce their application, they inſtantly ſent agents to the Engliſh court. Theſe were choſen from among the moſt zealous leaders of the party; and, to defray their ſolicitation, a liberal contribution was raiſed, notwithſtanding the efforts of Chicheſter to obſtruct that meaſure. The agents, who were the lords Gormanſtown and Fermoy, ſir James Gough, Huſſey, Lutterel, and Talbot, departed in a kind of triumph; and the deputy was obliged, on his part, to ſend over the earl of Thomond, ſir John Denham, chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, and ſir Oliver St. John, to counteract their practices.

James

James received their complaints with ſuch temper, and profeſſions of equity as inſpired them with the utmoſt confidence of ſucceſs. They no longer confined themſelves to the late tranſactions of parliament, but preſented the king with nineteen articles of grievances, in the military and civil adminiſtration of Ireland, and entreated that his majeſty would ſend impartial commiſſioners to enquire into the ſeveral particulars. To this requeſt he condeſcended: and while the commiſſioners, attended by a party of the agents, were on their way to Dublin, ſir James Gough, who had travelled ſeparately, landed at Waterford, where he ſpread the news, that the king commanded him to aſſure the Iriſh ſubjects that they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of religion, provided they entertained no prieſts who ſhould preach the depoſing power of the pope. The report was inſtantly conveyed to the capital, that Gough had arrived with a meſſage from the king to the lord-deputy, and Chicheſter calmly ſummoned the principal recuſants to be witneſſes of it. To his utter aſtoniſhment, Gough, who probably interpreted in too large a ſenſe ſome expreſſions of indulgence uſed by the king, declared the report to be well founded. The king had denounced a curſe on himſelf and his poſterity, if ever he ſhould grant a toleration to the papiſts; he had on particular occaſions inſtructed the members of the Iriſh government to adminiſter the oaths, and execute the penal laws; Chicheſter, therefore, had reaſon to queſtion the reality of Gough's aſſertions. He publicly reproved him for his falſhood; and to repreſs the extravagance of the recuſant-party, he yielded to the advice of the council, and committed ſir James Gough a priſoner to the caſtle of Dublin *.

The recuſant faction expreſſed the leſs reſentment at this act of authority, as they expected ſpeedy redreſs, and they were confirmed in this opinion by the deputy's receiving a ſummons to attend the king in England; a meaſure which they confidently regarded as a prelude to his diſgrace. The adminiſtration, in the mean time, was committed to Jones, the chancellor, and marſhal Wingfield, as lords-juſtices.

James, after conſulting with Chicheſter, and receiving all the information which he could procure of the tranſactions

* Davis.

actions in Ireland, at laſt admitted the recuſants to plead their cauſe before the council; and it was deliberately and patiently diſcuſſed. Of fourteen returns to parliament, of which they complained, two were found to have been illegal. Theſe were the burgeſſes of Kildare and Cavan, who, accordingly, were for the preſent, declared incapable of ſitting. In other particulars, the allegations of the appellants were pronounced to be groundleſs. The king, in a long ſpeech, framed in his uſual manner, magnified his own equity and impartiality. He declared againſt the pride and arrogance of the recuſants firſt appplication to the throne; he cenſured the whole progreſs of their oppoſition in Ireland, and reproved their preſumption in queſtioning either his power to incorporate new boroughs, or his wiſdom in the choice of them; he commended the conduct of the lord-deputy, and concluded with a ſevere addreſs to the Iriſh agents.

A.D. 1614. Nothing now remained for the recuſants but to aſſemble peaceably in the parliament, which, after repeated prorogations, was at length to be convened. But, though their turbulent diſpoſition had received a check, their diſcontents were not allayed, and they exerciſed their refractory humour in endeavouring to obſtruct the national buſineſs. Happily, however, the management of Chicheſter was cautious and conciliating; and in their own party were not wanting ſome men of temper and moderation. Sir John Everard in particular, to whom they paid great deference, earneſtly recommended to his friends to concur amicably with the government, in ſuch meaſures as the intereſt of the nation and the honour of the crown required. The firſt appearance of moderation on the ſide of the recuſants, produced in the friends of government a conduct expreſſive of their complacency. Whatever laws had been projected, none were propoſed againſt the profeſſors or teachers of popery. Some lawyers, who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy, had been prohibited from pleading at the bar; but the commons having petitioned the deputy that they ſhould be reſtored to their practice, he returned a favourable, though not an explicit anſwer.

The two houſes joined in paſſing an act for recognizing the king's title to the crown, and another for the attainder of

of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, ſir Cahir O'Dogherty, and ſome others. The old ſtatutes made againſt the natives of Iriſh blood, by which the Engliſh were prohibited from all commerce, marrying, or foſtering with them, and directed to treat them as ſpies, whenever they preſumed to enter the Engliſh territories, with thoſe againſt calling over and marrying with the Scots, were all repealed, as the inhabitants of the kingdom were now univerſally to be taken under the king's protection. An act of general pardon and oblivion was made in confirmation of the royal edict; and the proceedings of the parliament were cloſed by a bill of ſubſidy, granting to the king, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, from every perſonal eſtate of the value of three pounds and upwards, two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound; a grant ſo bountiful, and made with ſuch alacrity, that James returned thanks in a letter addreſſed to the lord-deputy.

The protection and ſecurity granted to the old natives by thoſe acts which admitted them into the body of ſubjects, promiſed the moſt ſalutary effects; but time and attention were ſtill neceſſary for the perfect civilization of the people. Rudeneſs and ignorance continued to render them tenacious of their ancient manners; and even their lords perceived not the advantage of enjoying limited poſſeſſions, held under permanent tenures, rather than the wild magnificence of their former ſtate, in which the property ceaſed with their lives. The northerns, in particular, were ſo mortified at this change, that ſeveral of them entered into a conſpiracy to ſeize the Engliſh forts of their province, and extirpate the Britiſh planters. But the plot was diſcovered, and the principal agents were brought to condign puniſhment. Chicheſter was now created baron of Belfaſt, recalled to England, and ſucceeded by ſir Oliver St. John. A. D. 1616.

The adminiſtration of the new governor was diſturbed by various clamours and diſcontents, occaſioned chiefly by the magiſtrates and officers of juſtice being ſtrictly required to take the oath of ſupremacy *. The city of Waterford had obſtinately choſen a ſucceſſion of recuſants for their chief magiſtrates, who all, in turn, refuſed to take this oath, and, in other particulars, diſcovered an aver-

* Cox, ex MS. Lamb.

ſion to conformity. A commiſſion therefore iſſued, to ſeize the liberties and revenues of a city ſo obnoxious to the government. This rigour failed not to bring upon the deputy great odium; but what yet more affected him was the offence which he had incautiouſly given to ſome leading members of the ſtate. They had uſurped ſome church-lands, and expected that by their power and influence they ſhould be able to keep poſſeſſion. St. John, however, ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the clergy was reduced, had the fortitude to withſtand theſe rapacious invaders of the eccleſiaſtical domains, and thereby provoked them to unite with his adverſaries of the Romiſh party. They tranſmitted their complaints to the throne, and requeſted that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to inſpect the ſtate of Ireland, and the irregularities of adminiſtration. A commiſſion for this purpoſe was accordingly granted; but the enemies of St. John inſiſting that the expedient could have no effect while he continued in the government, lord Faulkland was nominated his ſucceſſor; and, at the repeated inſtances of the Iriſh council, the deputy was obliged to reſign his authority immediately to two lords-juſtices, who were appointed to the adminiſtration, until the new chief governor ſhould arrive. To compenſate, in ſome degree, theſe repeated mortifications of a faithful and zealous ſervant, the king ſoon after created St. John viſcount Grandiſon, of Ireland, baron Trogoſe of Highworth in England, lord high-treaſurer of Ireland, and privy counſellor of both kingdoms.

The recuſants affected to conſider the diſmiſſion of St. John as a tacit diſapprobation of the ſeverity which he had exerciſed againſt them, and therefore encouraged their party to expect henceforth greater indulgence from the government. The new deputy ſoon found himſelf in a ſituation not more eaſy than that of his predeceſſor. The government was continually expoſed to the inſults of a faction, and deſtitute of the neceſſary reſources. Faulkland made repeated repreſentations of his diſtreſs to the king and his Engliſh council, to enforce the neceſſity of a ſpeedy augmentation of the army; but the ſtate of James's finances afforded little encouragement to liſten to any ſcheme that muſt increaſe his expence. His revenue in

Ireland

Ireland was ſtill conſiderably ſhort of the charge of government. To ſupply this deficiency was a principal object of the commiſſioners now ſent into Ireland. But, owing to their unacquaintance with the country, and the temper and circumſtances of the inhabitants, the means they ſuggeſted were frequently either impracticable or dangerous. Their enquiry ſoon diſcovered the exiſtence of many uſeleſs penſions, and appointments paid to officers of forts erected to defend the infant plantations, and which were at firſt intended to laſt only until the ſettlements ſhould be completed. But this abuſe they deſpaired of remedying, when they found that the penſions belonged to men of the firſt conſideration in the kingdom, and whom it was, therefore, dangerous to diſpoſſeſs. Two other projects, which gave a great alarm, proved equally unſucceſsful. One related to grants of lands which the cities and corporations of Ireland had received, upon condition that they were not to be alienated, but applied to building walls, and bridges, and to other public purpoſes. In ſome caſes, however, the conditions not having been complied with, it was propoſed to reſume theſe lands, and to raiſe the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds by fines on re-granting, or otherwiſe aſſigning of them. But this ſcheme was deemed, on reflection, extremely hazardous to attempt *.

The other project affected the inhabitants of a whole province: the landholders of Connaught, including the county of Clare, on their compoſition made with ſir John Perrot, in the reign of Elizabeth, though they had ſurrendered their eſtates to the crown, generally had neglected to enrol their ſurrenders, and to take out their letters patent. This defect was ſupplied by king James ſome years before. Having iſſued a commiſſion to receive ſurrenders of their eſtates, he re-conveyed theſe by new patents to them and their heirs. Their ſurrenders were made, and their patents received the great-ſeal; but, by neglect of the officers, neither was enrolled in chancery, though three thouſand pounds had been diſburſed for the enrollments. Advantage was now taken of this omiſſion: their titles were pronounced defective, and their land adjudged to be ſtill veſted in the crown. The project recommended

* Ware.

commended to the king, was nothing leſs than that of eſtabliſhing an extenſive plantation in the province of Connaught, ſimilar to that of Ulſter; and, in his zeal of reformation, it was moſt favourably received. The danger attending ſuch a meaſure might be ſufficient to deter the adminiſtration, upon mature reflection, from ever attempting it; but the lords and gentlemen whoſe lands were threatened, wiſely contrived to ſuſpend the alarming project, by addreſſing themſelves to the king's neceſſities. They offered to purchaſe a new confirmation of their patents, by doubling their preſent annual compoſition; and as their tenure exempted them from ſuing out their liveries, or taking the oath of ſupremacy, they likewiſe agreed to pay a fine of ten thouſand pounds, computed to be as much as the king could gain by a plantation. The propoſal was received with due attention; but death prevented the king from ſeeing it carried into effect.

A. D. 1625. Charles I.

The acceſſion of a prince involved in foreign wars, and embarraſſed by domeſtic factions, excited a univerſal ferment among the malecontents in Ireland. The recuſants in particular regarded the ſituation of affairs in England as peculiarly favourable to their views. They avowed their contempt of penal ſtatutes, and ſhewed no great reſpect to the government of lord Faulkland, who was continued in his ſtation of deputy. Their native turbulence was inflamed by the Roman pontiff. A bull of pope Urban VIII. exhorted them rather to loſe their lives than to take that wicked and peſtilent oath of ſupremacy, by which the dominion of the catholic church was wreſted from the vicar of God Almighty; and ſuch applications to their ignorance and ſuperſtition failed not of the intended effect.

The turbulence of the recuſants, and the danger to be apprehended from their practices, were urgently repreſented to Charles by his Iriſh council; and in proportion as the apprehenſion prevailed, it was deemed more neceſſary to ſecure the kingdom againſt any attempt of foreign enemies. Charles determined that his Iriſh forces ſhould be augmented to five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; but not being aſſiſted by parliament to ſupply the neceſſary expence, he had recourſe to prerogative.

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He ordered this army to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, which were to maintain them in rotation, for three months at a time, with money, cloaths, and victuals. To reconcile the people to ſo extraordinary an impoſition, letters were addreſſed to the ſeveral communities by his deputy, recommending a chearful ſubmiſſion, and promiſing them ſuch favours from the crown as ſhould abundantly compenſate for their preſent burden. The Iriſh in conſequence of theſe flattering promiſes, were induced to ſubmit: but they were ſtill expoſed to vexatious inquiſitions into the titles of their eſtates, and were impatient to be freed from the apprehenſion of litigious ſuits. The popiſh party was not more ſolicitous for the intereſts of their religion, than to extricate themſelves from the hardſhips to which they were expoſed by the penal ſtatutes. To recommend themſelves to the king, they affected an extraordinary ſolicitude to provide for the neceſſities of his Iriſh government. They gave lord Faulkland the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that if ſome indulgence were granted to thoſe of their religion, a voluntary contribution might be obtained for the maintenance of the king's army; and thoſe of the proteſtant party, who had likewiſe particular grievances to be redreſſed, concurred in the ſame office to the government *.

The popiſh party, elevated with the hope of indulgence, gave looſe to their triumph; while the proteſtant clergy, on the other hand, were provoked at their inſolence, of which they ſent to England the moſt alarming repreſentations. Meanwhile the Iriſh agents continued their ſolicitations at the court of Charles, where, in ſpite of public clamour and ſuſpicion, they found a favourable reception for their overtures. They voluntarily offered a contribution of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, to be paid in three years. The offer was accepted, and inſtructions were tranſmitted to the lord-deputy to grant them thoſe conceſſions which they had ſolicited in return. Among the numerous articles of thoſe inſtructions, the moſt important were, that which ſecured to the ſubjects the peaceable enjoyment of their lands, by limiting the king's title to ſixty years; that which admitted the recuſants to ſue their liveries, and other grants, depending in

* Carte.

in the court of wards, and to practiſe in the law-courts, on taking an oath to acknowledge and defend Charles as the rightful king of the realm; and that which admitted the inhabitants of Connaught to make a new enrollment of their patents, and thus to ſecure their titles from future litigation. By other articles, proviſion was made for reſtraining the burden and oppreſſions of the ſoldiery; for preventing grants or protection to perſons obnoxious to the courts of law; for reſuming or limiting various patents of monopoly; for reſtraining the abuſe of reprieving malefactors; and for confining the execution of martial law to the times of war and rebellion. The court of wards was alſo regulated, and abridged in the exerciſe of its powers. For the better diſcharge of the paſtoral office, it was provided, that pluralities of benefices ſhould not be beſtowed upon unqualified perſons; and that incumbents ſhould be compelled to preach, or keep ſufficient curates. To give encouragement to trade, it was allowed, that ſeveral commodities might be tranſported into any of the king's dominions, or other countries in amity with him; that living cattle might be brought into any of his dominions, without reſtraint or licence; and wool be tranſported into England only, paying the ordinary cuſtoms and duties. For a farther ſecurity to all proprietors, their eſtates were to be confirmed to them and their heirs by the next parliament to be held in Ireland, in which, likewiſe, to remove all jealouſies and apprehenſions, an act was to be paſſed for a general pardon.

In this capital article, however, the king's ſincerity appeared at leaſt ſuſpicious. In thoſe inſtructions, which were tranſmitted in the month of May, the king explicitly appointed the third day of the ſucceeding month of November, as the time when he intended that the Iriſh parliament ſhould meet, and lord Faulkland, without attending to any farther circumſtances of formality, iſſued writs of ſummons accordingly. The impropriety of this procedure was obvious. By the law of Poynings, a certification of cauſes and conſiderations by the lord-deputy and council of Ireland, was neceſſary before the king's licence could be obtained for holding a parliament in that kingdom. The council-board of England cenſured an omiſ-

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ſion ſo eſſential; and the matter being referred to the judges, they pronounced the writs of ſummons illegal and void. Whether the irregularity was caſual or premeditated, nothing could have been corrected more eaſily, had Charles been ſincerely diſpoſed to give effectual relief to his Iriſh ſubjects. Yet no new writs were iſſued, nor any new time fixed for a regular convention of the Iriſh parliament. As the people, however, ſtill relied on the royal promiſe, and as an act of ſtate, though not confirmed by parliamentary ſanction, had uſually great weight in Ireland, the preſent conceſſions were received with general ſatisfaction; and the inhabitants chearfully ſubmitted to the contribution by which theſe graces had been purchaſed. All parties concurred in this extraordinary ſupply; but the whole merit was aſſumed by the recuſants, who, indeed, formed the majority of the nation.

Notwithſtanding theſe favourable circumſtances, the ſituation of the governor was far from being eaſy. He was harraſſed by the intrigues and clamours of the king's miniſters, whom he could not always gratify; and his actions were ſeverely interpreted at the court of England. The recuſants, taking advantage of the gentleneſs of his adminiſtration, proceeded to celebrate their religious worſhip with the moſt public and oſtentatious ſolemnity. Churches were ſeized for their ſervice; their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was openly executed; new friaries and nunneries were erected; and, even in the city of Dublin, an academical body was formed for the education of popiſh youth. The clergy, by whom the people were ſtimulated to theſe violent meaſures, were, by their number, as well as principles, juſtly alarming to the government. They ſwarmed into the kingdom from foreign ſeminaries, where they had imbibed the moſt inveterate prejudices againſt England, and the moſt profound veneration for the papal authority. Both ſeculars and regulars had bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to defend the papacy; to labour for the augmentation of its power and privileges; and to perſecute heretics *.

While the Catholics were thus zealous for the propagation of their religion, the Proteſtants were no leſs ardent in the hatred of popiſh idolatry. Many of them remonſtrated

* Carte.

remonſtrated warmly to Faulkland, on the turbulence of the recuſants, and the dangerous tendency of their preſent practices. The temper of the deputy diſpoſed him, and his inſtructions from England directed him to moderation and indulgence in the affair of religious controverſy; but in compliance with the repeated inſtances of the council, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding the recuſants, in his majeſty's name, to forbear the exerciſe of the popiſh rites and ceremonies. The proclamation, however, was diſregarded; nor did the deputy think himſelf warranted to proceed to any farther ſeverity. In proportion as he ſeemed averſe to come to extremities, they became more violent in the proſecution of their purpoſe. They began with pretending to lament the weight of the public burdens. They inveiged againſt thoſe agents whom they had lately ſent into England, and complained that, without ſufficient authority, they had conſented to a tax too grievous to be ſupported. The clamour ſoon became ſo alarming, that the government condeſcended to a ſort of compromiſe, and accepted a quarterly payment of five thouſand, inſtead of ten thouſand pounds, until the whole voluntary contribution ſhould be diſcharged. Lord Faulkland, at the ſame time, was recalled, and the adminiſtration was entruſted for the preſent to two lord-juſtices, who were the viſcount Ely, the lord-chancellor, and the earl of Cork, lord high-treaſurer. Theſe miniſters, without waiting for any inſtructions from England, fell at once with great ſeverity on the recuſants; but were ſoon informed that their rigour was not acceptable to the king.

A fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites in one of the moſt frequented parts of Dublin. The archbiſhop of the dioceſe, accompanied by the chief magiſtrate of the city, whoſe indignation was rouſed at this defiance of law and government, attempted, with a party of ſoldiers, to diſperſe the aſſembly; but the aſſailants were repelled and put to flight. This incident being repreſented in England, a reſolution was formed to adopt more rigorous meaſures againſt the recuſants. By an order of the Engliſh council, fifteen religious houſes were ſeized to the king's uſe; and the popiſh college in Dublin was aſſign-

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ed to the univerſity, the members of which converted it, for the preſent, into a proteſtant ſeminary.

Every day increaſed the embarraſſment of the king and his miniſters in reſpect of Ireland. There were now no hopes of maintaining the authority of the crown without a competent military force; and the time was near approaching when the voluntary ſubſidy, which had been allotted for that purpoſe, would entirely ceaſe. In this difficult ſituation Charles determined to commit the government of the kingdom to lord viſcount Wentworth, who, though he could not be immediately ſpared from England, was, by his activity and intrigue, of conſiderable ſervice to the king in the management of Iriſh affairs. The great point now to be purſued, was the renewal of the voluntary contribution for ſome time, until the new deputy could aſſume his government, and have leiſure to deviſe ſome permanent proviſion for the army. The preſent lords-juſtices, either from a ſenſe of the public burdens and poverty of Ireland, or from their zeal againſt popery, objected to any continuance of the contribution; and, as a means for providing for the army, adviſed that the recuſants ſhould be ſtrictly preſented, and the weekly fines levied, for their abſence from the eſtabliſhed worſhip *. Both the king and Wentworth diſapproved of a ſupply ſo precarious and inadequate; but agreed in the expediency of alarming the recuſants, ſo as to induce them to a new contribution. Charles now uſed a new language to his Iriſh ſubjects: he informed them, that if they did not continue the ſubſidy, the graces, which he had promiſed to be confirmed by parliament, ſhould be ſtreightened; and that the recuſants fines ſhould be ſtrictly levied. At the ſame time he caſt the odium of this meaſure on the lords-juſtices, by declaring it to be the conſequence of their advice. The juſtices were terrified; they could not venture to enter the king's letter, agreeably to his order, in the council-book; leſt it ſhould produce ſome violent commotion; and for this they were ſeverely, and even inſolently reprimanded by Wentworth, who affected to deride their apprehenſions. He even inſinuated that the earl of Cork practiſed ſecretly with the proteſtant party, to embarraſs the king in his neceſſities. His agents were privately

* Strafford's Letters.

privately employed to prevail on the recuſants to offer half a yearly ſubſidy, as the only means of ſuſpending the execution of the penal ſtatutes. After ſome altercation and delay, they at laſt agreed, that the ſum of twenty thouſand pounds ſhould be added to the former contribution, to be paid by quarterly aſſeſſments. Thus were the immediate neceſſities of the government ſupplied; and lord Wentworth was ſoon after ſent to aſſume the adminiſtration, which he did with many prepoſſeſſions, and with paſſions violently inflamed.

A parliament was now, for ſeveral reaſons, highly deſirable. The voluntary contributions for the ſupport of the army had been already ſo long continued, that the ſubjects had reaſon to apprehend leſt they ſhould be converted into a permanent charge upon their lands. The revenues of the crown required improvement, and the circumſtances of the kingdom a ſpeedy ſettlement. By the hopes of a parliament, the council was influenced to renew the contribution for one year longer; and the whole body of the realm concurred in following their example. A ſupply being thus obtained, the army was paid, clothed, and duly diſciplined, without burden or offence to thoſe diſtricts in which they were quartered; and being frequently drawn out in bodies, ſerved to impreſs the people with greater awe of legal authority. But the convening a parliament was, as Wentworth expreſſed it, a matter fit to be weightily conſidered. Charles had an habitual horror of ſuch aſſemblies: beſides, it was natural for him to apprehend, that an Iriſh parliament would inſiſt on the performance of his royal promiſe, and preſs for a confirmation of the graces tranſmitted in inſtruction to lord Faulkland. Some of theſe were conceived to be inconſiſtent with the power neceſſary to be maintained in Ireland; and others ſeemed equally repugnant to the preſent intereſt of the crown. The ſcheme of an extenſive plantation in Connaught, if not allowed, was firmly reſolved on; and the limitation of the king's title to ſixty years, it was computed, would deprive the crown of full twenty thouſand pounds annual revenue. The deputy, however, relying on his own addreſs for managing a parliament, quieted the king's apprehenſions; it was therefore reſolved to comply with the deſires of the nation.

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A.D. 1634.

The great object of Wentworth was to prevail on the Iriſh to grant a liberal ſupply; and at the ſame time to evade the confirmation of any of thoſe graces which had been promiſed by the court, and which were now deemed inconſiſtent with the intereſts of the crown. What impreſſion an immediate denial of any of theſe might make upon the parliament, could not yet be certainly known; but to guard againſt all danger, he propoſed that two diſtinct ſeſſions ſhould be held, one for providing for the army and the debts of the crown, and the other for enacting laws and graces for the benefit of the ſubject. As much depended upon the diſpoſitions of the members who were to compoſe the houſe of commons, great care was uſed in the nomination of ſheriffs; and the friends of government every where exerted themſelves in influencing the elections. It was contrived that the lower houſe ſhould be compoſed of both Papiſts and Proteſtants, ſo equally balanced, that neither party ſhould appear predominant; and Wentworth condeſcended to practiſe ſecretly with each. To the recuſants he obſerved, that if ſome ſupply were not deviſed for the army, before the preſent contribution ſhould expire, the government muſt neceſſarily recur to the weekly levies on the abſentees from the eſtabliſhed worſhip; while the Proteſtants were reminded, that until a regular proviſion ſhould be made for the exigencies of the government, the king could not refuſe the bounty of the recuſants, or offend them by the execution of penal ſtatutes.

Wentworth, with his political addreſs mixed no inconſiderable portion of pride and ſeverity. It had been uſual, previous to the holding a parliament, for the lords of the Pale to be ſummoned and conſulted on the time, circumſtances, and buſineſs of the aſſembly; and though it was moved in council that this cuſtom ſhould now be obſerved, the deputy peremptorily prohibited ſuch a reſolution. When the lords ſent one of their number, the earl of Fingal, to remind him of the cuſtom, he treated the overture with contempt, and even reprimanded their preſumption. It was propoſed by Wentworth, that the bill of ſubſidies ſhould be ſent with blanks, in order that the king himſelf might preſcribe the number and manner of theſe donations. The council, on the other hand, contended,

contended, that the ſums required ſhould be immediately ſpecified, and that they ſhould not exceed the ſtrict bounds of neceſſity. But Wentworth quickly interrupted theſe deliberations, by informing the members of the council, that inſtead of conſulting what might pleaſe the people in parliament, it was the duty of their office to conſider what might pleaſe the king; that his majeſty deſerved and expected the confidence of his people, and that he would admit of no conditions. The counſellors, over-awed by the ſtern authority with which the governor made theſe declarations, acquieſced in every meaſure which he propoſed. The parliament aſſembled with great pomp, and the ſpeaker was choſen on the recommendation of the deputy. The commons unanimouſly voted a grant of ſix ſubſidies, to be applied entirely at the direction of the deputy; for whoſe honour they expreſſed ſo much zeal, that when ſir Robert Talbot had in the courſe of debate, been betrayed into ſome unguarded reflections on that nobleman's conduct, he was inſtantly expelled, and committed to cloſe cuſtody, until he ſhould implore pardon of the lord-deputy on his knees *.

But the upper houſe was not equally favourable to the lord-deputy and his meaſures. To guard againſt exceſſes, to which contending parties might be ſuddenly tranſported, he revived an order iſſued in the late reign, which prohibited the members of either houſe from entering their reſpective aſſembly with their ſwords; and with this they had uſually complied, without conſidering the inſult on their privileges. The uſher of the black-rod attended at the entrance of the houſe of lords to receive the ſwords of the peers. The earl of Ormond, lately come of age, refuſed to deliver up what he conſidered as the enſign of his dignity. The demand being repeated in a peremptory manner, he told the officer, that if he muſt receive his ſword, it ſhould be in his body, and thus marched to his ſeat with a haughty and indignant air. The lord-deputy, highly incenſed at this contempt of his authority, ſummoned the earl of Ormond to anſwer before the council for his diſobedience. The young lord appeared, avowed his knowledge of the order, and his own wilful diſobedience; adding, that he had received the inveſtiture of his earldom

* Cox.

earldom per cincturam gladii, and was both entitled and bound, by the royal command, to attend his duty in parliament, gladio cinctus. Wentworth was abashed and confounded; after consulting with his friends, whether he should at once crush or reconcile this daring spirit, he resolved, in compliance with their advice, to adopt the lenient method; and Ormond soon appeared a particular favourite at the Irish court.

Meanwhile the peers complained loudly of public grievances, and pressed for the confirmation of the royal graces, particularly for that which confined the king's claims on their lands to a retrospect of sixty years. They debated warmly and frequently on several regulations, which they conceived necessary to be established for the public good. They proceeded yet farther: without regard to the provisions of Poynings' statute, they ordered the attorney-general to draw up several laws, on which they had debated, into formal acts, in order to be transmitted into England. Though no governor was more tenacious of the law of Poynings than Wentworth, yet, for the present, he let these extraordinary proceedings pass unnoticed. At last, the session drawing towards a close, it was now the proper time for taking notice of the power assumed by the lords, of framing and transmitting bills; and this was done by a formal protest against their proceeding, made by the lord-deputy, and which he required to be recorded in the journals of the lords; by whom it was received without any apparent ill-temper *.

The subsequent meetings of this parliament, though intended solely for consulting the interests of the people, yet did not pass without clamour and dissatisfaction. When provision had been once made for the necessities of the government, the deputy spoke with greater freedom of the graces. He told the commons plainly, that some of them were only occasional and temporary, not proper to be enacted when the occasion was removed, and that others were already provided for. In two very essential points he absolutely denied their request: one for limiting the king's title for sixty years, which was judged inconsistent with his service: the other, for enrolling former surrenders, and passing new patents of estates in

* Strafford's Letters.

in the province of Connaught and county of Clare. The latter would have entirely defeated the ſcheme of a weſtern plantation, on which the king was firmly reſolved, and which was now conſidered as a convenient expedient for raiſing money.

At the ſame time with the parliament ſat a convocation of the clergy. They granted the king eight ſubſidies, but not without ſoliciting for the redreſs of ſeveral grievances, and the correction of ſeveral diſorders in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The condition of their church was now deplorable: their places of worſhip were in ruin, and the poſſeſſions of the clergy alienated. Appropriations, commendams, and violent intruſions, had reduced the rural clergy to the greateſt indigence; and even the revenues of biſhopricks had ſuffered extraordinary dilapidations. Ignorance, negligence, and a corruption of manners in the eſtabliſhed clergy, were the conſequences of their poverty. The Romiſh hierarchy, which continued to exerciſe a regular juriſdiction in every quarter of the kingdom, were ſufficiently aſſiduous to take advantage of their abſence or neglect, and in ſome places had poſſeſſed themſelves of eccleſiaſtical lands. The more virulent of the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, on the other hand, were outrageouſly zealous for their own diſcipline and worſhip, offered daily inſults to the eſtabliſhed church-government, and treated even its rites and worſhip with an indecent diſreſpect *.

Wentworth conſidered theſe ſectaries as equally enemies to the true religion with the Romiſh party; and a perfect conformity was the great work which he, and his friend Laud, were zealous to eſtabliſh in Ireland. In reſpect of eccleſiaſtical affairs, however, the conduct of the lord-deputy was ſufficiently judicious. He began by providing churches to receive, and able miniſters to teach the goſpel. Orders were ſent through the kingdom for the reparation of churches. Many of the landholders, in different parts, influenced by the example of the king, and the deſire of recommending themſelves to the deputy, erected and endowed places of worſhip, and reſigned thoſe poſſeſſions which had been uſurped from the church. The more reluctant were either attacked, or threatened with rigorous proſecutions. Laws were procured, in the late parliament,

* Cox.

parliament, for reſtitution of the rights of the clergy, and proviſions made to prevent all alienations in future. Nor was the deputy leſs attentive to the means of educating the riſing generation of the Iriſh clergy. But the favourite object of the king and his miniſters ſtill remained to be effected. This was the complete union of the churches of England and Ireland, by eſtabliſhing, in the latter kingdom, the Engliſh articles and canons as the rule of doctrine and diſcipline; a plan by no means agreeable to the clergy of the puritanic caſt, who affected an extreme ſolicitude for what they called the independence of their church. Uſher, the head of this party, had never been regarded by lord Wentworth with a favourable eye; but, on account of his ſtation, character, and popularity, it was neceſſary to treat him with reſpect and attention. To reconcile this prelate to the projected reformation, it was agreed, that no cenſure ſhould be paſſed on any of the former Iriſh articles, but that they ſhould be virtually abrogated, by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe of the church of England; and alſo, that the Engliſh canons ſhould not be received in a body, but a collection made of ſuch as might be moſt acceptable. The articles were received, and the canons eſtabliſhed agreeably to the lord-deputy's mind; though this was effected more by the influence of his authority than the general inclinations of the clergy. And theſe regulations, in the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, were ſoon followed by the eſtabliſhment of a high-commiſſion court, after the model of that in England.

Wentworth was impatient to ſignalize his adminiſtration by a ſervice of immediate and extenſive emolument to his maſter. His project was nothing leſs than to annihilate the title to every eſtate in Connaught, and to eſtabliſh a new plantation through this whole province *. To facilitate this end, he had oppoſed the confirmation of the royal graces, tranſmitted to lord Faulkland; and, as the parliament was now concluded, he was more at leiſure to execute a ſcheme which required a cautious and deliberate procedure. Old records of ſtate, and the memorials of ancient monaſteries, were ranſacked, to aſcertain the king's original title to Connaught. It was ſoon diſcovered, that, in the grant of Henry III. to Richard de Burgo,

* Strafford's Letters.

Burgo, five cantreds, adjacent to the caſtle of Athlone, were reſerved to the crown; that this grant included the whole remainder of the province, which was now alledged to have been forfeited by Ardh O'Connor, the provincial chieftain; that the lands and lordſhip of de Burgo deſcended lineally to Edward IV. and were confirmed to the crown by a ſtatute of Henry VII. The ingenuity of court-lawyers was employed to invalidate all patents granted to the poſſeſſors of theſe lands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth. It was found, that the indentures made between ſir John Perrot, and the inhabitants of this province, were irregular and unauthoriſed by his commiſſion; that the queen's patents were voided by the non-performance of conditions; that thoſe granted by James were obtained on falſe ſuggeſtions, and executed without due regard to the royal will and direction.

Furniſhed with theſe authorities, Wentworth, at the head of the commiſſioners of plantation, proceeded to the weſtern province. The inhabitants of the county of Leitrim having already acknowledged the king's title to their lands, and ſubmitted to a plantation, the commiſſioners began with thoſe of Roſcommon. The evidences of the king's title were produced, examined, and ſubmitted to a jury, formed of the principal inhabitants. The preſence and authority of the governor had their full effect on this occaſion. The king's title was found without ſcruple or heſitation; and the verdict attended with a petition for an equitable treatment of preſent proprietors, and a due proviſion for the church. The deputy not only promiſed ample ſatisfaction in theſe particulars, but publiſhed a proclamation, by which all the proprietors, throughout the province, were aſſured of eaſy compoſitions, and of new and indefeaſible grants. The counties of Mayo and Sligo followed the example of Roſcommon, and found the king's title with equal chearfulneſs *.

In proſecuting the royal claims in the county of Galway, the commiſſioners, as was expected, found greater difficulties to encounter. The inhabitants were almoſt wholly of the Romiſh communion, influenced by their clergy, encouraged by recuſant lawyers, and ſupported by

* Strafford's Letters.

by the power of the earl of Clanricarde, the governor of the county; who, though then reſiding in England, held a conſtant correſpondence with his countrymen. The lawyers pleaded with great vehemence againſt the king's title: the jury was deaf to every argument in its favour, and refuſed to find it: Wentworth was enraged; he laid a fine of one thouſand pounds upon the ſheriff; and bound the refractory jurors to appear in the caſtle-chamber, where they were fined each in the ſum of four thouſand pounds, ſentenced to impriſonment, until it ſhould be paid, and to acknowledge their offence in court upon their knees.

The ſeverity of this ſentence, and even the whole proceedings of the lord-deputy, not only in Galway, but in the other weſtern counties, were repreſented in England with every circumſtance of aggravation, where they were greedily received by the numerous enemies of lord Wentworth. His friend Laud was alarmed at the clamours raiſed againſt him, and hinted the propriety of a temporate and cautious conduct; but the diſpoſition of Wentworth was ill-ſuited for lenient meaſures, and hurried him, in ſome inſtances, to a too rigorous exertion of his authority. Sir Piers Croſby, for oppoſing ſome meaſures of adminiſtration, was tried by a court compoſed of the deputy's creatures, and fined in an exceſſive ſum. The earl of Kildare was impriſoned, for heſitating to ſubmit his property to the ſentence of the privy-council. But neither of theſe made ſo much impreſſion on the public as the extreme ſeverity experienced by lord Mountmorres. This nobleman, at the arrival of lord Wentworth to his government, was conſidered, and repreſented by the deputy, as particularly attached to the intereſts of the crown. But ſome cauſes of mutual diſſatisfaction had given riſe to a rancorous enmity between them. A haſty expreſſion, uſed by Mountmorres, gave ſuch offence to the deputy, that nothing leſs than the ruin of that lord would ſatisfy his reſentment. Mountmorres, who commanded a company in the king's ſervice, was ſeized, and tried by martial law, in a court where Wentworth preſided as general. The obſequious judges unanimouſly decreed, that lord Mountmorres ſhould be impriſoned for his offence, deprived of his commiſſion in the army, diſarmed, declared

incapable of any military office, and ſhot to death, or beheaded, at the pleaſure of the general.

Wentworth, in apology for this arbitrary tranſaction, alledged, that the ſentence againſt Mountmorres was the act of a court of officers, in which he had neither declared his own opinion, nor openly influenced that of others. It was not accepted as a palliation of his violent conduct, that he had not really intended to put this lord to death; that he, and his council, petitioned the king to remit the ſeverity of the ſentence; and that Mountmorres, harraſſed by a rigorous proſecution, mortified by an ignominious ſentence, deprived of his offices, and wearied by the anguiſh of a tedious confinement, at length obtained his pardon from the throne. The enemies of Wentworth, in England, inveighed againſt this proſecution with particular triumph; and his warmeſt friends trembled at the bold exceſſes of ſeverity which he had committed; but Wentworth, relying on the favour of his royal maſter, was equally unmoved by the clamour of the former, and the apprehenſions of the latter. Nor was he diſappointed in his expectation. The king approved of his conduct in the warmeſt terms; deſired him to proceed in the work ſo happily begun, and aſſured him, that he conſidered it as the beſt ſervice which the crown had ever received in Ireland.

Wentworth, thus protected, and encouraged by the approbation of his ſovereign, continued to purſue the ſame conduct. Individuals were frequently aggrieved by an adminiſtration which diſdained to be reſtricted within the bounds of the laws; but the kingdom, in general, experienced the good effects of that compoſure produced by the terror of a ſevere, vigilant, and active government. The revenue was conſiderably increaſed by improvements made in the conſtant rents, and the ſums raiſed by fines, on the renewal of letters-patent, and grants of territory. But notwithſtanding all the pains taken for the eſtabliſhment of the weſtern plantation, ſuch was the clamour raiſed againſt the attempt, and ſuch the increaſing diſorders of England, that the ſcheme was laid aſide.

A. D. 1639. While the diſcontents in Ireland were more ſilently operating, they were threatened with a dangerous increaſe from the inſurrections which had now broke forth in Scotland.

land. The Scots ſettled in the weſtern counties of Ireland, generally agreed with thoſe of their original country in religious doctrine and diſcipline; and, though more controuled, were no leſs inveterate enemies to the eſtabliſhed mode of church-government and worſhip. Several of them had taken the covenant, and paſſed ſecretly into Scotland to ſhare in the cauſe of their countrymen. The leſs enterpriſing were perſuaded, that the hour was at hand when their own diſcipline ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and boldly reſiſted the attempts which were made to reduce them to conformity; while they were farther encouraged by thoſe from Scotland who traded with the northern counties *.

Wentworth, juſtly alarmed at theſe proceedings, determined to act with redoubled vigilance and aſſiduity. A new engagement was preſcribed to the Scots of Ulſter, by which they promiſed allegiance to the king, and ſubmiſſion to his commands; expreſſing, at the ſame time, an abhorrence of the proceedings of their countrymen, and an abjuration of all covenants contrary to the tenor of their preſent oath. This engagement was impoſed on all ages, ſexes, and conditions: thoſe who refuſed it were fined and impriſoned, in ſome caſes, with circumſtances of barbarity.

On the firſt alarm of the Scottiſh inſurrection, thirty thouſand pounds were remitted to the king from the Iriſh exchequer; to which the deputy added ſome conſiderable donations from his private fortune. The Iriſh army was ſtrengthened by an augmentation of four hundred cavalry. A body of five hundred men, carefully diſciplined, and well appointed, were, at the king's deſire, tranſported into England, under the command of Willoughby, an experienced officer, to form a garriſon for Carliſle. Three hundred more were deſtined to ſecure the caſtle of Dunbarton, but prevented by the activity of the covenanters in ſeizing this important fortreſs. The care of the weſtern parts of Scotland having been committed by the covenanters to the earl of Argyle, in order to alarm him with the fears of an invaſion, and, at the ſame time, to awe thoſe Ulſter Scots who favoured the cauſe of their covenanting brethren, the main body of the Iriſh army was

* Uſher.

ordered to rendezvous at Carrickfergus; and reports induſtriouſly ſpread, that the deputy was ſpeedily to take the command in perſon. When Argyle, with equal vigilance, had opened a communication with the Scots of Ulſter, and ſent his emiſſaries to excite them to take arms, his ſhips were ſeized; a plot to deliver up the caſtle of Carrickfergus to the Scots was inſtantly diſcovered, and the principal agent executed without mercy. The caſtle was reinforced; detachments were ſtationed in every place of danger; and magazines provided with arms and ammunition for ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe.

Meanwhile, Charles's affairs grew daily more embarraſſed; and Wentworth, being thought too neceſſary to the king's ſervice to remain in Ireland, was directed to quit that kingdom, and to commit the adminiſtration to two lords-juſtices. He had frequently ſolicited Charles to juſtify him againſt the clamour of his enemies, and to blaſt their hopes of ſupplanting him in the royal favour, by granting him ſome new honours. Charles had hitherto denied the requeſt; but was now more condeſcending. He confirmed him in the government of Ireland, by the more honourable title of lord-lieutenant, advanced him to the dignity of an earl, by the title of Strafford, and created him a knight of the garter.

A. D. 1640. The popiſh party of Ireland, whatever were their grievances and complaints, by no means favoured the cauſe of the covenanters, and, like their brethren of England, affected the moſt zealous attachment to the king. The puritans were numerous, but not as yet encouraged by their friends in England to avow their diſcontents. Thoſe who, by their ſtations or emoluments, were particularly bound to the ſervice of the crown, formed no inconſiderable party in the Iriſh parliament. Strafford repreſented to the Iriſh parliament the ungrateful return made by the Scots to the clemency of his royal maſter, in the late pacification; and recommended to them to grant a ſupply adequate to his neceſſities. The commons even outran his wiſhes. They granted four entire ſubſidies, with a high encomium on his majeſty's goodneſs, in conſtituting the earl of Strafford lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who had endeared himſelf to the kingdom by an upright and vigilant adminiſtration.

adminiſtration. The king having, in a letter to the two houſes, intimated, that, if the Scots did not ſubmit, he ſhould find it neceſſary to demand two additional ſubſidies; they declared, with equal unanimity, that they were ready to ſupport his majeſty, in all his great occaſions, with their lives and fortunes. The Iriſh lords quickly caught the ſame ſpirit of loyalty. At the motion of the earl of Ormond, it was reſolved to congratulate the commons on their liberal and chearful grant, and to ſignify the lords deſire of joining them in an intended declaration of loyalty and attachment to the king.

In this favourable diſpoſition of the parliament, Strafford had nothing more to do but iſſue the neceſſary orders for levying the grants, and raiſing and regulating a new army. The preſſing occaſions of the king again required his immediate return to England. The charge of raiſing the ſubſidies was, therefore, committed to Wandesford, his friend and deputy; and the affairs of the army were entruſted chiefly to the earl of Ormond. The new levies were raiſed with great expedition. Clothing and proviſions occaſioned ſome delay; yet, before the king's forces could aſſemble at Berwick, the whole body of eight thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, appeared at Carrickfergus, the place of rendezvous. Their officers, with one thouſand of the private men, who had been draughted from the old army, were proteſtants; but all the reſt Roman Catholics. And this circumſtance was ſufficient to raiſe a violent clamour againſt the king and Strafford, who, the covenanters exclaimed, armed legions of popiſh ruffians, to glut their malice with the blood of the godly.

But the ſubſidies by which this army was to be ſupported were reluctantly and ſcantily ſupplied *. A new ſpirit ſeemed to have ſuddenly actuated the inhabitants of Ireland. They complained of the weight of thoſe four ſubſidies, which they had ſo lately declared was but the earneſt of their beneficence; and they objected to the rates of aſſeſſment, the ſame which had been uſed in the laſt parliament. A general combination was formed through the kingdom, to prevent the levying any money, until a new mode of taxation ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament;

* Carte's Ormond.

ment; a reſolution which, in effect, reſcinded the late money-bill, enacted with ſuch remarkable zeal and unanimity.

To account for this ſudden change of diſpoſition, it is to be obſerved, that Charles had by this time convened his Engliſh parliament, which, on their ſhewing an averſion to ſupply his neceſſities, he had ſuddenly diſſolved. The ſpirit of diſaffection was quickly communicated to Ireland. The puritan party, which every day grew more powerful, held a freer correſpondence with their brethren of that country, and laboured to attach them to the common cauſe. The vigilant chief governor was abſent; and, to increaſe the confidence of his ſecret enemies in Ireland, reports were induſtriouſly propagated of his ſickneſs, and death. Popiſh agents were aſſiduous in encouraging their party to ſeize the favourable opportunity of forcing ſome indulgence to their civil and religious claims; and puritans and recuſants alike formed a determinate and regular ſcheme of oppoſition.

In this temper was the Iriſh parliament on its ſecond meeting. Many of the principal lords, and officers of ſtate, were puritanically diſpoſed; and ſeveral, on whoſe ſervices the crown relied, abſented themſelves from parliament. Thoſe military members, who were deſtined to keep the balance between the popiſh and puritan parties, were now neceſſarily at their reſpective poſts; ſo that the malcontents had full liberty to exert themſelves in oppoſition to the government. They began with inveighing againſt the conduct of the eccleſiaſtical courts, their fees, their commutation-money, &c. and preſented a bold remonſtrance to the lord-deputy, Wandesford, on this ſubject. They alſo drew up a declaration againſt any aſcertaining of ſubſidies; condemning the inſtructions iſſued by the deputy and council for raiſing the firſt ſubſidy; expreſſing their apprehenſions leſt theſe inſtructions ſhould be deemed the continuance of a precedent eſtabliſhed in a former parliament; and proteſting, that neither this precedent, nor the late inſtructions, ſhould be regarded as a warrant for any future aſſeſſment. In compliment to the deputy, and, from a regard to the king's preſſing occaſions, they appointed the firſt ſubſidy to be levied agreeably to the inſtructions; but declared, that the three

others

others, and all future ſubſidies, ſhould be raiſed in what they called a moderate and parliamentary way.

The members of the Iriſh parliament now ſhewed that they had ſtudied the example of that of England, and learned to convey the moſt determined oppoſition in terms of apparent duty and loyalty. Strafford was the only man likely to check this riſing ſpirit; and it was therefore reſolved that he ſhould immediately reſume the reins of the Iriſh government. He was made captain-general of all the Iriſh forces, with power to lead them into Scotland. Preparations were made for his voyage, when, on the illneſs of the earl of Northumberland, the king found it neceſſary to detain him in England, in order to lead his army againſt the Scots, as lieutenant-general. Meanwhile the commons of Ireland, in their ſucceeding ſeſſion, aſſembled with paſſions ſtill more violent, and with a more ſyſtematic ſcheme of oppoſition. They began with complaints againſt thoſe very acts which Strafford had procured for reforming and civilizing the nation. Such were the laws which enjoined the general uſe of Engliſh apparel, which prohibited ploughing by the tail, burning corn in the ſtraw, or tearing wool from living ſheep. The lords concurred in a repreſentation of the accidental grievances attending the execution of ſuch ſtatutes. And ſo little attention was paid to the moſt obvious principles of liberty, amidſt the violence of faction, that the deputy was moved to exerciſe a diſpenſing power, and to ſuſpend the penalties anexed to theſe laws.

The malcontents in England obſerved the diſpoſition of the Iriſh parliament with pleaſure, and cheriſhed that ſpirit which promiſed to advance their preſent purpoſes. The ruin of the earl of Strafford was the favourite object of the popular party. A charge was already preferred againſt him; meaſures were concerted for ſupporting the accuſation; Ireland was the ſcene where this obnoxious nobleman had been principally diſtinguiſhed; and his proſecutors, therefore, naturally looked to this kingdom. Here they found a numerous party ready to ſecond their deſigns. A remonſtrance of grievances ſuſtained by the Iriſh ſubjects during the adminiſtration of the earl, was haſtily prepared, and preſented to the houſe of commons. Had the ſeveral articles of this remonſtrance received a diſtinct

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and temperate diſcuſſion, many might have proved groundleſs or vague, and many not chargeable to the chief governor, at whom they were pointed. But the proceeding on this occaſion diſcovered more of zeal than candour. It was preſented abruptly to the houſe; required to be twice read; no objection was admitted; no member allowed to ſpeak to it; no queſtion was put upon the ſeparate articles; but the particulars were collected into one queſtion, and tumultuouſly voted to be grievances. The remonſtrance concluded with a petition to the lord-deputy, that if he ſhould not think fit to afford relief, he would at leaſt admit a ſelect committee of the commons to repair to the king in England, in order to obtain a redreſs for their grievances and oppreſſions. Before an anſwer could be obtained, the commons proceeded to nominate this committee. Wandesford, the lord-deputy, was perplexed and intimidated. He endeavoured to evade an anſwer to their remonſtrance, by recommending a conference with a committee of the lords on the articles contained in it. The commons rejected the overture; and while their committee, compoſed of virulent Papiſts and rigid Puritans, prepared to embark ſecretly for England, the deputy was left to the uſual expedient of prorogation.

The Iriſh committee was received in London with particular favour by the popular party, which expected conſiderable aſſiſtance from them in the proſecution of the earl of Strafford *. Their public inſtructions were to addreſs themſelves to the king; but they ſeem to have been privately directed to apply to a power greater than the king's, that of the Engliſh houſe of commons. To prepare the way for their favourable reception, Mr. Pym, with the aſſiſtance of ſir John Clotworthy, a gentleman of Ireland, whoſe attachment to the popular party, and enmity to the earl of Strafford, had gained him a ſeat in the Engliſh parliament, obtained a committee to take into conſideration the grievances of Ireland. To this committee the agents readily communicated their remonſtrance, which, with a petition from ſeveral of the members of the Iriſh parliament, was preſented to the houſe. The firſt alarm of danger was now conveyed to the earl of

* Uſher.

of Strafford. He was impeached, ſequeſtered from parliament, and committed to cuſtody.

The ſudden death of Wandesford, lord-deputy of Ireland, is imputed to the violent impreſſion made on his mind, by the vexations of his government, and the proſecution of Strafford. This event afforded the Iriſh committee, reſident in London, a fair occaſion of diſplaying their power. Soon after the prorogation of the Iriſh parliament, they were joined by ſome lords of Ireland, delegated by a number of the Iriſh nobility, moſt inimical to Strafford, and directed to unite with the agents of the commons, in repreſenting the grievances of the nation. The popular leaders in the Engliſh parliament, without examining their commiſſion, received them with open arms. Such was the conſequence which the Iriſh delegates now acquired, that the king deemed it neceſſary to court them, and laboured to ſoften their reſentments againſt his favourite by ſome incautious condeſcenſions.

The appointment of a ſucceſſor to Wandesford became an object of deliberation. The earl of Strafford, who knew the circumſtances of Ireland, recommended with particular earneſtneſs the earl of Ormond, a nobleman not only zealous in the royal cauſe, but an enemy both to the Romiſh and puritan factions. The Iriſh committee, however, in the plenitude of their power and indulgence, had the hardineſs to remonſtrate againſt this nomination, and were ſo ſucceſsful, that the king relinquiſhed the deſign of employing the earl of Ormond, and declared his reſolution of committing the Iriſh government to two lord-juſtices, equally choſen from the contending parties; lord Dillon of Kilkenny-wert, a nobleman of approved attachment to the royal ſervice, and ſir William Parſons, diſtinguiſhed for his zeal in favour of the popular and puritanic faction.

The Iriſh committee having influenced the king to this condeſcenſion, were not long in preſſing him with new demands. They proceeded to remonſtrate againſt lord Dillon as a perſon unfit to be entruſted with the adminiſtration of the Iriſh government. Charles, impatient of being relieved from a conteſt which interrupted his attention to matters of greater importance, revoked the nomination of Dillon, and abandoned the government of Ireland

land to ſir William Parſons, and ſir John Borlaſe, two puritan lords-juſtices, without abilities or character, and full fraught with all the liberal prejudices of party.

In proportion to the king's conceſſions, the committee roſe in their demands; and Charles, having already ſtooped to ſo great condeſcenſions, felt leſs reluctance in granting their ſubſequent requeſts. He conſented to ſend orders to Ireland, that they ſhould not be proſecuted for departing that kingdom without licence; that the ſubſidies ſhould be aſſeſſed in the manner preſcribed by their houſe; and that all the king's correſpondence with his miniſters of Ireland ſhould be entered in the ſignet-office, open to the inſpection of every ſubject. Having thus far experienced the compliance of the king, they at length preſented their remonſtrance in due form. An anſwer, prepared by ſir George Ratcliffe, was ſoon after read in council, and a copy delivered to the committee. They were immediately alarmed; and proteſted againſt the king's conſulting on their affairs either with the earl of Strafford, Ratcliffe, or ſir Philip Mainwaring, another of his zealous friends. They were called to make their reply; when, the diſcuſſion of particulars being difficult and hazardous, they agreed to entrench themſelves in a general declaration of the ſenſe of the Iriſh houſe of commons, concerning the grievances alledged *.

The Iriſh parliament, in the mean time, again aſſembled, and with ſpirits ſtill more elevated. Not contented with demanding a redreſs of former grievances, they aſpired, in imitation of their neighbours in England, to new privileges, and new ſecurities. Having provided for the ſupport of their agents in London, by a public aſſeſſment, they proceeded to inſtruct them to apply to the throne for new laws and regulations, calculated to encreaſe their own power, no leſs than to advance the public intereſt. The commons, whether in the ferment of their own zeal, or in compliance with the inſtructions received from England, proceeded to an impeachment of ſir Richard Bolton the chancellor, doctor Bramhal, biſhop of Derry, ſir Gerrard Lowther, chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, and ſir George Ratcliffe, men of known attachment to the earl of Strafford. They were charged with

* Ware.

with high treaſon, for exerciſing an illegal and tyrannical government in Ireland, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the earl of Strafford; of aſſuming a regal power over the properties, perſons, and liberties of the ſubjects; pronouncing unjuſt decrees, and extra-judicial opinions, and of ſubverting the privileges of parliament.

A charge ſo vague and general, however conformable to the proceedings in England againſt the earl of Strafford, was not univerſally well received in the houſe of lords. A variety of queſtions and points of difficulty were ſuggeſted, little ſuited to the impetuoſity of the commons, who became impatient, and even clamorous, for a full compliance with their demand. It was at length reſolved, that Bramhal and Lowther ſhould be confined; and that the lords-juſtices ſhould be informed that the houſe held it alſo fit that the chancellor ſhould be committed to cuſtody, and therefore requeſted that their lordſhips might appoint ſome other perſon for their ſpeaker. They were anſwered, that the chancellor and chief-juſtice were at this time peculiarly neceſſary at the council-board, and that the lords-juſtices wiſhed the houſe would entruſt them with the diſpoſal of theſe perſons; that their deſire of a new ſpeaker ſhould be tranſmitted to the king, and that they deſired a meſſage from the houſe to bail the parties accuſed, if their lordſhips ſaw cauſe. The lords complied; and the conteſt between the houſes was for the preſent ſuſpended by a prorogation. But the diſcontented party ſoon enjoyed a conſummate triumph, in the trial of the earl of Strafford, and the act of attainder paſſed againſt this unhappy lord. To have been diſcountenanced, or treated with any ſeverity by him, was now conſidered as the moſt effectual recommendation to honours and employments. Sir Piers Croſby, his accuſer, was reſtored to his place in council; and Archibald Adair, the wretched Scottiſh prelate, who had been deprived of the ſee of Killala, for his declarations in favour of the covenant, was recommended by a puritanic government to the biſhoprick of Waterford *.

The lords-juſtices, terrified by the remonſtrances, declined to hear any ſuits, or to decide any cauſes in council. The court of high commiſſion, and the preſidental courts

* Cox.

courts of Munſter and Connaught, were afraid to exerciſe their wonted juriſdiction. The judges of the law-courts were no leſs intimidated; adminiſtration became contemptible to a people who had been uſed to a government of ſeverity.

The unnatural coalition of puritan and popiſh, it may well be imagined, was made for no other purpoſe, but that of ſeizing the advantage of the confuſions in England, the fall of Strafford, and the embarraſſments of the crown, to extort from the king ſome conceſſions favourable to their reſpective intereſts; and ſome members in both houſes of parliament had already entertained deep and dangerous deſigns, not yet diſcovered, and perhaps not ſufficiently matured. Every ſtep towards the ruin of lord Strafford encreaſed the confidence of the Iriſh committees ſtill reſident in London. They repeatedly ſolicited the king to grant an anſwer to the remonſtrances of the Iriſh parliament, and to redreſs the grievances which had been conveyed to the throne. Charles at laſt conſented that they ſhould be conſidered in the privy-council, and to moſt of the articles gave a favourable anſwer. He agreed to moderate the aſſeſſment of the nobility; to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament; to deprive thoſe peers of their votes, who ſhould not purchaſe eſtates in Ireland within a limited time; to allow all Iriſh ſubjects to repair to any part of his dominions without reſtraint; to prohibit the chief governors and council from deciding property, or avoiding letters patent; to revoke monopolies; to ſuſpend the high-commiſſion court; and to refer the demands of the clergy to the Iriſh council, in order to frame an act for an equitable regulation of their claims and courts. He likewiſe conſented that the graces ſhould be conſidered by the lords-juſtices and council, and a bill prepared for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch as appeared moſt conducive to the intereſts of the kingdom. He agreed to reform the abuſes of Quo warrantos, and to reſtrain the execution of martial law. Only a few points of the petition were rejected; and in particular he refuſed to conſent that any part of the law of Poynings ſhould be repealed.

But the committee appears to have placed little confidence in conceſſions which were obtained during the humiliation

miliation of the king. Inſtead of depending on the royal favour, they demanded the ſecurity of a former declaration of the rights they claimed; the powers which Charles promiſed not to exerciſe, they required to be aboliſhed; and in reſpect of Poynings law, they contended that it did not preclude the two houſes of parliament from concurring with the council in preparing and tranſmitting bills. A negociation on theſe ſubjects with the Iriſh council, was attended with an inconvenient delay; and the time to which the Iriſh parliament had been prorogued was already elapſed, before the king's order for a farther prorogation had been received. It was neceſſary, therefore, by a ſhort bill, to declare the continuance of this aſſembly, and to give validity to its proceedings; for which purpoſe the king's letter was tranſmitted. It was no leſs neceſſary, by ſome act of favour, to conciliate the Iriſh parliament, which had diſcovered ſo much violence during the former ſeſſion. Without waiting the proceedings of the Iriſh committee, Charles addreſſed a letter to the lords-juſtices, declaring his pleaſure that the Iriſh ſhould enjoy the benefit of all his graces, and directing that bills ſhould be tranſmitted for eſtabliſhing ſome material articles, and particularly for ſecuring the eſtates in the province of Connaught from all the claims of the crown.

For this favourable attention of the king, both houſes of parliament returned him ſolemn thanks; in expreſſing which, however, they ſhewed a firm reſolution not to abate of their demands. They prayed that all the graces ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law; and that the preſent parliament ſhould not be prorogued or diſſolved, until laws were provided for the redreſs of every grievance. The ſame determined ſpirit continued to actuate both houſes throughout the ſeſſion. The commons in particular proceeded with that violent ſpirit of reformation, which the example of their neighbours had inſpired. By a ſolemn declaration they aſſerted their ancient right of repairing at all times to his majeſty, by their agents, with the intervention of the chief governor. Not ſatisfied with the reſtraints of martial law preſcribed by the king, they reſolved to limit the execution of it, even in times of war and

and rebellion. Every queſtionable demand of the clergy was at once pronounced a grievance; and this with ſuch ſeverity, that their maintenance was rendered precarious; ſo that the houſe was afterwards obliged to qualify the preſent reſolutions. Not ſatisfied with reſcinding decrees made in favour of the clergy, and involving particulars of this order in vexatious difficulties, the houſe proceeded to ſtrike at the very vitals of the religious eſtabliſhment, by harraſſing the univerſity.

A ſeſſion of conſiderable heat and violence was protracted, in expectation of the Iriſh committees at length returning to Ireland with the bills promiſed by the king. The delay grew alarming to the lords-juſtices, who dreaded ſome new acts of violence from the parliament. The houſes at length adjourned, apparently with a determined purpoſe, of afterwards riſing in their demands, and extorting new conceſſions from the throne. To animate their hopes, the committees arrived during the receſs, in the triumph of having accompliſhed the various objects of their undertaking.

A.D. 1661. This interval of the Iriſh parliament, proved an important period, diſtinguiſhed by a deſperate conſpiracy and inſurrection, which owed its riſe both to national and religious prejudices. There was one Roger Moore, the head of a once powerful army of Leinſter *. His anceſtors in the reign of Mary, had been expelled from their large poſſeſſions, by violence and fraud; and their ſept harraſſed and almoſt extirpated by military execution. The remains of them were diſtinguiſhed by a hereditary hatred of the Engliſh, againſt whom Moore in particular entertained implacable ſentiments of revenge. He was allied by intermarriages to ſeveral of the old Engliſh, and lived in intimacy with thoſe of the firſt diſtinction among them. He attached himſelf particularly to the ſon of the rebel earl of Tyrone, who had obtained a regiment in Spain, and was careſſed at that court. On an excurſion which Moore made thither, theſe two companions uſed to dwell on the calamities of their fathers, their brave efforts in the cauſe of their countrymen, and the hopes of yet reviving the ancient ſplendor of their families. The ſpirit of Moore was

* Carte, Ann. MSS.

was kindled. He vowed to make one noble effort for the reſtoration of his brethren, and returned to Ireland in the reſolution of engaging in ſome bold deſign. His firſt object was to render himſelf popular among the native Iriſh; in which he was abundantly ſucceſsful. They regarded him with veneration; they celebrated him in their ſongs; and it became a proverbial expreſſion, that their dependence was on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.

He proceeded to practiſe cautiouſly with his friends and kinſmen, and by fomenting their diſcontents and alarming their fears, to lead them gradually into his deſign. He ſoon wrought upon the temper of Richard Plunket, a man of good birth and connexions, and who became an active agent in the conſpiracy. No great difficulty was apprehended in gaining the Ulſter Iriſh, who had been ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed by the arms of Elizabeth, and ſo grievouſly deſpoiled by the plantations of James. Of theſe, Moore firſt applied to Connor Macguire, baron of Inniſkillen, and regarded as the chieftain of a powerful ſept. It was not long before he prevailed upon this Northern to join in the plot; and he wrought with no leſs facility on three other Iriſhmen of the ſame province, Mac-Mahon, Philip Reiley, and Torlogh, brother of ſir Phelim O'Nial, the moſt conſiderable of his name and lineage now reſident in Ulſter.

To quicken the reſolutions and animate the hopes of the conſpirators, there now arrived an emiſſary from the earl of Tyrone, as he was called, with aſſurances, to all of his name and kindred, of arms, money, and ammunition from cardinal Richlieu, and inſtructions to hold themſelves ready for an inſurrection. In their preſent agitation, they were not damped by a ſudden rumour of the death of young Tyrone; but inſtructed their meſſenger, that, if the report ſhould be confirmed, he ſhould addreſs himſelf to another of the ſame family in the Low Countries, colonel Owen O'Nial; and particularly that he would continue the negociation with the cardinal of France, and ſecure the ſuccours which had been promiſed from that quarter.

The ſpirit of the malcontents was farther inflamed by intelligence received about this time, of terrible proclamations of the Scots againſt all of their communion*. Fears of extirpation

* Nalſon.

extirpation by the fanatic fury of the puritans, were ſeriouſly entertained by ſome, and affected and propagated by the more deſigning. It was repreſented, that the Scots, in the phrenzy of religious zeal, were ready to invade Ireland, and perſecute the catholics with ſword and devaſtation. Even the more loyal among the Romaniſts were alarmed at the thought of ſending the diſbanded Iriſh army into foreign ſervice; while the conſpirators had obvious reaſons for inſiſting on the detention of theſe troops.

Plunket, Byrne, and Dillon, three of the conſpirators, had undertaken to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin; and they had a proſpect of a powerful northern inſurrection to cooperate with their attempts. The fifth day of October was fixed for the time of riſing; but, by the coolneſs of ſome, on whom great reliance had been placed, the whole deſign ſeemed likely to evaporate. The undaunted ſpirit of Moore was irritated and mortified. He had of late kept himſelf retired, enjoying with ſecret pleaſure the progreſs of that conflagration which he had lighted up. But now he was neceſſarily called forth to take a more active part. He therefore ſtepped out of his retreat, and by his aſſiduity, addreſs, and artifice, revived the zeal of his aſſociates. It was now finally reſolved to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin on the 23d day of October and Moore was the firſt to undertake this daring enterpriſe. In reſpect to the proceedings in the country, it was reſolved that the riſing ſhould be on the ſame day, and as general as poſſible; that all forts and garriſons ſhould be ſeized, and all the gentry made priſoners, for the better ſecurity of the conſpirators, in caſe their enterpriſe ſhould miſcarry. When the time of execution had been ſettled, an emiſſary was diſpatched to Owen O'Nial; and returned with aſſurance that in fourteen days after he would arrive to their ſupport. As the day approached, they gradually drew towards Dublin. On the evening of the 22d day of October, they aſſembled, in expectation of the detachments deſtined to aſſault the caſtle; but of theſe, eight only were arrived. This diſappointment, however, was not ſufficient to deter the leaders. They encouraged each other with the aſſurance that every hour would increaſe their numbers; and, to give time for the arrival of their ſuccours, reſolved that the aſſault ſhould be made on the evening of the enſuing day.

In

In regard to the deſign of this conſpiracy, it appears to have been nothing leſs than the utter ſubverſion of all the late eſtabliſhments of property; reſtoring the native Iriſh to all that they had loſt, by the rebellions of their anceſtors, or the deciſions of law; and procuring a full re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion. Even to this moment the officers of ſtate in Ireland ſeemed to ſleep in perfect ſecurity. On the death of Strafford, the earl of Leiceſter had been nominated lord-lieutenant of the kingdom; but his commiſſion was delayed, and the adminiſtration ſtill continued in the hands of ſir William Parſons, and ſir John Borlaſe. The former was only attentive to increaſe his fortune; and the latter aged, indolent, and ignorant, except in the buſineſs of his profeſſion. Both of them had owed their ſtation to the Engliſh commons, and their partizans in the privy-council; and their attention and attachment was confined wholly to the prevailing power. Confident of ſupport, they diſobeyed the orders, and deſpiſed the inſtructions, of the king. On the 11th day of October, they were informed, by an expreſs from Enniſkillen, of an unuſual and ſuſpicious reſort of various Iriſh to the houſe of ſir Phelim O'Nial; and of other circumſtances alarming to the friends of the government. The lords-juſtices, nevertheleſs, continued inſenſible to their danger. On the 21ſt, ſir William Cole diſpatched from Enniſkillen a full account of the conſpiracy, which two accomplices had by this time revealed to him. Yet this inſtance of his zeal proved equally ineffectual; for his letter to the juſtices was either intercepted or ſuppreſſed. At length, however, an accident obtruded a diſcovery on the lords-juſtices, when the conſpirators had agreed finally on their operations, and only waited the hour of execution *. Owen O'Conolly, to whom the plot had but lately been communicated, determined on diſcovering it to the lor ds-juſtices; and for this purpoſe, during a ſtate of intoxication, preſented himſelf before ſir William Parſons; whom he informed of the deſperate deſign to be immediately executed, of his author, and the principal aſſociates. Parſons, prejudiced againſt his appearance, and the manner of his diſcovery, paid little attention to the ſtory. On his departure, how-

* Temple. Iriſh Rebellion.

ever, the lord-juſtice was ſuddenly recalled to a ſenſe of danger. He ordered the caſtle and city to be guarded: he ſought his colleague, and informed him of the extraordinary incident. Borlaſe was ſtruck with the narrative; he ſummoned the privy-counſellors; and diſpatched meſſengers through the city in ſearch of O'Conolly; whom, having been ſeized in the ſtreets as a ſuſpicious perſon, they found in the hands of the town-watch. Being ſtill diſordered by his terror and exceſs, he was permitted to take repoſe; and then gave his information clearly and particularly. Mac-Mahon was firſt ſeized; lord Macguire was detected in his concealment; Moore, Byrne, and other leaders, received timely intimation of their danger, and eſcaped. Mac-Mahon, after ſome heſitation, freely confeſſed the deſign in which he had engaged; boaſted that the inſurrection of that day was too powerful and general to be ſubdued; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction, that, though he had fallen into the hands of his enemies, his death would be ſeverely revenged.

The capital was thrown into the utmoſt terror; and a proclamation iſſued by the lords-juſtices, commanding all ſtrangers to depart from the city, on pain of death, had not allayed the general commotion. Many of the Engliſh inhabitants prepared to eſcape to their native country. A fleet of Scottiſh fiſhermen offered to detach five hundred of their crew to the ſervice of the ſtate; but this overture had ſcarcely been accepted, when a falſe alarm of danger drove them from the coaſt. Four hundred ſoldiers, embarked for the ſervice of Spain, but detained in the harbour by orders of the Engliſh parliament, were prohibited from landing, until they were on the point of periſhing by famine; and then were ſuffered to diſperſe through the country, to be enliſted by the rebel-leaders.

A few days allayed the confuſion of the capital; but to prevent any dangerous concourſe thither, the parliament, appointed to aſſemble in November, was farther prorogued, and all the courts of law, except the exchequer, adjourned *. The ſheriffs of thoſe counties which compoſed the Engliſh Pale, were ordered to provide for the ſecurity of this diſtrict, where the influence of great lords of the Romiſh communion, excited apprehenſions in the government.

* Temple. Iriſh Rebellion.

government. But in a ſhort time ſeveral noblemen of that perſuaſion appeared before the council, and expreſſed their abhorrence of the conſpiracy. Romiſh and proteſtant ſubjects alike gave ſolemn aſſurances of their loyalty, and declared their readineſs to concur in defence of the realm; but being deſtitute of arms, required to be provided, for their own and the general ſafety. The lords-juſtices were embarraſſed by this requeſt, from men whom, on one hand, they regarded with diſtruſt, and, on the other, were afraid of exaſperating, at ſo critical a time, by a refuſal. A middle way of proceeding was therefore adopted. The council aſſured them that they had an entire reliance on their zeal and loyalty; that they would gladly ſupply them with arms, but were not yet certain whether a ſufficient number could be ſpared from the neceſſary defence of the caſtle and city; but that ſome ſhould be ſpared. They accordingly delivered out a ſmall quantity to ſome of thoſe lords who, by their ſituation, ſeemed moſt expoſed to danger.

Meanwhile, the moſt affecting accounts were hourly received of the progreſs of the northern rebels. The confederates, faithful to their engagements, had riſen at the appointed time, in different quarters. Sir Phelim O'Nial, on the 22d of October, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Charlemont, then a place of conſiderable ſtrength. He thence flew to Dungannon, and ſeized the fort, while ſome of his adherents poſſeſſed themſelves of the town and caſtle of Mountjoy. Tandragee was ſurpriſed by the ſept of O'Hanlan; Newry betrayed to ſir Conn Magennis and his followers; and, what was of yet greater conſequence to the inſurgents, they poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition. Almoſt all Fermanagh ſubmitted to the fury of Roger, brother to lord Macguire. Every place of ſtrength in Monaghan was ſeized by the ſept of Mac-Mahon.

In the county of Cavan, both the repreſentative in parliament, O'Reily, and the ſheriff, his brother, were deeply engaged in the rebellion. They proceeded with unuſual regularity. The ſheriff ſummoned the popiſh inhabitants to arms: they marched under his command with the appearance of diſcipline; and forts, towns, and caſtles were ſurrendered to them. The county of Longford was alſo

ſummoned to arms by the popiſh ſheriff; and every caſtle, houſe, and plantation, of the Britiſh inhabitants was ſeized. Leitrim followed the example; ſo that within the ſpace of eight days the rebels were abſolute maſters of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and Derry, except a few places; as they likewiſe were of ſome parts of Armagh and Down. Through the whole open country of theſe diſtricts, the Engliſh inhabitants, from a ſtate of proſperity, were ſuddenly reduced to the moſt deplorable condition. They ſcarcely believed the firſt reports of an inſurrection; and the beginnings of hoſtilities ſerved rather to confound, than to excite them to any reaſonable meaſures of defence.

The hopes of plunder quickly allured the Iriſh ſepts to the ſervice of O'Nial; ſo that in one week he is ſaid to have had thirty thouſand followers. Parties of plunderers multiplied, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſes and properties of their Engliſh neighbours. Reſiſtance produced ſome blood-ſhed; and in ſome inſtances, private revenge, religious hatred, and the ſuſpicion of ſome valuable concealment, hurried the licentious rebels to acts of barbarity and murder *. So far, however, was the original ſcheme of the conſpiracy at firſt purſued, that few fell by the ſword, except in hoſtile contention: no indiſcriminate maſſacre was as yet committed. The Engliſh were either confined in priſons, in perpetual terror of deſtruction; or driven naked from their habitations; expoſed at once to the inclemency of a ſeaſon remarkably ſevere, and to the horrors of famine.

The leaders of the rebellion as yet confined their attack to the Engliſh, and left the Scottiſh planters unmoleſted. Every marauding party thundered out their deteſtation of England, and Engliſh tyranny. They vowed not to leave one Engliſhman in their country; and that they would have no king but one of their own nation. This rancorous ſpirit was kept alive by falſe hopes of ſupport. The rebels were ſometimes aſſured that the Scots had really concurred in the deſign of extirpating the Engliſh. Sometimes their leaders boaſted that they had riſen in conſequence

* MS. Trin. Col. Dub.

quence of inſtructions from the queen. In ſeizing Charlemont, O'Nial declared that he acted by authority of the Engliſh parliament. But theſe pretences were ſoon diſavowed as dangerous to their cauſe. On the day following, the Iriſh leader profeſſed that he had the king's authority for taking arms. He produced a parchment, with a great-ſeal appending, which he affirmed to be this commiſſion; and though he would not ſuffer it to be inſpected, the bold aſſertion gained credit with the puritan-party, which entertained no favourable ſentiments of Charles. The firſt report of this pretended commiſſion was encountered by a proclamation of the lords-juſtices, warning the ſubjects againſt the deluſion of falſe and ſeditious rumours, derogatory to the honour of the crown; and denouncing the terror of puniſhment againſt thoſe who ſhall refuſe to accept the royal mercy.

At this day, when the virulence of party has ſubſided, the very terms in which this inſtrument is conceived, may be ſufficient to diſcredit it, and evince it to be a ſcandalous forgery. At the cloſe of this inſurrection, the rebel-leaders, their clergy, their agents, all uniformly declared that they had no commiſſion from the king, but had invented the tale to collect and animate their followers *. The dying declaration of lord Macguire diſclaimed any commiſſion from the king. Sir Phelim O'Nial, on his trial, peremptorily denied that he had ever received any commiſſion. He explained the means by which his Iriſh followers were deceived. He declared, that, in ranſacking the caſtle of Charlemont, he found a patent of lord Caulfield's, from which he took the great-ſeal, and affixed it to a forged commiſſion. At the hour of his execution he perſiſted in a ſolemn diſavowal of having received any commiſſion from the king, for levying or proſecuting the war of Ireland. Upon the whole, the idea that the rebels acted under any commiſſion from Charles, is refuted both by poſitive and circumſtantial evidence, of the ſtrongeſt kind; and there remains not the ſmalleſt doubt, that the report was fabricated by the leaders of that party, in order to gain credit to their cauſe.

The progreſs of the northern rebels did not correſpond with

* Depoſitions, MS.

with the rapidity of their firſt ſucceſſes. The Engliſh gentlemen in different parts of Ulſter quickly recovered from their conſternation, and took the neceſſary meaſures for defence. The wretched fugitives of this province, who eſcaped the fury of the rebels, or were driven from their habitations, took refuge in Carrickfergus, where Chiceſter, the governor, collected, encouraged, and armed them. In other towns, not ſurpriſed by the rebels, defenſive meaſures were adopted; and the friends of the government, though not yet formally authoriſed to take up arms, ventured to march out againſt the enemy. When the king, who was then at Edinburgh, received intelligence of the commotions in Ireland, he communicated the information to the Scottiſh parliament, in the hope that their zeal for religion, and abhorrence of popery, would rouſe them to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed brethren. But his application not meeting with that attention which he had expected, he contrived, by means of ſome experienced officers lately diſbanded, to collect fifteen hundred of their old ſoldiers. Theſe were inſtantly diſpatched to his loyal commanders of Ulſter, with arms, ammunition, and ſome money, procured by the aſſiſtance of the duke of Lenox.

This timely ſupply, however inconſiderable, ſerved to animate the ſubjects of the North; where the gentlemen, having received commiſſions from the king, were now legally authoriſed to command thoſe whom before they could not exhort to defence. Wherever the Engliſh inhabitants were embodied, their exertions were attended with ſucceſs. In Fermanagh, the rebels were forced to raiſe the ſiege of Enniſkillen; and the caſtle of lord Macguire was taken by ſtorm. In Tyrone, ſir Phelim O'Nial was driven with diſgrace and ſlaughter from the ſiege of Caſtle-Derrick. In Donegal, he received another defeat; and his forces, after being repelled in various attempts, were obliged to return to his camp at Newry. Still confident, however, in the number of his followers, whom the hopes of plunder were daily alluring to his ſervice, he determined to ſtrike an important blow, by inveſting Carrickfergus. For this purpoſe, it was previouſly neceſſary to reduce Liſburn, a powerful Scottiſh ſettlement, for the pretence of leaving the Scottiſh ſettlers unmoleſted, was ſoon forgotten.

ten. Hither, therefore, he detached a well-appointed body of four thouſand men. The town had already ſuſtained a violent aſſault; but relying on the ſtrength of his party, and his intelligence with the Iriſh inhabitants, O'Nial entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs. By good fortune ſir Arthur Tyringham had brought a ſeaſonable reinforcement to the garriſon; and at the very moment of danger, was aſſiſted in his diſpoſitions by the arrival of ſir George Rawdon, an eminent Engliſh ſettler and gallant officer. After various attacks and repulſes, the rebels were at laſt put to flight, with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the number of the ſlain is ſaid to have trebled the whole garriſon.

But the ſucceſs of the loyaliſts was productive of conſequences truly horrible. The Iriſh, incenſed at reſiſtance, and farther exaſperated by defeat, carried on hoſtilities without faith or humanity. Lurgan was ſurrendered by ſir William Brownlow, on terms of ſecurity to the inhabitants, and permiſſion of marching out unmoleſted with his family, goods, and retinue. Notwithſtanding this capitulation, all were inſtantly ſeized, and the whole town given up to plunder. At every inſtance of his ill-ſucceſs, ſir Phelim O'Nial was either tranſported to the utmoſt pitch of vindictive rage, or ſo alarmed at the well-known inſtability of his followers, that he determined, with an infernal policy, to plunge them ſo deep in blood, as to preclude their reconciliation with the government. On the repulſe of his forces at the caſtle of Augher, he ordered his execrable agent, Mac-Donnel, to maſſacre all the Britiſh Proteſtants in three adjacent pariſhes. The defeat at Liſburn provoked this ſavage and his barbarous followers to the moſt diabolical vengeance. Lord Caulfield who had been conveyed to one of O'Nial's houſes, was wantonly and baſely murdered *. Fifty others in the ſame place were ſacrificed to the poniards of the Iriſh. Their miſerable priſoners, confined in different quarters, were now brought out, under pretence of being conducted to the next Engliſh ſettlements. They were goaded forward like beaſts by their guards, who exulted in their ſufferings, and determined on the deſtruction of thoſe who had not already ſunk under their tortures.

* Nalſon.

tures. Sometimes they ſhut them up in ſome houſe or caſtle, which they ſet on fire, with a more than brutal indifference to their cries, and a helliſh triumph over their expiring agonies. Sometimes the miſerable captives were plunged into the firſt river, to which they had been driven by their tormentors. One hundred and ninety were, at once, precipitated from the bridge at Portadown. Iriſh eccleſiaſtics were ſeen encouraging the carnage. The women, forgetting the delicacy of their ſex, purſued the Engliſh with execrations, and embrued their hands in the blood of the captives; while even children, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger againſt the helpleſs priſoners. Nor were the miſeries of thoſe leſs horrible who eſcaped the utmoſt fury of the rebels. They languiſhed in a ſtate of diſtraction, with their imaginations overpowered and diſordered by the recollection of tortures and butchery.

The natural effect of theſe exceſſes was an enthuſiaſtic hatred of the Iriſh, which tranſported the Britiſh ſettlers into the ſame outrageous cruelty that had excited their abhorrence. The Scottiſh ſoldiers, in particular, who had reinforced the garriſon of Carrickfergus, were poſſeſſed with a habitual hatred of popery, and inflamed to an implacable deteſtation of the Iriſh, by multiplied accounts of their barbarities. In one fatal night they iſſued from Carrickfergus into an adjacent diſtrict called Iſland Magee, where lived a number of the poorer Iriſh, entirely innocent of the rebellion. Theſe the ſoldiers are ſaid to have aſſailed in their beds, and maſſacred with deliberate cruelty.

During the progreſs of theſe northern commotions, the lords-juſtices confined their attention to their own ſecurity, and that of the capital *. The numbers of wretched fugitives who ſought ſhelter in Dublin, from their mercileſs enemies, exhibited a melancholy ſpectacle, and called aloud for the moſt vigorous exertions of the government. The earl of Ormond, who was appointed lieutenant-general of the army, declared for marching inſtantly againſt the rebels, with ſuch forces as might be ſpared from the defence of Dublin. A conſiderable part of the army was aſſembled, new levies were made, and the royal magazines ſufficiently ſupplied. The main body of the rebels, which

* Temple.

which lay in the county of Lowth, were at this time wretchedly provided and diſpirited. Yet the lords-juſtices contented themſelves with diſpatching ſir Henry Tichburne, with his regiment, to ſecure Drogheda from any attempt of the rebels, who, to the number of four thouſand, lay at Athirdee, ſeven miles diſtant from this garriſon.

Such a force as Ormond propoſed to employ, had often proved ſucceſsful in quelling Iriſh inſurrections, when the danger was encountered with reſolution and vigour. But the lords-juſtices, who now held the reins of government, ſeemed determined againſt every ſpirited meaſure. They excuſed themſelves by alledging the want of arms; a pretence which was generally known to be deſtitute of foundation. Some imputed their conduct to timidity, and a ſolicitude for protecting their poſſeſſions in the capital. Others entertained ſuſpicion that they envied the earl of Ormond, and dreaded leſt his ſucceſs ſhould be rewarded with the lieutenancy of Ireland. Thoſe who were intimately acquainted with their characters and principles, conceived that they by no means wiſhed to cruſh the rebellion in its beginning, but were ſecretly deſirous that it ſhould proceed to ſuch a length, as to gratify their avarice with extenſive forfeitures; while ſome ſcrupled not to inſinuate, that they acted by directions from the ruling faction in England.

Whatever were their motives, they remained in a ſtate of inactivity. In the mean time the Iriſh inhabitants of the county of Leitrim, provoked at the extenſive Engliſh plantation formed on their lands, ſoon followed the example of the Northerns. The ſept of O'Byrne, in the county of Wicklow, ſtill ſmarting with the remembrance of the perſecution they had ſuſtained from Parſons, united with their Iriſh neighbours in the adjoining counties of Wexford and Carlow. They poſſeſſed themſelves of forts, drove the Engliſh Proteſtants from their dwellings, and extended their ravages to the walls of Dublin. In Munſter, ſir William Saint Leger, the lord-preſident, could not obtain either arms or ſoldiers ſufficient for a time of peace, much leſs for a juncture of ſuch commotion; notwithſtanding which, the ſtrength of the Engliſh Proteſtants and the loyalty of the Iriſh gentry, preſerved this province

vince from any material diſorder. The ſecurity of Connaught was equally neglected by the chief-governors; yet here too the good affections of the principal inhabitants ſtemmed the torrent of rebellion *.

The lords-juſtices, in the aſſurance of receiving ſuccours from England, ventured even to recall thoſe arms which they had entruſted to the nobles and inhabitants of the Pale; and while they thus left them defenceleſs, they deprived the beſt affected of all hopes of refuge from the violence of the inſurgents. For, by a new proclamation, they commanded all perſons, except the ordinary inhabitants, on pain of death, to depart from Dublin within twenty-four hours, and not to preſume to approach within two miles of the city. The pretence for this rigorous prohibition was, that, by the great concourſe to the capital, the country was deprived of defence. The conſequence of this meaſure was, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts were forced to a perpetual intercourſe with the rebels, to ſupport them by contributions, and ſometimes to unite with them, in order to avert their cruelty.

In another inſtance, the conduct of the preſent government was yet more ſuſpicious. The Engliſh parliament had recommended the offer of a general pardon to ſuch rebels as ſhould ſubmit within a certain time, to be limited by the lords-juſtices; but no proclamation was iſſued, nor any pardon offered, in conſequence of theſe inſtructions. In apology for this omiſſion, they pleaded the inefficacy of their former proclamations; one of which only called upon the rebels to diſperſe, without any poſitive aſſurance of mercy; and the other offered a pardon, not to the rebels of Ulſter, where the inſurrection chiefly raged, but to thoſe of Longford and Lowth, Meath and Weſtmeath; in the two laſt of which no body of rebels had appeared. In conformity to the general tenor of their conduct they obſtinately oppoſed the ſentiments of the wiſeſt and moſt moderate of all parties in the kingdom, in one particular of great moment. When the rebellion broke forth, the Iriſh parliament, which had adjourned to November, was prorogued to the 24th day of February; a meaſure highly diſpleaſing to the Catholics, who were impatient for thoſe laws

* Ware.

laws which were to confirm them in their lands, and dreaded leſt this delay, with the increaſing power of the popular party in England, might defeat the gracious intentions of the king. They urged, that in a time of danger, the national aſſembly ſhould be immediately convened: their lawyers ſuggeſted that the prorogation was even illegal; and that, unleſs the houſes ſhould hold a meeting on the day to which they had been adjourned, the parliament would be in effect diſſolved. The judges ſeemed to favour this opinion. The earl of Ormond, lord Dillon of Coſtello, and others of approved loyalty, contended for an immediate ſeſſion and continuance of the parliament, as neceſſary for allaying the public diſcontents, and ſuppreſſing the rebellion.

The lords-juſtices, nevertheleſs, declared obſtinately for adhering to the prorogation; but at length, admitted that the parliament ſhould be ſuffered to meet immediately, for one day, on condition of publiſhing a proteſtation againſt the rebels. The aſſembly being accordingly convened, the houſes proceeded to conſider the ſtate of the nation, and to frame their proteſtation againſt the rebels. The leaders of the inſurrection affected the utmoſt indignation at this title, and declared againſt deſcribing the inſurgents by any more offenſive terms, than that of the Diſcontented Gentlemen. But the proteſtant party was ſpirited and powerful; and by their ſupport, the declaration of parliament was drawn up with ſufficient force and preciſion *.

They next proceeded to nominate ſome members of each houſe to treat with the inſurgents. They were authoriſed to confer with the rebels of Ulſter, and other parts, touching the cauſes of their taking arms: and to report all matters to the king, the council, or the parliament. Theſe proceedings could not be completed in one day; a ſecond was, with difficulty, allowed. They petitioned for a longer ſeſſion, but the lords-juſtices were inexorable. The latter, indeed, promiſed that the term of prorogation ſhould be ſhortened; but determined, by practiſing in England, to elude the performance of this promiſe. The parliament was provoked; men of all denominations clamoured againſt this obſtinacy, which betrayed

* Ware.

trayed a general ſuſpicion of the Iriſh, and a contempt of their ſervices. It was reſolved to aſſiſt the governors even againſt their will. The parliament empowered them to collect forces, and to aſſeſs and levy money for their ſupport.

At the ſame time, a conſiderable party, well affected to the king, reſolved to convey their ſentiments to the royal ear, without the intervention of the chief-governors, whom they deſpiſed and ſuſpected. The lord Dillon of Coſtello was commiſſioned to preſent to the king their memorial, containing heavy complaints againſt the lords-juſtices, and recommending that the earl of Ormond ſhould be ſubſtituted in their place. It is probable that they alſo recommended a ſpeedy confirmation of thoſe graces which were to ſecure the civil intereſts of the Iriſh ſubjects; with other meaſures for reſtoring public peace, not entirely agreeable to the views of their preſent governors, or thoſe of the popular party in England.

The lords-juſtices were alarmed at this deſign, and determined to counteract it. For this purpoſe, their agent was diſpatched to the leaders in the Engliſh parliament. In a private letter to the earl of Leiceſter, ſigned only by themſelves and their junto, they deſired that no attention ſhould be paid to the repreſentation of lord Dillon, or to any counſels tending to poſſeſs the king with a perſuaſion, that his Iriſh ſubjects were ſufficient to reduce the rebels, a work only to be effected by Engliſh forces. Theſe repreſentations determined the fate of lord Dillon's embaſſy. He embarked with the lord Taafe, and was driven by ſtorm to the coaſt of Scotland; whence he haſted towards London; but was ſeized at Ware, by order of the commons, his papers taken from him, and induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed. The two lords were detained in cuſtody, until their impriſonment was no longer of any conſequence; when, being negligently guarded, they contrived to eſcape, and reſorted to the king at York, too late to offer their propoſitions *.

Meanwhile the rebel-leaders were induſtrious to improve the advantage which they had gained by the prorogation. Roger Moore, who, with Brian Mac Mahon, an Iriſh commander of ſome note, lay near Dundalk, at the head

* Carte.

head of about two thouſand five hundred ill-armed men, was particularly elevated at the proſpect of general diſcontent, ariſing from the conduct of the lords-juſtices. The deputation of the parliament addreſſed themſelves to him and his aſſociates. He received them with coldneſs and diſdain. The order of the two houſes for the treaty with the rebels he tore in pieces, with an affected indignation at the terms in which it was expreſſed; and proudly rejected every overture towards an accommodation. The government even condeſcended to employ ſome Romiſh prieſts to meditate a peace; but without any good effect. Moore, the great leader of the rebels, now redoubled his aſſiduity. He adviſed them to reſt entirely on the civil and religious rights of the king's ſubjects of Ireland. He pointed out the danger which particularly threatened their religion. He now dignified his followers by the appellation of the Catholic army; and publiſhed an oath of aſſociation to be taken by all inſurgents.

The rebels were not leſs encouraged by the delay of the Engliſh ſuccours, and the ſhameful timidity of the lords-juſtices. The latter ſhrunk within their walls, and quietly beheld thoſe depredations which had been committed through the whole vicinity of the capital. But at length, by repeated inſults, they were forced to ſome exertion of their power. Sir Charles Coote, a ſoldier of fortune, and an inveterate enemy of the Iriſh, was employed to drive ſome of the inſurgents of Leinſter from the caſtle of Wicklow, which they had inveſted. He executed his commiſſion with ſucceſs; repelled the Iriſh to their mountains; and, in revenge of their depredations, committed ſuch indiſcriminate carnage in the town, as rivalled the exceſſes of the Northerns. But this wanton cruelty ſerved only to exaſperate the rebels, and to provoke them to ſevere retaliation. They aſſembled a conſiderable force to form the ſiege of Drogheda. Their numbers, though including many diſaffected to their cauſe, ſtruck a general terror. A ſmall body of ſix hundred foot and fifty horſe, compoſed principally of the deſpoiled Engliſh, was detached from Dublin to reinforce the garriſon at Drogheda. About three miles from the town, they were ſuddenly encountered by two thouſand five hundred of the rebels, and defeated with an inconſiderable loſs, except of

arms

arms and ammunition. This incident, however unimportant, gave reputation to the rebels, and added greatly to their numbers. They no longer doubted of reducing Drogheda, and marching with their united forces to inveſt the capital. Whole regiments of the royal army deſerted, and joined their ſtandards. The Engliſh inhabitants in Dublin were thrown into conſternation. But while the rebels ought to have marched directly thither, they amuſed themſelves with inveſting Drogheda. The lords-juſtices, in their terror, recalled ſir Charles Coote from his expedition into Wicklow. He forced his way through one thouſand of the ſept of O'Toole, who oppoſed his march; returned, was appointed governor of Dublin, and applied himſelf to ſecure the city from any attack.

The rebellion, however formidable, had hitherto been confined to the province of Ulſter, and ſome few counties in Leinſter, and that of Leitrim in Connaught; and carried on intirely by the Iriſh. But in the beginning of December, a more extenſive and alarming ſcene was opened, by the defection of the inhabitants of the Engliſh Pale. Theſe alſo had their prejudices and diſcontents, and were regarded with ſuſpicion by the lords-juſtices. To determine them to take arms, Roger Moore employed his whole addreſs, particularly with lord Gormanſton, a nobleman of great power and influence. He repreſented the danger which threatened their civil and religious rights; the obſtinate determination of a puritanic faction to fruſtrate all the king's gracious intentions towards his Iriſh ſubjects; the inveteracy they expreſſed againſt all Catholics; and the injurious excluſion of Iriſh ſtudents from the inns of court. He inveighed, with a well-affected diſdain, againſt the inſolence and tyranny of the lords-juſtices, who exerciſed their power only for their own emolument, and to gratify the paſſions of an Engliſh faction. Theſe repreſentations made, at length, an impreſſion on the inhabitants of the Pale. Lord Gormanſton, who took the lead in their proceedings, iſſued an order to the ſheriff of Meath to collect the inhabitants of that county. Several lords, with about a thouſand gentlemen of note, aſſembled on an eminence called the Hill of Crofty. Here they were met, agreeably to the plan concerted

certed by Moore, and other rebel-leaders, attended with a detachment of their forces. The people of Meath advanced; and Gormanſton, with great ſolemnity, demanded for what purpoſe they had entered the Pale in arms? Moore replied, that they had taken arms for the maintenance of the king's prerogative, and to aſſert the freedom of their country. He was again required to declare, whether theſe were their real motives, without any private or ſiniſter views. On his earneſt aſſeveration of ſincerity, Gormanſton and his party declared, that they would unite with them for theſe purpoſes, and proſecute, as enemies, all thoſe who ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt their righteous cauſe *.

In conſequence of this confederacy, the catholic lords determined to renounce the authority of government; but in order to juſtify their revolt, it was thought neceſſary to tranſmit an apology to the king. This being done, they proceeded to raiſe their forces. Lord Gormanſton was declared their general in chief; and the earl of Fingal, general of horſe. The lords-juſtices affected to deſpiſe the defection of theſe lords of the Pale, as an event of no moment. The latter did not, indeed, at once ruſh into the outrageous conduct of the northern inſurgents; they did not even join the ſtandard of Roger Moore, and his barbarous aſſociates. They profeſſed to take arms ſolely in ſelf-defence; to wiſh, and to ſolicit a ſpeedy and effectual accommodation. But by this apparent candour they made a dangerous impreſſion on all the Catholics of Ireland. The contagion of revolt was quickly ſpread through the province of Connaught; ſo that it required all the credit and power of the earl of Clanricarde to preſerve his county of Galway untainted †. In Munſter, the firſt ſymptoms of commotion were ſome petty ravages and robberies, which were puniſhed by the lord-preſident, ſir William Saint Leger, with a barbarous ſeverity. The diſaffected remonſtrated to Saint Leger on the rigour of his executions, pleaded the neceſſity of ſelf-defence, and declared for war. Almoſt every fort and caſtle in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were in a few days reduced; while the county of Clare was overrun

* Uſher. Davis. † Temple.

run by the O'Brians, in defiance of their chieftain, the earl of Thomond.

Amidſt theſe commotions in the South, the leaders of the inſurrection expreſſed a ſolicitude to preſerve both the perſons and properties of the Engliſh from any outrage; but the barbarity of their followers was not always effectually reſtrained. Nor were the exceſſes committed by Saint Leger and his train, leſs enormous than thoſe of the Iriſh. But, happily for the Engliſh intereſt, the leaders of the inſurgents were ſeized all on a ſudden with a ſpirit of diſcontent. The lord viſcount Roche and Fermoy, a nobleman of conſiderable power in the county of Cork, refuſed to be commanded by Mountgarret, and inſiſted that his county ſhould have its particular general. Lord Mountgarret retired in diſguſt to the county of Kilkenny; while the nobles of Munſter, left to their own conduct, continued their diſſenſions, and Saint Leger gained time to collect and diſcipline his troops.

During theſe tranſactions in the South, the Ulſter rebels, and thoſe from Leinſter who had united with them, were entirely occupied in the ſiege of Drogheda, the ſucceſs of which enterprize they conſidered as in a great meaſure deciſive of the fate of Ireland. The town was neither ſtrong nor well provided. Sir Faithful Forteſcue, the governor, diſcouraged by a diſappointment of ſupplies, reſigned his command, and was ſucceeded by ſir Henry Tichburne, an adventurous officer; under whom, however, the garriſon was ſtill thought incompetent for the defence of the place. Happily, the Iriſh army commenced their enterprizes in a ſevere ſeaſon, with neither ſkill nor proviſions ſufficient for the regular conduct of a ſiege. They wanted artillery, ammunition, and all the neceſſary inſtruments of war. They had no tents to cover their men from the inclemency of the winter; and were, therefore, forced to quarter their army in the neighbouring villages, and to wait any opportunity which chance might afford them, to ſurpriſe the town. This diſpoſition was ſufficient to reduce the garriſon to great diſtreſs, and determine many to deſert. At length a ſmall ſupply of victuals and ammunition arrived from Dublin; which enabled the governor to maintain the town, until a freſh ſupply of bread, and four companies of foot, were ſent to his relief.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, the lord-juſtices were employed on an object, to them more intereſting than the relief of Drogheda; the conviction of the lords and gentlemen engaged in the rebellion; a meaſure previouſly neceſſary to the forfeiture of their eſtates*. The arrival of ſir Simon Harcourt from England, with a regiment of eleven hundred men, ſerved to render them a little more active in their military operations. Coote was ſent to diſpoſſeſs a party of rebels ſtationed in the village of Swords. Having ſucceeded in his enterprize, he fulfilled the commands of the government, by giving looſe to devaſtation, and, in the execution of martial law, was actuated more by private reſentments than the neceſſity of the public ſervice. Ormond was detached with two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, againſt the town of Naas, where the rebels of Kildare, and the adjacent counties, collected their principal force. He executed his commiſſion with more humanity and prudence than Coote, yet with a ſeverity ſufficient to afford the rebel-leaders a pretence for complaint. Lord Gormanſton remonſtrated by letter againſt the cruelty of his procedure; which if continued, he threatened to retaliate on the earl's wife and children. The reply of Ormond is worthy to be recorded: he reproached Gormanſton with his diſloyalty; vindicated his own conduct from falſe aſperſions; declaring his reſolution of proſecuting the rebels at the hazard of every thing dear to him. "My wife and children," ſaid he, "are in your power. Should they receive any injury from men, I ſhall never revenge it on women and children. This would be not only baſe and unchriſtian, but infinitely beneath the value of what I rate my wife and children."

Ormond was again commiſſioned to drive the rebels from a ſtation called Kilſalaghen, within ſeven miles of Dublin. His orders were to burn and deſtroy their haunts, and to kill all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms; but he proceeded with moderation.

The army, in conſequence of a ſecond reinforcement of fifteen hundred foot, and four hundred horſe, from England, was now deemed ſtrong enough to raiſe the blockade of Drogheda; but the lords-juſtices were ſtill averſe to vigorous operations. It was reſolved, therefore,

* Carte.

fore, inſtead of making a formal attempt to relieve Drogheda, to try the effect of a diverſion. The earl of Ormond was detached, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, towards the river Boyne, to proſecute the rebels with fire and ſword. Eight days only were allowed for this expedition; and he was ſtrictly enjoined not to paſs the river. Scarcely had the lords-juſtices granted this commiſſion, when they repented; and employed their agent, but in vain, to perſuade the earl to relinquiſh the enterprize, and commit the troops to the direction of ſir Simon Harcourt. Whatever were the pretences of the chief governors, the only danger they really apprehended, was that of too quickly ſuppreſſing the rebellion. Sir Phelim O'Nial, on the very firſt intelligence of Ormond's march, determined to raiſe the ſiege, and retire precipitately to the northern province. This unexpected event was conveyed to Ormond by the lords-juſtices. He repreſented the neceſſity of purſuing the rebels vigorouſly in their preſent conſternation; and deſired, for this purpoſe, that his commiſſion might be enlarged. The lords-juſtices and their creatures received this requeſt with evident marks of vexation. They repeated the injunction, that he ſhould not paſs the Boyne; but without ſo much as hinting at any reaſon for this unaccountable reſtriction. On his arrival at Drogheda, he conferred with the officers of the garriſon; with whoſe concurrence he made another effort to be permitted to confirm the overthrow of the rebels, by a vigorous purſuit; but the lords-juſtices remained inflexible. The rebels, on recovering from their conſternation, regained the places they had abandoned; ſo that ſir Henry Tichburne was obliged, on the return of Ormond, to exert his utmoſt vigour to prevent Drogheda from being again inveſted. He defeated a conſiderable party of the enemy near Athirdee; after which, marching to Dundalk, he drove the rebels from that town. The juſtices condeſcended to permit the earl to furniſh him on this occaſion with five hundred men; but denied him the proviſions neceſſary for purſuing his advantage*.

Extenſive forfeitures were the favourite object of the chief governors and their friends. The commons of England

* Carte.

land had very early petitioned, that the king would not alienate any of the eſcheated lands, that might accrue to the crown from the Iriſh rebellion; and they had lately proceeded in a ſcheme for raiſing money from the lands thus expected to eſcheate. A bill was framed for repaying thoſe who ſhould advance certain ſums, for ſuppreſſion of the rebels (as was pretended), by inveſting them with proportionable eſtates in Ireland, on terms highly advantageous to the lenders. This meaſure evidently tended to exaſperate the malcontents, and to make all accommodation deſperate; but it was not on this account leſs acceptable to the popular leaders. The king foreſaw and regretted theſe conſequences; but he was now reduced to a humiliating ſtate of ſubmiſſion, and conſented to a bill which gave ſtrength to his opponents. Their creatures in the adminiſtration of Ireland proceeded, in the mean time, indefatigably in procuring indictments, not only againſt open rebels, but thoſe whoſe conduct had been any degree ſuſpicious; and the fury of their proſecutions fell principally upon the gentlemen of the Pale.

Such as had not engaged in actual hoſtilities, and were only accuſed of harbouring, or paying contributions to the rebels, crowded to the earl of Ormond, and claimed the advantage of the royal proclamation; but the lords-juſtices, who not only favoured the deſigns of their friends in England, but expected to have their own ſervices rewarded by a large portion of forfeitures, reſolved to diſcourage theſe pacific diſpoſitions. Ormond was directed to make no diſtinction between noblemen and other rebels, and to contrive that they ſhould be ſeized by the ſoldiers, without admitting them to his preſence. They who were ſent in cuſtody to Dublin, though men of reſpectable families and characters, engaged in no confederacy with the rebels, and ſome of them even ſufferers by their rapine, were all indiſcriminately denied acceſs to the juſtices, and cloſely impriſoned *.

The civil war between Charles and his parliament was now on the point of flaming out with all its violence; and all his adverſaries redoubled their aſſiduity to alienate the affections of the people from this unhappy prince. To deface the impreſſion made by his declarations of zeal

* Cox.

for extinguiſhing the Iriſh rebellion, a bold effort was projected, to revive the rumour of ſome commiſſion clandeſtinely granted to the rebels. In this deep ſtratagem the Iriſh chief governors were willing agents. They were, at the ſame time, impatient for ſome diſcoveries relative to the extent of the original conſpiracy, and, if poſſible, to involve the principal families of the Pale in the guilt of concerting the inſurrection. For theſe purpoſes, they reſolved to ſupply the want of legal evidence, by putting ſome priſoners to the rack. The firſt on whom they practiſed this expedient, was Hugh Mac Mahon, who had been ſeized on the information of O'Connoly, and from whom they expected ſome important diſcoveries. But even torture could force nothing from him eſſential to their purpoſe. The next on whom they made the experiment, was ſir John Read, who had been gentleman of the privy-chamber to the king, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army raiſed againſt the Scots. He was importuned on the rack with ſuch interrogatories as tended to criminate his royal maſter; but the malice of the juſtices was again diſappointed. They proceeded, however, to practiſe upon another victim, Patrick Burnewel, a man of a reſpectable character, and venerable for his age. His only guilt was, that he had attended the meeting at the Hill of Crofty, and been appointed by the inſurgents to a command, of which he never took poſſeſſion. He endured the torture with ſuch fortitude, and ſo ſteady an avowal of his innocence, that the juſtices were aſhamed of their cruelty; and, as ſome compenſation to the unhappy gentleman, he was permitted to reſide in Dublin, and his eſtate protected from the general havock of the ſoldiery.

Such parts of theſe examinations as the juſtices thought fit to ſelect, were carefully tranſmitted to their friends in England, where rumours were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, that ſecrets of great moment, and which highly reflected on the king's honour, had been diſcovered. Though no particulars were divulged, and none of the king's friends in either kingdom could be admitted to the view of theſe examinations, the people, in general, did not perceive that this extraordinary reſerve afforded the ſtrongeſt proof of no charge of authorizing or countenancing the rebels having

having been eſtabliſhed againſt Charles. It was natural for the king, on this occaſion, to expreſs the greater zeal for the ſervice of his good ſubjects of Ireland. By a meſſage to the two houſes of parliament, he formally intimated a reſolution of going with all convenient ſpeed to Ireland, to chaſtiſe the rebels; and even of ſelling or pledging his parks and houſes, if neceſſary, for this ſervice. The lords-juſtices were alarmed, and exerted every means of diſſuading his majeſty from that deſign. They repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the weakneſs and diſtreſſes of the army of Ireland, where, they plainly inſinuated, that the king could not appear with ſafety to his perſon. But whatever attention this unfortunate monarch might have paid to theſe repreſentations, his conduct was determined by the peremptory and menacing anſwer of the Engliſh parliament, which inſiſted on his relinquiſhing all thoughts of that expedition.

The laſt hopes which the gentlemen of the Pale entertained of an accommodation with the government, were from the expectation of the king's preſence in Ireland; but this proſpect being now annihilated, they became deſperate, and relied ſolely on the ſucceſs of their arms*. Being abandoned by their Ulſter confederates, they united with lord Mountgarret and his aſſociates. The earl of Ormond, with three thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and five field-pieces, was detached into the county of Kildare, to deſtroy the poſſeſſions of the rebels; to relieve the caſtles ſtill inveſted by their ſcattered parties, and to ſtrengthen the loyal garriſons; for ſuch were the petty expeditions which ſuited the genius and views of the chief governors. On his return to Athy, he received intelligence, that Mountgarret, attended by Roger Moore, and other rebel-leaders, lay at the head of eight thouſand foot, and ſome troops of horſe, advantageouſly poſted, at the diſtance of four miles. In a council of war, ſummoned by Ormond, it was reſolved, that, as the forces of the government were diminiſhed by ſupplying garriſons, and ill-provided, they ſhould by no means hazard an engagement, unleſs the enemy oppoſed their march to Dublin. They proceeded on their route with the neceſſary precautions, and were ſo cloſely preſſed by the rebels, that an action

* Cox.

action became unavoidable. The onset of the Irish was desperate, but ill-maintained. Their left wing was broken by the first charge. The right, animated by their principal leaders, supported the contest for some time; but were at length broken, and fled precipitately. Seven hundred of their number were killed, with an inconsiderable loss on the part of Ormond; who, however, had, neither provisions nor ammunition necessary for improving his victory. When an account of this action, called the battle of Kilrush, was transmitted to the English commons, they ordered that five hundred pounds should be expended on a jewel to be bestowed on the earl of Ormond; and that the lords should be moved to unite with them in a petition to the king, that his majesty should be pleased to create him a knight of the Garter.

CHAP. VI.

From the Battle of Kilrush, to the Departure of the Marquis of Ormond.

A.D. 1642. NOTWITHSTANDING the defeat at Kilrush, the power of the rebels was still considerable in the northern province. The civil commotions in England, and, possibly, the artifice of popular leaders, who wished to foment the Irish insurrection, protracted the treaty for sending Scottish forces into Ireland. At length, however, it was resolved to accept the assistance of Scotland. Two thousand five hundred men were destined for the immediate service of Ulster. On their arrival, the town and castle of Carricfergus were to be surrendered into their hands; and when the number which remained of the ten thousand stipulated with the Scottish commissioners should land in Ulster, they were likewise to be put in possession of the town and castle of Colerain. To do the greater honour to these auxiliaries, the sole conduct of the northern war was committed to the Scottish generals.

The first detachment landed at Carricfergus about the middle of April; and their commander, Robert Monro, was instantly joined by about eighteen hundred foot, and seven

ſeven troops of cavalry, of the provincial forces. The whole body advanced to the town of Newry, which, at their approach, the rebels abandoned; and the reduction of the caſtle was ſpeedily effected. That of Carlingford was delivered up to ſir Henry Tichburne. The tumultuary followers of the rebel-leaders ſhrunk, with their uſual inſtability, from the firſt appearance of danger. Sir Phelim O'Nial, finding it neceſſary to abandon Armagh, in the rage of diſappointment ſet fire to the town, while his barbarous adherents wrecked their reſentment on the unhappy Engliſh who were in their power. O'Nial retired to Charlemont; but, being deſtitute of ammunition, had little hope of maintaining that poſt. Many of his followers fled to the faſtneſſes of Tyrone; and even ſeveral diſtinguiſhed rebel-leaders ſought for refuge in different retreats.

Monro was earneſtly preſſed to ſeize the advantage of this general conſternation of the rebels, but was reſtrained from purſuing it by his ſecret inſtructions. Having put ſixty men and eighteen women to death at Newry, he left three hundred men to garriſon the town, and returned to Carricfergus; whence he again made an excurſion into the county of Antrim, where he inſidiouſly ſeized the earl of that name, and committed his caſtle and all his houſes to the cuſtody of the Scottiſh forces.

The rebels, encouraged by the inactivity, or feeble exertions of their antagoniſts, again collected their forces; while the charge of oppoſing them devolved on the Engliſh forces of Ulſter, as they were totally employed in ravaging the adjacent diſtricts, and exporting vaſt herds of cattle into Scotland. Sir Phelim O'Nial appeared once more at the head of an army; but was bravely encountered by ſir Robert and ſir William Stuart, two Engliſh commanders, who put the rebels to flight, after killing five hundred of their men, wounding, and making a number of priſoners.

The rebels became daily more diſpirited by their ill-ſucceſs, and in want of every neceſſary for the proſecution of their enterprize. They had even formed the reſolution to abandon a cauſe rendered deſperate by repeated defeats and diſappointments, and to fly to foreign countries, from the rage of their victorious enemy. In this moment

moment of deſpondency, intelligence was received that Owen O'Nial, whoſe arrival had been ſo long expected, was, after a tedious voyage from Dunkirk, landed in the county of Donegal, with one hundred officers, and a conſiderable ſupply of arms and ammunition. Their hopes inſtantly revived; and a body of forces, appointed to attend their favourite general, conducted him in triumph to the fort of Charlemont. This officer had ſerved in the Imperial and Spaniſh armies with reputation; and his ſobriety and prudence appeared to greater advantage, when contraſted by the intemperance and levity of his kinſman ſir Phelim, who had now the mortification to ſee himſelf ſuperſeded in the command of the northern Iriſh.

The new general began with expreſſing his deteſtation of thoſe barbarities exerciſed by ſir Phelim O'Nial and his followers; and he diſmiſſed the remains of their priſoners in ſafety to Dundalk. As he expected to be beſieged in Charlemont, he proceeded to make every preparation neceſſary for defence. But the Scottiſh forces ſtill lay inactive, and the Engliſh were not permitted to attack him; ſo that he had full leiſure to collect and diſcipline his men. In the mouth of Auguſt the earl of Leven arrived, with the Scottiſh army, of ten thouſand men. The whole force of the province amounted to twenty thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe; a force ſo apparently irreſiſtible, that Leven, who had the ſole command, ſeemed to have nothing more to do than receive the ſubmiſſions of the rebels. He paſſed the Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone; whence he addreſſed a letter to Owen O'Nial, regretting that a man of his reputation ſhould engage in the ſupport of ſo bad a cauſe. Owen replied, that he had better reaſon for coming to the relief of his country, than his lordſhip could plead for marching into England againſt his king. As if this ſhort correſpondence had been the ſole object of Levan's march, that nobleman again retired, and reſigning the command to Monro, returned to Scotland. Monro remained inactive; O'Nial continued to form his army; while that which ſhould oppoſe him, Scottiſh and Engliſh, was alike neglected by England, and ſoon expoſed to all the miſeries of nakedneſs and famine. To increaſe the confidence of the rebels, a ſecond, and more

more important embarkation, was made from Dunkirk. Wexford was in their poſſeſſion. Two veſſels, laden with arms and ammunition, firſt arrived in the port. Colonel Thomas Preſton, brother of lord Gormanſton, a ſoldier of experience and reputation, ſoon followed in a ſhip of war, attended by two frigates, and ſix other veſſels laden with ordnance, and other warlike proviſions, five hundred officers, and a conſiderable number of engineers. Twelve other veſſels, fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, ſoon arrived with artillery, arms, and ammunition, beſide a conſiderable number of Iriſh officers, and veteran ſoldiers from the French ſervice *.

While the Engliſh laboured under various wants and diſtreſſes, the rebels were plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary for war. It was expected that they would immediately proceed to ſome vigorous operations; but they were, at preſent, engaged in the proſecution of a ſcheme, calculated to give a form of authority to their proceedings, and to unite their aſſociates in the ſeveral provinces under a regular ſubordination. For this purpoſe, the influence of the clergy was employed, and a general ſynod convened of all the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics of Ireland, which ſat at Kilkenny in the month of May. This aſſembly opened with a declaration that the war maintained by the Catholics was lawful and neceſſary. It directed that all their confederates ſhould be united by an oath of aſſociation; and denounced ſentence of excommunication on all who ſhould refuſe to take it; againſt all who aſſiſted the enemy, all who ſhould invade the poſſeſſions of any Catholic, and even againſt all neuters. The nobility and gentry then reſident in Kilkenny, united with them in framing the oath of aſſociation, and in appointing a general aſſembly of the nation, to meet in that city in the enſuing month of October.

When the time for this convention arrived, the popiſh lords, prelates, and clergy, with popiſh deputies from the ſeveral counties and principal towns of every province, aſſembled at Kilkenny. The aſſembly was formed on the plan of a parliament, and conſiſted of two houſes, one compoſed of temporal peers and prelates; the other of repreſentatives

* Davis.

repreſentatives deputed by counties and cities; but both ſat in the ſame chamber.

They began with declaring their reſolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church, agreeably to the great charter. The common law of England, and ſtatutes of Ireland, they profeſſed to accept as their rule of government, ſo far as they were conſiſtent with the Romiſh religion, and the liberties of their country. They commanded all perſons to bear allegiance to the king, and to maintain his juſt prerogatives. They aſſumed to themſelves the adminiſtration of public juſtice, and appointed in the different counties other courts with ſubordinate juriſdictions. Having adjuſted the civil government, they proceeded to the choice of provincial generals. But, amidſt all theſe arrangements, their proceedings were not free from inconſiſtency. Scarcely had they ſworn to maintain the king's prerogative, when they betrayed an open and outrageous violation of it, by aſſuming a power of regulating the coin, and raiſing its value. To demonſtrate their pacific diſpoſitions, they prepared two petitions to be preſented to the king and queen; at the ſame time that they diſpatched ambaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from foreign courts.

The aſſembly of confederate Iriſh, notwithſtanding their general unanimity, felt their ſecret diſſenſions and mortifications. The more moderate among them affected to abhor the cruelty of the original inſurrection; and therefore, in the diſpoſal of their offices, ſeveral of the firſt conſpirators were purpoſely neglected. Sir Phelim O'Nial was diſappointed and provoked: even Roger Moore found his zealous ſervices unrewarded, though, for the preſent, he was treated with marks of attention; and his death, which happened ſoon after, was an incident probably not diſpleaſing to the confederates. To their great mortification, Clanricarde ſteadily rejected all their overtures; but, to conſole them for this diſappointment, they now gained an aſſociate, of dignity and conſequence, in the perſon of Touchet, earl of Caſtlehaven, and baron Audley of England.

While the confederacy of the Iriſh was thus gaining ſtrength, the Engliſh were divided in affection and intereſt, by the conteſt in the neighbouring kingdom *. The governors

* Davis.

governors and their creatures zealouſly engaged on the ſide of the parliament; the army, influenced by the earl of Ormond, for the moſt part favoured the king. From the moment that a civil war appeared unavoidable, the parliament was ſolicitous to eſtabliſh an intereſt in Ireland; where their agents endeavoured to perſuade the officers of the army to ſign a petition to his majeſty, beſeeching him to comply with his parliament. This application, however, was oppoſed by the earl of Ormond, whom the juſtices, on their part, ſeized every occaſion of mortifying. The king laboured to gain the army of Ireland, by his favours to the general; while the parliament, ſtill more aſſiduous, endeavoured not only to ſecure an intereſt in the ſoldiery, but to direct the whole adminiſtration of this kingdom. Two members of the Engliſh commons, men experienced in the artifices of faction, were ſent for this purpoſe to Dublin, where they met with zealous partizans in the lords-juſtices, and their creatures of the council. Inſtead of acting againſt the enemy, theſe men were ſolely intent on embarraſſing and mortifying thoſe who were attached to the king; and every meaſure was purſued to render the marquis of Ormond diſſatisfied with his command. It was a matter of importance to the lords-juſtices, and their party, that no account of the affairs of Ireland ſhould be tranſmitted either to the king or the Engliſh parliament, but through the medium of their own repreſentations; but this policy was at length defeated by the bold and ſpirited conduct of the royaliſts; though the ſituation of Charles was ſuch, that he could not avail himſelf of their attachment. It was neceſſary for him, however, to ſmooth the way to a treaty, which might enable him to draw ſome aſſiſtance from Ireland. But as any violent change in the Iriſh adminiſtration might raiſe a clamour among his enemies in England, he contented himſelf, for the preſent, with removing Parſons, in whoſe place was appointed ſir Henry Tichburne, a man of unexceptionable character, and devoted to the king's ſervice.

This change of government was ſoon followed by an order to the marquis of Ormond, to treat about a ceſſation of arms with the rebels; a meaſure which the ſituation of affairs in Ireland rendered highly expedient. The affair, however,

however, was delicate, and required to be managed with addreſs. For the honour of the king, it was neceſſary that the firſt overture for a ceſſation ſhould be made by the rebels; and for this purpoſe, Ormond employed his agents to confer with the aſſembly at Kilkenny. The Iriſh clergy, who derived extravagant hopes from the confuſion of the kingdom, were averſe to every meaſure of pacification; but they were, as yet, over-ruled by the more intelligent and temperate of their party. They agreed to a ceſſation of twelve months, on certain conditions, to be propoſed by their agents to the marquis of Ormond.

As a preliminary to their conference, it was expected on the part of the Iriſh, that they ſhould have a new and free parliament, the legality of the preſent being diſputed. On the other hand, it was highly dangerous to ſummon a new parliament, while the confederate Iriſh were maſters of moſt of the counties and great towns, and had the elections abſolutely in their power. Ormond, therefore, thought it neceſſary to declare, that he had no aſſurances from the king, that a new parliament ſhould be convened, but that in this point the confederates muſt rely entirely upon his majeſty's gracious pleaſure. He demanded, as a preliminary on his part, that, if the ceſſation took place, the confederates ſhould contribute, in ſome reaſonable proportion, to the maintenance of the king's troops in Ireland. At laſt, they not only conſented to recede from their expectations of a new parliament, but agreed, in general, to the propoſition of a ſupply. Ormond, who was ſenſible how diſagreeable this treaty muſt prove to the parliamentarians of England, and how ſeverely his conduct would be ſcrutinized by their partizans in Dublin, applied to the privy-council; and moved, that, if the members of this board judged a ceſſation to be diſhonourable to the king, or dangerous to his proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland, they ſhould ſignify their opinion to his majeſty, and propoſe ſome other means for the preſervation of the kingdom; in which caſe, he agreed to proceed no farther, but at his own peril to break off the treaty of ceſſation. When no other expedient could be deviſed, he moved, that, if ten thouſand pounds might be raiſed, one half in money, the other in victuals, he would proſecute the war, and endeavour to reduce Wexford. The magiſtrates and citizens

tizens of Dublin pronounced it impoſſible to raiſe ſuch a ſupply; and the marquis, therefore, proceeded to meet the Iriſh agents at Caſtle-Martyn, in the county of Kildare. Here he received them with the dignity of a ſuperior, and examined their propoſitions with freedom. They required, in the name of the confederates, that the exerciſe of their government ſhould continue during the ceſſation; and that a new parliament ſhould be convened; but the marquis rejected theſe demands. He deſired to be at liberty to uſe hoſtilities againſt the king's enemies; and that a way might be preſcribed to diſtinguiſh between the royal party and that of the malignants. To theſe particulars he declined giving any explicit anſwer. To ſome of their propoſitions he conſented, with ſome qualification or reſtriction; but, above all things, he demanded, previous to the ceſſation, a ſupply for the maintenance of the king's forces. They refuſed to bind themſelves by any previous ſtipulation, but declared their intentions to grant his majeſty a free gift, on concluſion of the truce *.

Ormond ſuppoſed that their preſent confidence aroſe from the proſperous ſituation of their armies, and particularly from the ſucceſsful progreſs of Preſton, who had re-aſſembled his troops, taken ſeveral places, and overrun the province of Leinſter. Any advantage gained by the king's forces muſt abate their pride. He, therefore, determined to ſuſpend his negociations; and, if poſſible, to force Preſton to an engagement. But this general cautiouſly retired before him; while Ormond, not being ſufficiently provided for a purſuit, and dreading a famine, was obliged to lead his army back to Dublin; more confirmed than ever of the neceſſity of a ceſſation of hoſtilities.

Meanwhile, lord Caſtlehaven had taken ſeveral forts in the Queen's county, and that of Carlow. Owen O'Nial had advanced to Weſtmeath; Preſton extended his irruptions almoſt to the capital; and both were buſily employed in ſecuring the harveſt, and filling their magazines. The king's troops, from their diſtreſſes, grew ſo mutinous, that the country-people, who uſed to live under their protection, now fled from their outrages. Drogheda, Dundalk, and other neighbouring garriſons, were ready to be abandoned through want. Monro refuſed to act againſt O'Nial.

* Carte.

O'Nial. Monck and lord Moore were ſent to oppoſe him; but the latter of theſe was killed in a fruitleſs attack, and the former was forced to return to Dublin, for want of proviſions. In the remoter provinces the Iriſh enjoyed the ſame ſuperiority; and in Munſter particularly, the diſtreſſes of lord Inchiquin were extreme.

It was at length reſolved, that the agents of the confederates ſhould treat with the marquis of Ormond at Sigginſtown, near Naas. They appeared moderate and complying, and receded from the demand of an immediate diſſolution of parliament. The difficulties which aroſe about ſettling the quarters of both parties during the ceſſation, protracted the treaty for ſome time; but this point being adjuſted, the Iriſh agreed to grant the king thirty thouſand pounds, one half in money, to be paid by inſtalments, and the other in cattle. On the 15th day of September, the treaty was ſigned by the marquis and the Iriſh commiſſioners; it received the ratification of the juſtices and council; and was notified to the whole kingdom by a proclamation.

This treaty, however juſtified by the neceſſities of the king's affairs, was received with diſcontent and clamour, both in Ireland and the neighbouring kingdom. The Engliſh parliament, in particular, was provoked at an event, which deprived them of a popular pretence for raiſing money to ſupport their own conteſt. They who had declared to the Iriſh agents ſent to ſolicit relief, that, if five hundred pounds might ſave the kingdom, it could not be ſpared, now affected the utmoſt compaſſion for their proteſtant brethren of Ireland. New ſchemes of raiſing money for the Iriſh ſervice were deviſed; and the utmoſt indignation expreſſed by parliament, that the diſtreſſes of this kingdom ſhould be imputed to their neglect. Before they had received certain intelligence of the concluſion of the treaty, they iſſued a ſolemn declaration againſt a deſign ſo impious; in which they aſcribe the diſorders of both kingdoms to one cauſe, the horrid ſcheme of deſtroying the proteſtant religion.

The king avowed that the ceſſation was preparatory to a peace with the Iriſh *; to which meaſure, however, he declared againſt conſenting, on any other terms than ſuch as

* Carte.

as were consistent with honour and justice. But his present situation forcibly tempted him to a relaxation of these principles. The zealous professions of the Irish confederates, the assurances of powerful support lavished by their agents in England, and the vigilance of Ormond in keeping the protestant forces of Leinster firmly attached to the royal cause, all contributed to possess the king with confident expectations of assistance from an Irish army; and he had directed the marquis of Ormond, that, as soon as the cessation should be concluded, he should send over such forces as could be spared. About two thousand men were chosen from the Leinster army; but provisions for their embarkation were made with difficulty. They landed in North Wales; while lord Inchiquin, with equal difficulty, contrived to transport several regiments from Munster, to the west of England. The troops thus destined to the king's service were Protestants; many of them Englishmen by birth, who considered their return to their native country as a happy escape from the calamities which they had endured in Ireland. All of them were bound by a solemn oath to defend the protestant religion as established in the church of England, and to maintain the king's person and prerogative against all his enemies, particularly the earl of Essex and his forces. But scarcely had the troops landed in Wales, when the whole country was alarmed with the dreadful intelligence of four thousand Irish rebels, still reeking with the blood of Protestants, now arrived on the coast, and impatient to extend their barbarous fury into England. Sir William Brereton, who commanded in those parts for the parliament, was not ashamed to transmit this intelligence to London, at the very time when, by his letters to the officers of these troops, he extolled their bravery in defence of the Protestant religion, and laboured to seduce them from their attachment to the king. Brereton, as if he believed his own fiction, fled precipitately before the troops of Ireland. They were reinforced by thirteen hundred foot, and one hundred and forty horse, sent by the marquis of Ormond. Lord Baron, the general, issued from Chester, took some castles, routed Brereton, pursued him to Nampt-wich, and laid siege to the town. But here, after some ineffectual efforts, he was attacked and defeated by sir

Thomas

Thomas Fairfax: almoſt all the principal officers were made priſoners, with twelve hundred private men. All the artillery, baggage, and ammunition of the army fell iuto the hands of the enemy. Byron, with the remainder of his troops, retired to Cheſter, where he was reinforced by ſome additional detachments from Ireland.

Ormond was now appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and entered upon his government amidſt a variety of difficulties *. In the northern province, the Scottiſh general, Monro, diſclaimed the ceſſation. The Iriſh confederates, who commanded in moſt parts of the other provinces, were ſtill factious and turbulent. The ſubſidies they had engaged to pay were irregularly and ſlowly remitted: they infringed the articles of ceſſation, and committed various outrages; nor were the Engliſh ſufficiently reſtrained from plundering. Many diſputes aroſe about quarters; ſo that the attention of the chief governor was conſiderably engaged in hearing the accuſations, and compoſing the violences of each party. What was ſtill more alarming, when the king had expoſed himſelf to the odium of ſeeking aſſiſtance from the Iriſh, they, notwithſtanding their former magnificent promiſes, refuſed to ſend any forces into England; at the ſame time that they promiſed the emiſſaries of France and Spain, that levies ſhould be allowed for the ſervices of their reſpective courts. In vain did the marquis of Ormond urge the policy of ſending effectual aſſiſtance to the king. The confederates were ualterably poſſeſſed with a notion, that the encreaſing diſtreſſes of the king muſt oblige him to purchaſe their aſſiſtance, by more important conceſſions. Ormond, finding them inflexible, attempted to break their union; and, for this purpoſe, he deſired a power of granting pardons to ſuch as ſhould return to his majeſty's obedience. Though the demand was diſcovered to the confederates, who were not inſenſible of its dangerous tendency, Ormond proceeded in his deſign. He held a private correſpondence with ſome of their principal leaders, whom he endeavoured to gain to his intereſt, by flattering their ambition.

But the affairs of Ulſter were the moſt embarraſſing to the chief governor. Owen O'Connoly, now the creature of

* Carte.

of the Engliſh parliament, had been made bearer of their letters to the Britiſh colonels in this province, recommending to them to diſclaim the ceſſation, and to take the covenant. On theſe conditions, they were aſſured of their arrears, and full proviſions for their future maintenance. The offer was extremely acceptable to Monro's officers, and thoſe of the old Scottiſh regiments, who were all eager for the covenant. The Engliſh regiments under the command of Ormond, were better affected to the royal cauſe; but their neceſſities were urgent; and their hopes of relief lay only in complying with the orders of the parliament. Ormond urgently repreſented to them the iniquity of the covenant, and furniſhed them with a proclamation, iſſued by the Iriſh government, forbidding all perſons to tender or accept it; but, from their apprehenſions of the reſentment of the Scottiſh troops, and that of the Engliſh parliament, they refuſed to publiſh this proclamation at the head of their regiments. They contented themſelves with ſecretly perſevering in their attachment to the king; at the ſame time that they returned ſuch anſwers to the parliament, as might conciliate its favour, and procure ſome ſupplies.

While things were in this ſituation, ten thouſand pounds, ſome cloathing, and proviſions, were remitted to Monro from Scotland, with four miniſters of the kirk, to enforce and tender the covenant. Theſe miſſionaries travelled with indefatigable zeal through the ſeveral pariſhes of the counties of Down and Antrim, and their doctrines were every where received with the greateſt ardor. Soldiers, officers, gentry, peaſants, all ranks were ſeized with the emulation of running foremoſt in a cauſe, which they conceived as ſo eſſential to their ſpiritual intereſts. The prohibitions and menaces of the government, and the proclamation, which ſome Engliſh colonels, at length, ventured to publiſh to their regiments, only ſerved to inflame the general fervor. Such was now the enthuſiaſm in favour of this holy engagement, that thoſe who refuſed it were conſidered as impious wretches, unworthy of the rights of humanity; nor would the inhabitants ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. The power of the Engliſh parliament was employed to confirm theſe general prejudices of the people. A com-

miſſion, under its broad ſeal, was received by Monro, inveſting him with the command of all the forces of Ulſter, Engliſh as well as Scottiſh, and enjoining him to carry on the war againſt all the enemies of the covenanted party. The royaliſts aſſembled at Belfaſt to reſolve on an anſwer to be returned to the Scottiſh general, when he ſhould require them to ſubmit to his command. During their conſultation, Monro took the opportunity of ſurpriſing the town; whence he marched to take poſſeſſion of Lilburne, but was foiled in his attempt, by the vigilance and ſpirit of the Engliſh officers. While the Ulſter forces were thus on the point of commencing hoſtilities againſt each other, they were prevented from coming to that extremity by a ſeaſonable ſtipulation. It was agreed, that the Engliſh ſhould not be forced to take any oath contrary to their conſciences and the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they ſhould inform the Engliſh parliament of the reaſons and ſcruples by which they were actuated; and that their regiments ſhould be furniſhed with the ſame proviſions, and have the ſame privileges and appointments with the Scots. On thoſe conditions, they engaged to join with Monro in a vigorous proſecution of the Iriſh rebels, unleſs they ſhould be prohibited by his majeſty's command.

The ſeizure of Belfaſt, and the union of the Ulſter forces, were incidents extremely diſagreeable to the confederate Iriſh at Kilkenny, whoſe generals were divided by frivolous competitions *. While they detached Caſtlehaven to the aſſiſtance of Owen O'Nial, they made private overtures to the marquis of Ormond, that he ſhould accept the ſupreme command of all their forces, and march againſt the ſtubborn Northerns with the whole united power of the royaliſts; under which denomination they affected to include themſelves. They deſired, at the ſame time, that he ſhould proclaim the Scots rebels, on account of the infringement of the ceſſation. Ormond could not, conſiſtently with good policy, accept of theſe propoſals, though, on the other hand, he knew the great danger of diſobliging the Iriſh, on whom he very much depended for the ſupport of his army. He therefore reſolved, inſtead of returning a peremptory denial, to amuſe them with a treaty,

* Davis.

treaty, tending to their own purpoſe, but in a different manner. He urged the want of authority from the king, without whoſe poſitive orders, he could not, with any propriety, declare againſt the Scots. Meanwhile, he propoſed that the Iriſh ſhould make proviſion for the payment and maintenance of ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe of his majeſty's forces; with which body he engaged to reſtrain the Scots from violating the ceſſation, or annoying the provinces. Some time was neceſſarily ſpent in this negociation; and, during the interval, it appeared, that Monro, notwithſtanding his violent declarations, and ſome attempts to re-commence hoſtilities, was really either averſe, or unable, to proſecute the war with any vigour.

While the marquis of Ormond was contending with a variety of difficulties, ariſing from the exigencies of the ſtate, the arrogance of the popiſh confederates, and the virulence of the northern covenanters, an Iriſh negociation of great importance was opened at Oxford. It had been agreed, by the articles of ceſſation, that the confederates ſhould ſend agents to the king, to treat about a final peace; an event on which Charles reſted his hopes of powerful reinforcement from Ireland. The commiſſioners of the popiſh party were choſen in November, 1643; but they did not appear before the king until the 23d day of the enſuing month of March. Their firſt propoſitions diſcovered the extravagance of their views. Beſide the eſtabliſhment of the popiſh worſhip, they demanded a repeal of the acts for encouragement of adventurers, which they muſt have been ſenſible that the king could not procure. They required that a ſtanding army ſhould be maintained in Ireland; and that their own ſupreme council ſhould be continued, until all their grievances were redreſſed by the parliament, and even for ſome time after. They inſiſted, that all offices, by which any titles to land were found for the crown, ſince the firſt year of Elizabeth, with all attainders ſince that period, and all grants and leaſes from the crown in conſequence of ſuch attainders, ſhould be reviewed in a free parliament. Their demands amounted, in effect, to the extinction of the Engliſh power in Ireland. The king and his miniſters, provoked at requi-

ſitions ſo exorbitant, expreſſed a determination to break off all conference; when the Iriſh agents withdrew theſe obnoxious articles, and preſented others, which they termed moderate and reaſonable. Of the latter, the moſt important were, the free exerciſe of their religion, by a repeal of all penal ſtatutes; a free parliament, with a ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, during its ſeſſion; the annulling all acts and ordinances of the Iriſh parliament ſince the 7th day of Auguſt, 1641, the date of that fatal prorogation, to which they imputed all the ſubſequent diſorders of the kingdom; the vacating all indictments, attainders, and outlawries, in prejudice of Iriſh catholics, ſince that time; a releaſe of debts, and general act of oblivion; the vacating all offices found for the king's title to lands ſince the year 1634; and an act of limitation for the ſecurity of eſtates; the eſtabliſhment of an inn of court, and ſeminaries of education in Ireland, for the benefit of catholic ſubjects; and free and indiſcriminate appointment of all Iriſh natives, without exception, to places of truſt and honour; that no perſons not eſtated and reſident in Ireland, ſhould vote in the parliament of this realm; that an act ſhould paſs, formally declaring the independency of their parliament on that of England; that the juriſdiction of the Iriſh privy-council ſhould be limited to matters of ſtate; that no chief governor ſhould be continued above three years; and that, during his government, he ſhould be diſqualified to purchaſe any lands in the kingdom, except from his majeſty. On the grant of theſe, and other propoſitions of leſs importance, they declared their readineſs to devote their lives and fortunes to the king's ſervice; and particularly, to contribute ten thouſand men towards ſuppreſſing the unnatural rebellion of England.

Whatever was the king's impatience for a peace, he found the progreſs of it grievouſly retarded, if not entirely precluded, by the unreaſonable demands of the Iriſh, and the contention of the popiſh and proteſtant parties *. He had directed that ſome experienced men ſhould be ſent from the privy council of Ireland to aſſiſt at this treaty. They nominated archbiſhop Uſher, and eight others, of whom the king ſummoned four to his aſſiſtance.

* Davis.

assistance. Meanwhile, a number of zealous protestants, not confiding in the nomination of the council, assembled at the house of the earl of Kildare, and chose four persons, to present their petitions to the king; and to this number, sir Charles Coote, and an officer of the name of Parsons, were afterwards added. The whole party was of the puritanic cast; and Coote and Parsons, at least, who took the lead in their transactions, entirely devoted to the English parliament. They arrived at Oxford, before the agents nominated by the Irish council; and immediately presented their petition. The king expressed a tender sense of their distresses; and acknowledged, that they had truly stated the iniquity of the first popish insurgents, intimating, however, that some distinction should be made between those and the gentry of the Pale, who, he seemed willing to believe, had been driven into rebellion by the Irish chief governors. Provoked at any tenderness expressed towards the popish party, these men broke forth into the most intemperate demands. They required the most vigorous execution of the statutes against recusancy, and the immediate banishment of all the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the protestants: that the present parliament should be continued, and the usurped power of the confederates immediately dissolved: that their whole party should be disarmed, compelled to repair all damages sustained by protestants, and brought to condign punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion, release, or discharge: that the oath of supremacy should be strictly imposed on all magistrates; and that those who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament, in which no infringement should be made of the law of Poynings: that the king should take all forfeited estates into his own hands; and, after satisfaction made to such as claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of the remainder entirely to British planters.

The king and his ministers were struck with astonishment at the peremptory manner in which these, and some other propositions of the like import, were enforced*. It was conjectured, that they had been framed in London, with the view of obstructing any accommodation with

* Cox.

with the Iriſh, and, perhaps, of provoking them to a ſudden violation of the truce. The agents were told, that demands, impoſſible to be enforced by the whole power of their party, though ſupported by the authority of the crown, could not be dictated by the proteſtants of Ireland. They were deſired to explain how the war could be carried on, if the Roman catholics ſhould refuſe their conſent to ſuch ſevere conditions of peace; and they were exhorted to accommodate their demands to the exigences of preſent times and circumſtances. But they continued obſtinate, and inſiſted, that they were duly authoriſed to offer theſe propoſitions.

The commiſſioners deputed by the Iriſh council were now arrived. They condemned the extravagance of the propoſitions which the other delegates had preſented, and requeſted Coote and his aſſociates to withdraw them; but in vain. Nor was the ſcheme of accommodation, propoſed by the new commiſſioners much more admiſſible. They particularly repreſented it as eſſential to the ſecurity of all proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland, that recuſants ſhould be diſarmed, and the penal laws ſtrictly enforced. It was in vain for the king to propoſe to the Iriſh agents, that their party, ſuperior as they were in power, and poſſeſſed of more than three parts of the kingdom, ſhould conſent to reſign themſelves unarmed, to the mercy of thoſe whom they had ſo grievouſly provoked. Even in the times of peace, the penal laws were too odious to be ſtrictly executed; much more at the preſent juncture, when the catholics demanded ſuch conceſſions in favour of their religion, as would reduce the eſtabliſhed church merely to a ſtate of precarious toleration. Charles had a lively feeling of his own neceſſities; and his impatience for a peace, which was to afford him ſo conſiderable a reinforcement, was increaſed by the ſuggeſtions of the queen, who perſuaded her conſort, that his catholic ſubjects only were worthy of his confidence. But whether he was as yet fully poſſeſſed of this prejudice, he treated the agents of the confederate Iriſh with particular attention. Some of their demands he had conſented to grant, previous to the Iriſh inſurrection; and, in theſe points, he made no difficulty to repeat his promiſes. In others,

others, it was neither odious nor unreaſonable to comply. With regard to the independency of Ireland, he was willing to refer that point to the diſcuſſion of both parliaments. He agreed to paſs an act for removing from the natives of Ireland any incapacity to purchaſe lands or offices; and had no objection to the allowing recuſants their ſeminaries of education. He was content to call a new parliament in Ireland, but without the ſuſpenſion of the law of Poynings. To their propoſition for a repeal of penal ſtatutes, he replied, that, as theſe ſtatutes never had been rigorouſly executed, ſo his recuſant ſubjects, on returning to their duty and loyalty, ſhould have no reaſon to complain that they were treated with leſs moderation than in the two former reigns; and that ſuch as manifeſted their affection to his ſervice, might depend upon receiving particular marks of his favour.

The Iriſh agents, conciliated by the condeſcenſion of the king, appeared to be fully ſatisfied with theſe declarations. They confeſſed, that his majeſty, in his preſent ſituation, could not, in their opinion, make any farther conceſſions; and they hoped that the general aſſembly would moderate its demands, though themſelves, as only commiſſioners, were not authoriſed to recede from them. The king diſmiſſed them with a pathetic admonition, to conſider his circumſtances and their own *.

Charles was ſenſible that ſome important conceſſions muſt be made, before the Iriſh would conſent to take arms in his cauſe; but to what terms he might yield, without offending his own party, was a point of delicate diſcuſſion. The king could not decide it; nor would a regard to their own intereſts allow his miniſters to adviſe him. In this perplexity, he was willing, from neceſſity, to lay the odium of treating with the Iriſh on the marquis of Ormond; to whom, therefore, he ſent a commiſſion to make a definitive peace with the catholics of Ireland, on ſuch conditions as he ſhould judge agreeable to the public welfare. The difficulties of Ormond's government ſeemed already ſufficient to confound the beſt abilities, without the embarraſſment into which he was reduced by this commiſſion. He reſolved, however, in obedience to the commands of his royal maſter, to commence a treaty with

* Borlaſe.

A.D. 1644.

with the confederates. Their commiſſioners attended him at Dublin on the 6th day of September. It was agreed, without any difficulty, that the ceſſation ſhould be prolonged; but the conferences about peace proved more perplexing. The Iriſh were every day more elevated with the ideas of their own importance, and the hopes of extorting vaſt conceſſions from the neceſſities of the king. The commiſſioners now appear to have forgotten or diſregarded the promiſes made to the king, and the ſenſe expreſſed of his gracious attention to equity. They offered the very ſame propoſitions which had been preſented at Oxford, beſide ſome others of leſs moment. In particular, they required, that the Scots and lord Inchiquin, who concurred in oppoſing the ceſſation, ſhould be declared traitors; a demand which could not be granted in the preſent juncture. After ſeveral other requiſitions, the treaty was adjourned from October to the ſucceeding month of January, and as the agents employed to attend the king, had the misfortune to be made priſoners by a veſſel in the ſervice of the parliament, all farther proceedings were ſuſpended, until the month of April, 1645. In the mean time, the confederate catholics carried on a ſort of private negociation with the king, through the intervention of lord Muſkerry, Nicholas Plunket, and Geoffry Browne. The laſt of theſe, in particular, preſented a memorial, intimating that his party was inclined to moderate their demands with reſpect to religion, provided that his majeſty would make ſome conceſſions to them in other articles. Charles, allured by theſe profeſſions, became more complying, and empowered Ormond to make peace with the Iriſh, almoſt on any terms, not excluding even a repeal of the penal laws. But the marquis, who knew the extreme danger of ſuch a meaſure, grew impatient of his preſent ſituation. He, therefore, petitioned to be removed from his government, under the pretence that the confederates expected more from a countryman in this ſtation, than could with propriety be granted. But the continuance of Ormond's ſervices were deemed indiſpenſable for the ſecurity of the royal cauſe in Ireland; and to reconcile him to the burden of a ſtation from which he could not be removed, Charles loaded him with ſuch graces as in his preſent circumſtances he could

could beſtow. Among the additional powers granted to the marquis, he now received a commiſſion, which he had formerly ſolicited, for accepting the ſubmiſſions of ſuch Iriſh confederates as were inclined to peace upon the terms offered by the king, and for reſtoring them to their eſtates and blood. Charles hoped, by this meaſure, to divide their counſels, and to prevent them from any cordial union, ſhould they ultimately declare for war. To diſpoſe them, at the ſame time, to an amicale treaty, and, particularly, to reconcile them to the continuance of the preſent Iriſh parliament, he condeſcended to declare, that the order made under the adminiſtration of Parſons, for excluding ſuch members of the commons as ſhould refuſe the oath of ſupremacy, was an encroachment on his prerogative. The lord-lieutenant was accordingly directed to require that this order ſhould be reſcinded. The zealous proteſtants were alarmed at an indulgence, which muſt give the popiſh recuſants a formidable ſuperiority in the Iriſh legiſlature. To prevent their clamours, a bill was enacted, for remitting to the proteſtants, as well clergy as laity, all rents, ſervices, compoſitions, twentieth parts, and firſt fruits, due to the king at Michaelmas, 1641, or at any time ſince, or to be due at Eaſter, 1645.

The Iriſh, in the mean time, laboured with unremitting attention to ſtrengthen their confederacy, ſo as to purſue either hoſtile or pacific meaſures with advantage to their cauſe; and, with this view, they neglected not even to ſolicit ſuccours from foreign courts. Nor were they leſs vigorous in their military operations againſt thoſe who declared for the parliament, and rejected the ceſſation. Scarely, had lord Eſmond, governor of Duncannon, reſolved to betray his fort to the parliament, when he had the mortification of finding himſelf neglected and abandoned by his new maſters. Lord Inchiquin, equally neglected by the Engliſh parliament, was encountered, on the expiration of his truce, by the earl of Caſtlehaven, at the head of five thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. The earl over-ran the whole ſouthern provinces, and reduced a number of forts without any conſiderable reſiſtance. Inchiquin, unable to keep the field, was obliged to ſhut himſelf

himſelf up in Cork, while Caſtlehaven waſted the country even to the walls of this city *.

The period now arrived when the treaty between Ormond and the Iriſh confederates was to be renewed. The latter wiſhed to gain time for receiving intelligence from their foreign agents; and weakly imagined, that by delaying their deciſions until the king ſhould be plunged into yet greater difficulties, they might extort more advantageous terms. They propoſed that the conferences ſhould be ſtill further poſtponed; but Ormond inſiſted that they ſhould be reſumed on the day appointed. The Iriſh agents attended him, but, at firſt, not in ſuch a number as was required. They declared, that, as their general aſſembly was to meet on the 15th of May, they could conclude nothing without the approbation of that body; that they were confined merely to deliver their propoſitions, and to debate the matter of them; deſiring the beſt anſwers that could be afforded, and promiſing, if poſſible, to prevail upon their party to accept them.

Ormond, from a ſincere ſolicitude for the king's intereſts and honour, concealed the powers he had received for conſenting to the abrogation of the penal ſtatutes. He treated on the terms formerly propoſed, that the royal promiſe ſhould be given, and that theſe ſtatutes ſhould not be executed on the concluſion of a peace. He ſatisfied the Iriſh agents, that a ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law was by no means requiſite for their ſecurity. Among ſome new graces to which he yielded, the Iriſh were to be releaſed from all the king's rents and revenues which they had received ſince the firſt inſurrection; with an abolition of all attainders, indictments, and outlawries, againſt any of their party. It had formerly been agreed, that the king ſhould confer all places of truſt and honour in Ireland indiſcriminately on catholic and proteſtant ſubjects. By virtue of this agreement, the agents now affected to conſider it as a ſettled point, that the king had obliged himſelf to employ an equal number of each party. Ormond oppoſed this interpretation, and peremptorily rejected the demand. Yet by a happy addreſs, in which dignity and condeſcenſion qualified each other, he diſmiſſed the agents apparently well diſpoſed to peace; and was flattered with expectation,

* Carte.

expectation, that their general aſſembly would ſpeedily embrace the royal cauſe.

But this aſſembly, however apparently united in one common intereſt, was compoſed of diſcordant parties. The Iriſh of Ulſter, conſcious of their enormities, dreaded the deprivation of their hereditary poſſeſſions; and, therefore, were obſtinately determined againſt any peace, which ſhould not fully ſecure their perſons, and ſubvert the ſcheme of the northern plantation. The clergy, who poſſeſſed an unbounded influence over the people, laboured to obſtruct all meaſures of accommodation which did not gratify the utmoſt extravagance of their wiſhes. The impatience which Charles expreſſed for a peace with the Iriſh, contributed not a little to inflame their pride, and defeat his own purpoſes; and while he ought to have entruſted the negociation entirely to the abilities of the marquis of Ormond, he was unhappily ſeduced into a vain dependence on ſecret counſels and private agents. Among the moſt zealous partizans of this prince, was Edward Somerſet, lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Worceſter. He had raiſed a conſiderable body of forces for the king's ſervice, at his own and his father's expence; and in return for his loyalty, a warrant paſſed under the royal ſign manuel for creating him earl of Glamorgan. Charles, in the confidence of ſome vaſt ſervices to be performed by this nobleman, had alſo appointed him generaliſſimo of three armies, Engliſh, Iriſh, and foreign; not only inveſted him with extraordinary powers, but prompted him to enterpriſe, by the moſt ſplendid promiſes of royal favour. Glamorgan was a zealous Roman catholic, and allied to ſome of the moſt powerful families in Ireland. On ſome real or pretended buſineſs, he declared his reſolution of viſiting this kingdom about the end of the year 1644. The king recommended him to the lord-lieutenant, who received, through other channels, no very favourable repreſentations of Glamorgan and his undertakings. The confederate Iriſh entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations from a nobleman of ſuch influence and power, connected with them both by affinity and religion, to be ſent into Ireland, with full authority to hear their demands, and to conclude an accommodation *.

The

* Carte. Borlaſe.

The general assembly, in their new session, on the 15th of May, received the propositions of the marquis with so much temper, that the penal statutes seemed the only remaining obstacle to peace. The earl of Clanricarde expressed his confidence to the chief governor, that if he would grant a repeal to these statutes, a final accommodation must immediately ensue, and that the Irish would at once engage in the royal cause, at the risk of their lives and fortunes. But the clergy, ever proud and factious, insisted, that, by the oath of association, the confederates were bound to stipulate expressly, that all the churches and other religious houses, in their possession, should for ever be retained. The more moderate of the assembly were provoked, and demanded, that this declaration, which would load them with a shameful charge of perjury, should be retracted. After a long altercation, the clergy could only be prevailed on to declare, that they meant not to involve the agents of a peace in the guilt of perjury, though no express article should be inserted for keeping possession of the churches, provided that the effect should be obtained. Fired with the prospect of riches and honours, they thundered the danger of the church into the ears of their bigotted followers: they declaimed against the impiety of any peace, which should not invest the prelates with full jurisdiction, as well as with the right of sitting in parliament, now usurped by protestants: they concluded with exhorting the assembly in the strongest terms to protest against the present treaty: and so much were the members influenced by these declamations, that, notwithstanding they declared such proceedings to be seditious and traiterous, they refused to restore the churches to the protestants; and rejected every expedient proposed for removing this new obstacle to a peace.

The battle of Naseby, so fatal to the king's cause, served to increase the arrogance of confederates; and their propositions, with respect both to their civil and religious interests, grew every day more enormous. They demanded, that the plantations formed in Wicklow and Kilkenny should be immediately abolished, that they should retain the forts and cities which they occupied, and exercise their government, until all the articles of peace

peace were confirmed by an act of parliament; that they ſhould not only have an equal number with the proteſtants in all civil and military offices, but that the king's favour ſhould be manifeſted in this reſpect, by ſome immediate inſtances; that they ſhould have their ſchools and univerſities; that their prelates ſhould exerciſe juriſdiction without controul; that all penal ſtatutes ſhould be aboliſhed; and that they ſhould retain all the churches at preſent in their poſſeſſion.

Charles expreſſed his indignation at theſe extravagant demands. He directed Ormond, that, if the Iriſh ſhould take ſo unworthy an advantage of his difficulties, as to reject a peace on any other terms, he ſhould, if poſſible, procure a farther ceſſation: if not, that he ſhould endeavour to divide their party, and rather leave every thing to the chance of war, than grant ſuch a toleration to popery as muſt evidently prove deſtructive to the proteſtant profeſſion *. Ormond briefly ſtated the ſum of thoſe conceſſions which the Iriſh might expect, and which differed little from thoſe already offered. He conſented to a repeal of the penal ſtatutes; and to convince them of his majeſty's intentions to employ all his ſubjects of Ireland indiſcriminately, propoſed that a body of catholics, conſiſting of four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, ſhould be added to the king's army, on concluding the articles of peace.

Various pretences were employed to delay the anſwer to theſe propoſitions of the chief governor, until the arrival of the earl of Glamorgan. This nobleman, on preparing for his journey, had amuſed the king with magnificent expectations. He promiſed to lead ſix thouſand Iriſh forces into England in the month of June, to reinforce them with four thouſand royaliſts of Wales; to block up Milford-Haven with his tranſports; to advance thirty thouſand pounds, with a conſiderable quantity of arms, and to raiſe the ſum of thirty thouſand more. But he was detained too long in England to fulfil theſe vaſt engagements; nor did he arrive in Ireland until about the end of July. If the particular inſtructions received by Glamorgan were not communicated to the lord-lieutenant; it appears, at leaſt, from the warmth with which the latter recommended

* Carte. Borlaſe.

recommended him to lord Muſkerry, that he conſidered the earl as a perſon properly authoriſed to treat with the Iriſh. The Iriſh were offended at that ſtatelineſs with which Ormond conducted their treaty; the zealots among them conſidered him as ſecretly diſaffected, and they determined to defeat the king's hopes of ſuccour, by obſtructing the Iriſh peace. When the ſeizures of the king's cabinet at Naſeby diſcovered his private inſtructions to Ormond, to conclude a peace on any terms, they were enraged, and printed the letter, with ſevere animadverſions on the marquis, In ſuch a temper, they received Glamorgan with particular ſatisfaction. By virtue of his commiſſion, he entered on a private treaty with the confederates, which, in about a month after his arrival, was concluded.

On the king's part, it was agreed, that all Roman catholics ſhould enjoy the public exerciſe of their religion, retain all the churches not actually poſſeſſed by proteſtants, exerciſe their own juriſdiction, and be exempted from that of the proteſtant clergy; and that an act of parliament ſhould be paſſed to confirm theſe conceſſions, and to qualify catholics for all offices of truſt and dignity. For the due performance of all theſe articles, Glamorgan engaged the royal word. On the part of the confederates it was ſtipulated, that ten thouſand men ſhould be ſent by order of their general aſſembly, to ſerve the king in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl, and ſuch other officers as the confederates ſhould appoint; and the two-thirds of the revenues of the clergy ſhould be aſſigned to the maintenance of this body for three years *. In conſequence of this treaty, which was concluded on the 25th day of Auguſt, the general aſſembly, on the 9th of the ſucceeding month, paſſed a vote for levying ten thouſand men for the royal ſervice; and, as it was ſtill neceſſary to continue the public treaty with Ormond, Glamorgan, who was impatient for the honour of conducting ſuch a reinforcement into England, ſolicited the marquis to make all the conceſſions he was authoriſed to grant, and for the reſt to appeal to his majeſty. On the renewal of the treaty with Ormond, every article relative to the civil intereſts of the confederates was debated

* Cox.

bated with due temper, and adjuſted without difficulty. But Ormond cautiouſly oppoſed the demands reſpecting religion, as they amounted to nothing leſs than a legal eſtabliſhment, not only of the Romiſh worſhip, but the papal juriſdiction. The Iriſh agents, conſcious of the tranſactions with Glamorgan, propoſed, that no clauſe in the treaty ſhould preclude the catholics from ſuch farther graces as his majeſty might be pleaſed to grant; and this propoſal was accepted. The peace now ſeemed on the point of final ſettlement; the king every moment expected the embarkation of his Iriſh ſuccours, when new difficulties aroſe, and the very means employed for his ſervice, defeated the purpoſes of this unhappy prince.

During the whole courſe of negociation, a numerous party of the confederates, ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſupporting the king, had diſcovered a ſolicitude to reſtore the public peace; and were contented with a free enjoyment of their religion, without the ſplendour of a public eſtabliſhment. The clergy, however, did not fail to inveigh againſt this deſertion of the church. Their agents at Rome repreſented the danger which might thence accrue to the intereſts of their religion; and to avert it, Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, was directed to haſten into Ireland. It was juſtly dreaded by the king's friends, that the preſence of this emiſſary, and his practices with the Iriſh eccleſiaſtics, would prove a dangerous embarraſſment to the concluſion of a peace, and ſuſpend, if not prevent, the ſuccours expected from the confederates. After his arrival in Ireland, in his firſt audience of the council, he profeſſed the faireſt intentions of promoting the intereſts of religion, and the peace of the kingdom. Glamorgan addreſſed himſelf to the nuncio with particular deference, and explained the nature of his commiſſion to treat with the Iriſh. The nuncio, with an arrogance proportionable to the attention which was paid him, objected to the terms both of the public and private treaty, as inſufficient and precarious; as the king might be reduced to an utter inability of confirming them; and the earl of Glamorgan, who alone could inſiſt on ſuch a confirmation, might be ſuddenly taken off by death. The council endeavoured to obviate the various objections made by the nuncio; but A.D. 1645.

but without any other effect, than to confirm him in his own opinion, and the moderate confederates in their purpoſe of an immediate accmmodation*.

The nuncio ſummoned the Romiſh biſhops, now at Kilkenny, to a private meeting. Eight attended, and joined him in a proteſt againſt the peace, and a reſolution to oppoſe it; but their inſtruments was not to be produced, until the treaty ſhould be abruptly or preposterouſly concluded by the council. Such was the ſtile of their reſolutions. The nuncio next addreſſed himſelf to Glamorgan. He gravely obſerved, that the king ſhould no longer be deceived by heretics; that the ſafety of his crown depended, next under God, on the Roman pontiff, and the union of all his catholic ſubjects with thoſe of other countries; and that it was of the utmoſt importance to his intereſt to gratify the Iriſh by granting them all their demands. The earl readily yielded to theſe inſtances. He was impatient to remove every difficulty to his appearing at the head of an Iriſh army; and his bigotry and vanity united in prevailing on him to ſign an inſtrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He now engaged, that, when ten thouſand Iriſh ſhould be ſent into England, the king ſhould oblige himſelf never to employ any but a catholic lord-lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic biſhops to ſit in parliament; univerſities to be erected under their regulation; and that the juriſdiction of the ſupreme council ſhould ſubſiſt until all the private articles were ratified. But all theſe ſecret negociations were ſuddenly diſconcerted by a particular incident; to explain which, it is neceſſary to give an account of ſome military tranſactions.

At the time when the Iriſh confederates were urgent with the marquis of Ormond to declare the northern covenanters rebels, he was induſtrious rather to reconcile theſe forces to the king's ſervice and government; and not only the old Britiſh troops, but even Monro and his Scots, ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to unite with the chief governor, upon moderate terms. The Engliſh parliament, alarmed at the conſequences of ſuch a union, reſolved to ſend ten thouſand pounds, ſome cloaths, and proviſions, for the ſervice of Ulſter; and that a committee of their own body

* Ruſhworth.

body ſhould viſit this province, examine the ſtate of the ſoldiery, and hear their complaints. Meanwhile, their truſty partizan, ſir Charles Coote, whom they had lately appointed to command in Connaught, was diſpatched with a requiſition to the Britiſh generals in the North, that they ſhould aſſiſt him againſt the rebels in his government, and particularly to reduce the town of Sligo, their principal place of ſtrength. After ſome heſitation, four thouſand foot and five hundred horſe were detached from the Scottiſh and Engliſh forces. Sligo was readily ſurrendered; and all the adjacent counties expoſed to their depredations. The earl of Clanricarde, who could have ſuppreſſed theſe outrages, had been denied the preſidency of Connaught, on the death of lord Ranelagh; and, with a high ſenſe of his own dignity, refuſed to accept the military command, under the order of the new preſidents, lord Wilmot, and lord Dillon of Coſtella. In this exigence, the marquis of Ormond commiſſioned lord Taafe to ſuppreſs theſe who violated the ceſſation, or broke into the quarters of the loyaliſts in Connaught; and with the aſſiſtance of Clanricarde, and others of the weſtern province, this lord proceeded with ſucceſs *.

At the ſame time the confederates of Kilkenny, no leſs alarmed and provoked at the hoſtilities of the Northerns, directed ſir James Dillon, one of their officers, to march with eight hundred men to the aſſiſtance of the popiſh archbiſhop of Tuam, who was employed in collecting forces for the recovery of Sligo. This military prelate led the aſſault, forced his way into the town, and was on the point of expelling the Britiſh garriſon, when his forces were ſuddenly alarmed with the intelligence of a ſtrong northern army juſt approaching. They immediately retired, but were attacked and routed by ſir Charles Coote. The archbiſhop fell in this action; and in ranſacking his baggage, the victors found, beſides other papers of conſequence, an authentic copy of a private treaty which Glamorgan had concluded with the confederates, and in which was contained a diſtinct recital of his commiſſion, and of his oath to the confederates.

This important acquiſition was inſtantly tranſmitted to the Engliſh parliament; by order of which the papers were

* Ruſhworth.

were printed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, to the no ſmall exultation of the king's enemies. Copies were ſent to the lord-lieutenant, and lord Digby, at Dublin; others were in the hands of many Iriſh ſubjects. Thoſe of the popiſh party who thus diſcovered the fulneſs of the king's conceſſions, were extravagantly elated, the proteſtants ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and the miniſters terrified at the proſpect of a general revolt of his party. Something was neceſſary to be done for allaying ſo dangerous a ferment. Lord Digby, under ſome ſpecious pretence, ſeduced Glamorgan to Dublin, where, in a few days after his arrival, he accuſed the earl before the privy council, of a ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, and moved that his perſon might be ſecured. To ſupport this charge, the treaty, the oath, and the commiſſion of Glamorgan, were all read at the council-board. Lord Digby declared, that any ſuch pretended authority from his majeſty muſt be either forged or ſurreptitiouſly obtained; or if the earl had any colour of authority, that it was limited by ſome private inſtructions. Digby, however, muſt have been ſatisfied of the reality of Glamorgan's commiſſion, as he declared to ſecretary Nicholas, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any man to be ſo mad, as to enter into ſuch an agreement, without powers from his majeſty. Nor could Ormond ſeriouſly believe that the king was incapable of granting ſuch a commiſſion as Glamorgan pleaded, when he conſidered the extent of thoſe powers which himſelf had received from his majeſty.

Glamorgan alledged in his defence, that he was authorized by his commiſſion to conclude the treaty; but he declared, he had not engaged his majeſty's faith and honour farther than by ſhewing his authority, and depoſiting it with the confederates. He utterly denied that he had received any particular inſtructions from the king, by which he might be directed or limited in his negociation. He declared, that he had acted entirely from a zeal for his majeſty's ſervice to accelerate the Iriſh forces, without obliging the king to any particular articles which he might diſapprove. It does not appear that he confeſſed to Ormond, his tranſactions with the nuncio, and the extravagant conceſſions to which he had been reduced by this eccleſiaſtic, or that theſe were communicated even to

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the confederate commiſſioners. In his confinement Glamorgan diſcovered no ſigns of terror, which would have been natural to a man under the conſciouſneſs of having committed a forgery. In his letters to his wife and children, he even expreſſed a contempt of Digby's accuſation.

The news of his impriſonment was received at Kilkenny with the utmoſt indignation. The more violent were for inſtantly betaking themſelves to arms, and demanding him at the gates of Dublin. The ſupreme council laboured to allay this flame; but were obliged to ſummon a new general aſſembly, which, after a few days recollection, ſeemed convinced that all the ſeverity expreſſed againſt Glamorgan was diſſembled, and that the government could not really entertain a doubt of his innocence: for they applied to the lord-lieutenant, not that the charge againſt the earl ſhould be examined, but that he ſhould be immediately releaſed; as three thouſand men were ready to embark for the relief of Cheſter, and nothing was wanting but tranſports, for which Glamorgan had contracted; but neither the expedition, nor the treaty of peace, could proceed until he ſhould be ſet at liberty. The lord-lieutenant and council, as if perſuaded that enough had been already done to vindicate the king's honour, and that his ſervice might be injured by their affecting reſentment any longer againſt Glamorgan, began now to ſpeak more tenderly of his offence, which they imputed entirely to an injudicious zeal for the intereſt of the crown. Having accepted ſureties for his appearance, they diſmiſſed him to Kilkenny; and with a confidence not to be repoſed in any man really guilty of high treaſon, they commiſſioned him to treat with the confederates for the tranſportation of forces to Cheſter, and other purpoſes *.

Ormond was ſoon after attended by two principal agents of the confederates. He had already offered the civil articles of peace in the very terms propoſed by that party; and, on the impriſonment of Glamorgan, tranſmitted them to Kilkenny, to prevent any dangerous impreſſion from this incident. Nothing farther ſeemed neceſſary than to prepare the inſtruments to be laid before the ge-

* Ruſhworth.

neral aſſembly for a formal approbation. But new occaſions of oppoſition, and new difficulties, ſtill protracted the concluſion of this tedious treaty. Lord Digby had proteſted with vehemence againſt the religious articles granted by the earl of Glamorgan. The king diſavowed them in his declaration to the Engliſh parliament. He profeſſed that the earl had a commiſſion to raiſe forces in Ireland, according to an offer which he had made; but none for any other purpoſe. In a letter to the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland, he declared, that as the peace could not be obtained without ſome indulgence to the Catholics, in reſpect of the penal laws, and as ſuch indulgence in a public tranſaction might perhaps give ſcandal, he had privately inſtructed his lieutenant to aſſure the Catholics, in a leſs public way, of exemption from thoſe penalties, and of ſuch other graces as might be conferred, without blemiſh to his honour, or prejudice to his proteſtant ſubjects; that he had informed the earl of Glamorgan of theſe ſecret inſtructions; that knowing the earl's intereſt with the catholic party, he thought he might be of uſe in perſuading them to moderation, and to reſt ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions; that he had ſtrictly confined him to theſe, and to be governed in every thing by the directions of the lieutenant.

At the very time of writing this public letter, Charles by another to the marquis of Ormond, privately directed him to ſuſpend the execution of any ſentence againſt Glamorgan, as his conduct had proceeded from miſguided zeal, rather than malice; and he even conveyed ſecretly to Glamorgan, repeated aſſurances of his confidence and friendſhip *.

The nuncio had for ſome time laboured indefatigably to oppoſe any accommodation, but on terms of enormous advantage to the intereſts of the church. To counteract the ſchemes of thoſe confederates who wiſhed to make peace on ſuch terms as might ſecure the toleration, without the eſtabliſhment of their religion, he produced the plan of a treaty ſaid to be framed by the pope, and which conſiſted of extravagant proviſions for the church. He aſſembled the zealots of the clergy, and eaſily prevailed upon them to ſign a declaration in favour of this treaty:

* Inquiry. Harleian MS.

treaty: he wrought with equal aſſiduity to gain over to his purpoſe the earl of Glamorgan, who had declared warmly for a ſpeedy concluſion of the civil articles with Ormond, and for conſidering his own ſeparate treaty as a ſufficient ſecurity for the eccleſiaſtical intereſts. His impatience to lead an army to the relief of his royal maſter, now diſpoſed him to comply with the nuncio. He therefore wrote the marquis a letter, the ſtyle of which ſeems to imply a conſciouſneſs in Glamorgan, that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic. The anſwer of the marquis of Ormond ſeems alſo inconſiſtent with a real perſuaſion that the earl was not duly authorized to treat with the confederates.

While the nuncio exerted himſelf with ſo much zeal in favour of a treaty, which probably had no exiſtence but in his own heated imagination, the more ſenſible and moderate of the general aſſembly contended for the ſpeedy concluſion of the treaty with the marquis of Ormond. Amidſt the debates on this ſubject, the impatience of the earl of Glamorgan was redoubled. He flew from one party to the other, attempting to moderate the violence of each: he ſigned an inſtrument, by which he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty, upon condition, that if the original articles ſhould arrive by the 1ſt day of May, his inſtrument ſhould be void; and, in the mean time, kept ſecret, unleſs the treaty with Ormond, concerning the civil articles, ſhould be publiſhed before that day. The nuncio yielded to theſe propoſals of Glamorgan. They ſigned, with ſome deputies of the general aſſembly, a convention, by which it was ſtipulated, that the ceſſation ſhould continue to the 1ſt of May; that if the original of the pope's treaty were not then produced, the nuncio ſhould ratify what he and Glamorgan ſhould agree upon; and that the political treaty with the lord-lieutenant ſhould proceed, provided that nothing was attempted to the prejudice of the preſent tranſaction. The nuncio, however, ſtill entertained ſuſpicions of the ſincerity of Glamorgan; but thoſe being at length quieted, he exhorted the general aſſembly to proceed in their preparations for the king's ſervice; while the earl haſtened to Waterford to attend the embarkation of the troops deſtined for the relief of Cheſter, when this

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city had already ſurrendered to the parliament. In a ſtrain of perfect confidence, he aſſured the unhappy Charles, that ten thouſand men ſhould ſpeedily be tranſported for his ſervice; and that, his majeſty conſtant in a favourable opinion and right interpretation of his poor endeavours, he doubted not of procuring him to be a glorious and happy prince.

While the earl of Glamorgan was thus preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged himſelf with viſionary projects, the ſupreme council of the confederates was engaged in the final ſettlement of their treaty with the marquis of Ormond *. The articles to which he had aſſented appeared ſo ſatisfactory to the general aſſembly, that even their prelates concurred in approving them. It had been formerly ſtipulated with the nuncio, that no peace ſhould be concluded before the 1ſt day of May; but the new general aſſembly, convened on the 6th of March, did not conſider themſelves as bound by this convention. Their former agents were commiſſioned to conclude the treaty, and, in defiance of the proteſtation, thundered by the nuncio againſt their farther proceeding, the treaty was concluded on the 28th day of the ſame month. It was attended with a conditional obligation, by which the king was abſolved from all his conceſſions, unleſs thoſe ſuccours were obtained, which were his great purpoſe, and final object of his negociations with the Iriſh. The confederates engaged to tranſport ſix thouſand foot, well armed and provided, by the firſt day of April, and four thouſand more in a month after. In the mean time the treaty was to be depoſited in the hands of Clanricarde (now created a marquis), as an inſtrument of no validity, until the troops ſhould be ſent away.

Thus far was a treaty brought to a final concluſion, which the pride, the improvidence, and the bigotry of the Iriſh had protracted, until the king had no appearance of an army left in England, and utterly deſpaired of any farther oppoſition to his enemies. The Iriſh ſuccours, which he laboured to procure by a ſeries of diſgraceful conceſſions, could now ſcarcely be employed to any effectual purpoſe in England. Charles was reduced to the melancholy expedient of employing them in the reduction

* Carte.

tion of Ireland, which might, at leaſt, afford him a retreat, if his other kingdoms could not be recovered *. Ormond had as yet received no authentic intelligence of the king's extreme diſtreſs. He gave the neceſſary orders for the firſt embarkation of ſix thouſand men; but the Iriſh confederates were no ſtrangers to the general ſtate of affairs in England. Glamorgan, who, in conjunction with the marquis of Antrim, had engaged for tranſports, could not provide them at the time appointed. The confederates therefore choſe to employ their forces againſt Inchiquin and the parliamentarians of Munſter. In regard to the expediency of this meaſure, they obſerved to the marquis of Ormond, that the clearing of one kingdom promiſed more advantage to the king than a deſperate attempt to aſſiſt him in England.

The depredations of ſir Charles Coote, and his parliamentarian forces in Connaught, became ſo violent and alarming, that the confederates grew more urgent with the marquis to declare againſt them. They required of Ormond to admit, that the obſtructions to the embarkation of their forces were ſufficient to juſtify them from any violation of engagements; and repreſented to him, that any immediate publication of his treaty muſt neceſſarily be attended with a like publication of Glamorgan's ſecret articles. If ſuch an event would not be acceptable to the lieutenant, they required that he ſhould immediately unite his forces with their's, and proceed with vigour againſt the common enemy.

Ormond had juſt received intelligence that the king had reſigned himſelf to the Scottiſh army; an incident of ſuch conſequence as might require ſome change in his councils and meaſures; and, after ſome deliberation, he determined to return a ſpirited anſwer to the confederates. The neceſſity of union, he obſerved, was too apparent, but refuſed to unite with thoſe who derived not their authority from the king. He was, however, ready to accept the aſſiſtnce of any of the king's ſubjects; and, on publication of the peace, might be more explicit. He could not admit that they had been guilty of no failure in their ſtipulations; for though it might have been impracticable to ſend their forces into England, yet the ſums which

* Carte.

which they had engaged to ſupply for the ſervice of the government were not yet remitted. Glamorgan's articles had been diſavowed by the king; and he therefore could not admit the publication of them. He inſiſted peremptorily upon their ſuppreſſing them; and that the treaty of Dublin ſhould be inſtantly publiſhed. If theſe overtures were not accepted, he declared, that the ſtate of his majeſty's affairs in Dublin muſt ſoon force him to ſeek ſome other way of recovering and ſupporting his authority in Ireland.

The confederates, alarmed at this bold expoſtulation, and apprehenſive leſt Ormond might join with the parliamentarians, inſtantly abated of their former arrogant diſpoſition. They apologized for their failures, and promiſed to fulfil their engagements; they conſented to omit the publication of Glamorgan's treaty; the articles concluded with Ormond were immediately to be publiſhed by mutual conſent: when a letter from the king forbade all farther proceedings, and prohibited the lieutenant from concluding a treaty with the Iriſh on any conditions. Ormond might have been perſuaded that this order was extorted; but it was not eaſy to perſuade others: ſuſpence and confuſion every where prevailed. The lieutenant and council, in their anſwer to the king, enumerated the diſtreſſes of the Iriſh government; pleaded the abſolute neceſſity of renewing the ceſſation, though his majeſty's orders ſeemed to forbid it; and urged the impoſſibility of commencing war, without large ſupplies of money and military ſtores. The confederates declared, that they could not proceed any farther in their negociation in the preſent uncertainty of the king's condition. During this embarraſſment, lord Digby arrived opportunely from the continent. He declared, that the king was held captive by the Scots, who extorted from him ſuch inſtructions to his ſervants as ſuited their own purpoſe. That of this ſevere reſtraint his majeſty had found means to ſend private notice to Paris, directing that the queen, the prince, and all his miniſters, ſhould purſue the orders he had given while free; that in all points which he had not then determined, the prince ſhould give ſuch orders as he judged moſt advantageous to the crown; that particularly in the affairs of Ireland, the lord-lieutenant

tenant ſhould proceed agreeably to his former inſtructions, without regard to any ſubſequent orders ſurreptitiouſly or forcibly obtained; and that, as the great-ſeal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies, no attention was to be paid to it in Ireland, unleſs the king ſhould ſignify, under his own hand, in cypher, that it had been uſed agreeably to his inclination. The prince of Wales, by a letter, aſſured the marquis of his concurrence and ſupport in the proſecution of the Iriſh treaty. Theſe declarations appearing ſatisfactory to both parties, the inſtruments of pacification were exchanged on the 29th day of July. The council iſſued a proclamation, ratifying the articles; and all perſons were enjoined to receive it with due obſervance and ſubmiſſion.

Some ſettlement of the affairs of Ireland might have been expected from an event which had been ſo ardently deſired by all moderate men in the nation. But this peace had been the work of a diſtreſſed government, ſo repugnant to the views of the prevailing power in England, that lord Liſle was already appointed chief-governor of Ireland by the parliament. The great body of covenanters in Ulſter deſpiſed the whole negociation; and the parliamentarians of Munſter, who, in the fulneſs of their zeal, could be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the extirpation of popery, oppoſed any peace with the Iriſh. A powerful party of the Catholics, with the ſame abſurd violence, aimed at the utter deſtruction of Engliſhmen and their religion; while the nuncio, through the whole progreſs of the treaty, was indefatigable in his oppoſition to any peace but one framed by the pope, and which ſhould re-eſtabliſh, with ſplendor, the Romiſh worſhip through the kingdom. Poſſeſſed with the moſt erroneous political opinions, this buſtling prelate ſecretly rejoiced in every misfortune of the royal party, and ſtrenuouſly contended againſt every meaſure which might ſupport the king's tottering cauſe. He harangued, he remonſtrated, he proteſted againſt the treaty with Ormond; and preached the neceſſity of union among the confederates, without any attention to the king's miniſters, or any thought of peace. He particularly addreſſed himſelf to Owen O'Nial, and his Ulſter forces, which were chiefly compoſed of barbarous rovers, who had no ſettled reſidence. Both the

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leader and his followers were diſguſted at the ſupreme council; and were, therefore, eaſily prevailed upon to declare againſt the peace. Nor was it difficult to procure the concurrence of the Ulſter Iriſh, who derived no advantage but from public commotion. They were collected with ſuch diligence, that, about the end of May, Owen had aſſembled near five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, and, at the head of this body, advanced towards Armagh *.

The Scottiſh general, Monro, alarmed at this motion, and naturally apprehending ſome attempts againſt the Britiſh garriſons of Ulſter, drew out ſix thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, and, by a forced march, arrived at midnight at Armagh, to ſurprize O'Nial in his quarters. Here he learned that the Iriſh army lay ſeven miles farther, at a place called Benburb, ſtrongly poſted between two hills, with a wood behind, and on their right the river Blackwater, deemed difficult to be paſſed. Next morning Monro marched on the other ſide of the river, in full view of O'Nial, to meet a conſiderable reinforcement which he expected; when, finding a ford unexpectedly, he croſſed the river, and advanced on the Iriſh. Both armies were drawn up in order of battle; but inſtead of coming to a general engagement, the Iriſh general contrived to waſte the day, and amuſe the enemy in ſkirmiſhes. Towards ſun-ſet a detachment, which he had ſent to oppoſe the troops expected by Monro, had been foiled in the attempt, and now haſtened to rejoin the main body. Monro was alarmed at ſeeing the enemy reinforced by a conſiderable troop, which, as it advanced, he had miſtaken for his own men. He now prepared to retreat, and in that moment, was furiouſly attacked by the Iriſh, in full confidence of victory. An Engliſh regiment, commanded by Lord Blayney, maintained its ground, until he and moſt of his men were cut to pieces. The Scottiſh cavalry, which was ſoon broken, caſt the foot into diſorder, and produced a general rout. More than three thouſand of the Britiſh forces fell in the field, with the loſs only of ſeventy on the ſide of the Iriſh. The artillery, moſt of the arms, tents, and baggage of the Scots, with a great quantity of proviſions, were taken. Monro

* Ruſhworth.

Monro fled with the utmoſt precipitation, was vigorouſly purſued, and Ulſter on the point of being entirely reduced by O'Nial, when this general was ſuddenly called by the nuncio into Leinſter to oppoſe the peace. With this view he inſtantly marched at the head of ten thouſand barbarous ravagers, ſo much had his army increaſed by the victory of Benburb.

By the proſpect of ſo powerful a ſupport, the adherents of the nuncio were every where inſpired with the utmoſt confidence; which they expreſſed by the hoſtile reception given to the proclamation of peace in ſeveral parts of Ireland *. At Waterford and Clonmel, thoſe who had been commiſſioned to proclaim it were, on frivolous pretences, prevented from doing their office. At Limerick the chief magiſtrate attended the proclamation, but was ſuddenly attacked by a tumultuous crowd, led on by the clergy, who wounded the mayor and the heralds, ſome of them mortally, impriſoned them for ten days; and for this outrage, received the thanks and benediction of the nuncio. By his own authority he diſplaced thoſe magiſtrates who had attempted to ſupport the proclamation, and conferred the government of the city upon a man who had been conductor of the tumult. Having convened his clergy at Waterford, they pronounced all who adhered to the peace guilty of violating their oath of aſſociation; they excommunicated the commiſſioners, and all who had been inſtrumental in the treaty; they pronounced an interdict in all places where the peace had been admitted; ſuſpended all the clergy who preached in favour of it, and all confeſſors who abſolved any adherents of the peace. Excommunication was denounced againſt thoſe who paid or levied any money aſſeſſed by the council of Kilkenny, and all ſoldiers who ſhould ſupport the execution of their orders. For the better union of their party, a new oath of aſſociation was framed, by which they engaged not to adhere to any peace but ſuch as ſhould be approved by the congregation of the Iriſh clergy.

This violence of the nuncio and clergy had its full effect upon an ignorant and bigotted people, who loudly exclaimed againſt a peace, in which the intereſts of religion were,

* Ruſhworth.

were not explicitly ſecured. The ſupreme council prepared an appeal againſt theſe cenſures; but it was neither exhibited in form nor publiſhed. Inſtead of rigorouſly enforcing their authority, they endeavoured to ſooth the clergy, and by that means confirmed them in the opinion of their own power. In theſe circumſtances the council looked to the marquis of Ormond for ſupport. They earneſtly invited him to repair to Kilkenny, in order to aſſiſt them to maintain the peace againſt the violence of the nuncio, and to concert meaſures for checking the progreſs of lord Inchiquin, who over-ran the ſouthern province, in defiance of the proclamation of peace.

However ineffectual a peace was now become, for anſwering the eſſential purpoſes for which it had been deſired by the king and his adherents, it was ſtill abſolutely neceſſary towards ſupporting even the name of royal authority in Ireland. A chief governor, without forces, money, or proviſions, threatened at once by the parliamentarians of Ulſter, Connaught, and Munſter, and by the Catholics of all the provinces, could have no hope of enforcing, or even retaining any authority. The kingdom muſt unavoidably be reduced to the king's enemies of Britain, or become the prey of ſome foreign power. Ormond, therefore, readily accepted the invitation of the confederates. With a train of fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horſe, attended by the marquis of Clanricarde and lord Digby, he repaired to Kilkenny, where he was received with ſuch joy, as ſeemed to indicate a general diſpoſition in the people to be again admitted into the king's protection; but this flattering proſpect was ſoon overcaſt. Preſton, on pretence of indiſpoſition, refuſed to attend the lord-lieutenant. An emiſſary whom he had diſpatched to practiſe with Owen O'Nial, could not, by the moſt liberal offers, detach the general from the nuncio. The earl of Caſtlehaven was ſent to this prelate and his clergy at Waterford, to diſſuade them from their violent meaſures, and reconcile them to the peace; but he found them inflexible. To compoſe the diſpoſitions of the people, Ormond attempted ſome excurſions into Munſter. He prepared to march to Caſhel; when one of his own kinſmen appeared in arms to oppoſe him; and the magiſtrate of this town aſſured him, that the utmoſt vengeance was denounced againſt the inhabitants, ſhould they

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preſume to give him admittance; and that O'Nial was on his march to execute theſe menaces. From the privy-council at Dublin he received alarming intelligence of the motions and deſigns of this general; and ſo confident were they that O'Nial intended either to intercept the lieutenant, or, in his abſence, to lay ſiege to the capital, that preparations were made for the defence of Dublin.

Ormond ſoon received the moſt authentic information of his preſent danger. Immediately on his departure for Kilkenny, the nuncio, who had attached O'Nial to his party by large ſums of money, urged him either to undertake the ſiege of Dublin, or to intercept the lieutenant on his return. He determined on the latter enterprize as the leaſt hazardous; and Preſton, at length yielding to the inſtances of Rinunccini, was engaged in the ſame deſign. Ormond being aſſured that both theſe generals were actually on their march to cut off his retreat, there was now no time for expoſtulation, and, by forced marches, with ſome difficulty, and ſeveral alarms, he regained the capital, where he prepared againſt a ſiege. The inhabitants, who had neglected the fortifications, were rouſed by the apprehenſions of immediate danger, and proceeded vigorouſly to repair them. The old Iriſh of the North, who were now expected to be the beſiegers, had rendered themſelves generally odious by their barbarities, and were objects of particular horror to the Engliſh inhabitants of Dublin. To animate their zeal againſt theſe murderers of their countrymen, the marchioneſs of Ormond, and other women of quality, appeared at their head, aſſiſting the workmen in carrying materials to the fortifications. But amidſt all theſe preparations for defence, the lieutenant was fully ſenſible of his preſent deſperate ſituation. He was totally unprovided for the ſupport of an army; he neither could maintain the out garriſons, nor draw them into Dublin, on account of increaſing the general diſtreſs. The moment that the enemy ſhould take poſſeſſion of the adjacent country, the exciſe, and all his wretched temporary reſources muſt utterly fail. He had mortgaged his eſtate for twenty-three thouſand pounds, expended in the public ſervice; and two thouſand more, received from his tenants at Kilkenny, were quickly exhauſted in purchaſing ſubſiſtence for a few days. While

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he could not maintain a ſiege, he could as little treat with the Iriſh, or rely on their adhering to any treaty. The whole power of the confederate Catholics had now devolved on the old Iriſh, the moſt deſperate and barbarous, as well as the moſt hoſtile, to all of Engliſh race, whom they threatened even with extirpation. To men ſo diſpoſed he could not ſubmit; the parliamentarians he deteſted; yet in order to preſerve the appearance of an Engliſh government in Ireland, at length condeſcended to ſeek relief from the parliament at London. He required an immediate reinforcement of three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, three months pay for his army thus augmented, ſecurity for the perſons and eſtates of his adherents, of thoſe who had for ſome time after the rebellion been forced to continue in Iriſh quarters, of all unoffending Catholics, and of ſuch rebels as by the lieutenant and council, with conſent of the Engliſh parliament, ſhould be admitted as adherents to the king's proteſtant ſubjects. On theſe conditions he engaged to carry on the war, as he ſhould be enabled and directed by the parliament. It was, however, intimated by his agents, that, rather than the ſupplies ſhould be obſtructed, the lieutenant and council would, with the king's permiſſion, reſign their patents, provided that their perſons and eſtates were ſecured, and that they were indemnified from their public engagements. The latter overture only was accepted: commiſſioners were named to treat with Ormond for the ſurrender of his government and garriſons; and in the mean time, two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe were ordered for the immediate relief of Dublin *.

Rinuccini, in confidence of ſucceſs, now concerted his enterprize againſt the capital. As his reliance was on Owen O'Nial, his favour was confined to this general and his army. The aſſiſtance of Preſton was rather accepted than deſired; and the nuncio betrayed ſuſpicion of his fidelity, by requiring him to take an oath that he would proceed with vigour in the ſiege of Dublin. The forces of O'Nial were violent and indiſcriminate in their ravages. The gentry of Leinſter flocked in great numbers to Preſton for defence againſt the barbarous Northerns. Thus, by the indiſcretion of the nuncio, and the

* Nelſon.

the outrages of his favourite troops, his two generals became rivals, and their forces were ready to draw the ſword againſt each other: they both, however, advanced towards Dublin, at the head of ſixteen thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe; and, when they approached the capital, they ſent to the marquis of Ormond their propoſitions, to which his immediate anſwer was required. They demanded that the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be as free and public in all the Engliſh garriſons as in Paris or Bruſſels; and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and other places in the Engliſh quarters, ſhould be garriſoned by Catholics. Ormond, though ſurrounded with difficulties, diſdained an anſwer to propoſitions ſo inſolent. Thirty barrels of powder, received from a parliament ſhip, was the only proviſion for defence he had been able to make. He applied to the parliamentary agents reſiding in Ulſter; but they refuſed to procure him any ſuccours, unleſs he ſhould deliver Drogheda into their hands. He addreſſed himſelf to the Scots of this province; but theſe, though ſeemingly inclined to the king's ſervice, were ſo much weakened by their detachments to Scotland, and their defeat at Benburb, that they could not furniſh the ſuccours he required. He nevertheleſs entertained ſome faint hopes from the approach of winter, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, which might render it impracticable for the enemy to lie long encamped before the city. The more to obſtruct their enterprize, he demoliſhed all the mills and bridges, and deſtroyed the corn within ſeveral miles of Dublin.

The enemy now approached, and took their ſtations near the city, with an appearance highly formidable; but their forces were not ſufficiently provided againſt the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and impoveriſhed condition of the country *. The animoſities of the Leinſter and Ulſter generals alſo continued to ſubſiſt; and they mutually counteracted all the plans of each other. The nuncio was alarmed at this diſſenſion, and was with difficulty diſſuaded from committing Preſton to cuſtody. O'Nial affected to dread ſome inſidious deſign againſt him and his forces. The jealouſies and reſentments of the leaders were propagated among the officers of each party. Thoſe of Leinſter

* Nelſon. Carte.

Leinſter expreſſed contempt and abhorrence of the barbarous Northerns; while the latter retorted with the opprobrious appellation of Engliſhmen, and threatened deſtruction to the inhabitants of Ulſter, when Ireland ſhould revert to the race of its original and rightful poſſeſſors.

Lord Digby was ſolicitous to take advantage of theſe animoſities, ſo far, at leaſt, as to detach Preſton from the confederacy, and, by uniting him with Ormond, to prevent the hateful treaty with the Engliſh parliament. Though the lieutenant deſpiſed and ſuſpected the faith and ſtability of Preſton, yet the marquis of Clanricarde, at the inſtances of Digby, repaired to the confederates, with the view of reconciling, if poſſible, the whole body of the Iriſh to peace, on what he deemed reaſonable terms. As a catholic of diſtinguiſhed character, he was received with due reſpect, and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. He undertook for the repeal of all laws againſt catholics; that they ſhould retain poſſeſſion of the churches until the king's pleaſure ſhould be ſignified upon a ſettlement of the nation; that the queen and prince ſhould confirm theſe articles, and the crown of France be guarantee for their performance. The nuncio, in the extravagance of his expectations, objected to theſe overtures as ſtill inſufficient; though they were warmly ſupported by the moderate and ſenſible part of the confederates. In the midſt of their debates, intelligence arrived, that the forces of the Engliſh parliament were landed in Dublin. They ſtarted from the council: O'Nial called off his men from their poſts, and decamped in the night. The ſupreme council haſtened to Kilkenny, whither they were followed by the nuncio; while Preſton and his officers continued the negociation with Clanricarde; promiſing, on ſecurity for the conditions he propoſed, to obſerve the late peace, to be obedient to the king's authority, and to unite with Ormond againſt all his enemies.

The lieutenant, thus extricated from his immediate danger, was more at leiſure to treat with the commiſſioners ſent by the Engliſh parliament. They ſaw the wretched ſtate of Dublin, and concluded that Ormond muſt purchaſe their ſupplies on any terms. The Proteſtant inhabitants, regarding theſe men as their deliverers, urgently

urgently petitioned that their forces ſhould be admitted into the city; and Ormond found it neceſſary to comply ſo far with their demands, that he permitted the ſoldiers to debark, and take their quarters peaceably in the ſuburbs. From the progreſs of Clanricarde, ſome hope ſtill remained of an accommodation with the Iriſh. He therefore treated with the commiſſioners, not as a man reduced to extremity, but in a ſituation to ſpurn at terms inconſiſtent with his rank and character. They propoſed to take the Proteſtants of Ireland under the protection of the parliament, and to allow the marquis his eſtate, or an annual penſion of two thouſand pounds for five years, if he ſhould not receive ſo much from his rents. On theſe conditions they demanded that he ſhould reſign his government. He objected to the indefinite terms in which they had expreſſed their overtures on different heads; and declared, that he found it neceſſary to retain the charge entruſted to him. In the mean time, that the kingdom might not be deprived of their ſuccours, he propoſed that their ſoldiers ſhould be diſtributed into garriſons, until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known, and their inſtructions from the parliament enlarged; and that they ſhould ſupply him with three thouſand pounds for the uſe of the army. Theſe propoſitions were rejected, the forces were re-embarked, and conveyed to Ulſter, where the Scots with difficulty conſented to receive them *.

During this negociation Ormond found himſelf inſenſibly involved in another tranſaction, which afforded him much perplexity. The marquis of Clanricarde, in his treaty with general Preſton, had promiſed the ſecurity of the queen and prince for the advantages ſtipulated in favour of religion. To render this effectual, it was neceſſary that Ormond ſhould engage to obey all orders in favour of the Catholics received from the queen or prince, or ſuch as ſhould be certified by lord Digby, ſecretary to the king, to be his majeſty's real deſire. But the marquis had great reaſon to apprehend that ſuch a promiſe might bind him to the moſt extravagant and dangerous conceſſions, ſuch as he had hitherto rejected with diſdain. Digby required him to declare, that the king's gracious intentions to ſecure the Catholics in the free exerciſe of

* Ware.

their religion, were purpoſely omitted in the laſt articles of peace, by the ſubtlety of ſome of the Romiſh party, in order to inflame the people againſt a treaty ſo eſſentially defective. This declaration, he well knew, was inconſiſtent with truth. He was to promiſe that no advantage ſhould be taken of the omiſſion; but that the penal laws ſhould be repealed, and the churches left in the poſſeſſion of the Catholics until his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. This again were to adopt the religious articles granted by Glamorgan. He was not only to employ Preſton and his officers, and to grant them commiſſions under the marquis of Clanricarde, who was to take the command of the catholic forces, but to admit thoſe troops into the king's garriſons; and particularly to receive ſome of Preſton's regiments into Dublin; a meaſure which would not only be dangerous, but highly offenſive to the proteſtant party. Ormond, while in treaty with the parliamentary commiſſioners, neither took notice of the engagements of Clanricarde, nor returned any anſwer to the ſolicitations of Digby; but, on the departure of theſe commiſſioners, he ſtated his objections to the particulars required of him; and for his compliance with which Clanricarde had precipitately engaged. Digby exerted all his ingenuity to reconcile them to his judgment and principles. Both lords expreſſed the utmoſt confidence in Preſton's profeſſions of attachment to the king's ſervice; and both entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes from reconciling him to the government. Ormond, wearied by importunity, at length conſented to write to Preſton, a man whom he ſtill ſuſpected and deſpiſed. He firſt aſſured him in general terms, that he and his officers, on ſubmiſſion to the peace, ſhould receive all due encouragement; and was afterwards perſuaded to promiſe him, that, in reliance on his fidelity, he and his army ſhould be employed both in the field and in the king's garriſons. In another oſtenſible letter to the marquis of Clanricarde, he declared his reſolution of obeying all the king's free commands in favour of Iriſh Catholics, or, during his reſtraint, all the commands of the queen and prince, or the intimations of his majeſty's pleaſure from his ſecretary, lord Digby.

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The negociation of Clanricarde now ſeemed happily concluded, and this nobleman received his commiſſion to command the Leinſter army. Preſton conſented to become his major-general; conſulted with Ormond on the operations of war; engaged to make an attempt for ſecuring Waterford and Kilkenny, and was ſpeedily to be joined by the lord-lieutenant and his forces. When he had begun his march ſome agents of the nuncio ſuddenly appeared, who commanded him to ſtop and diſperſe his forces, and, in caſe of diſobedience, denounced the ſentence of excommunication on him and all his followers. The bigot was terrified, and eaſily brought to a full reconciliation with the nuncio and his party. Ormond was on his march to join the Leinſter army when Clanricarde, who attended him, to his utter confuſion and mortification, received a letter from Preſton, containing the intelligence that his officers had all been driven from their reſolutions by the terrors of excommunication, and therefore adviſing, that the lieutenant ſhould proceed no farther, but wait the iſſue of a general aſſembly at Kilkenny. In three days after this mean apology, he publiſhed a formal renunciation of his treaty with Clanricarde, on pretence that articles were not performed on the part of the government.

Ormond was neither ſurpriſed at this perfidy, nor formed any hopes from the new general aſſembly; but, to deprive the Iriſh of all excuſe, he reſolved to ſtruggle with his difficulties a little longer, and to wait the reſult of this meeting. While the neceſſities of Dublin obliged him to march into Weſtmeath to ſeek ſubſiſtence for his troops, this aſſembly was convened; and the moſt extravagant propoſitions were preſented by the nuncio and his clergy. They demanded the full eſtabliſhment of popery; the excluſive poſſeſſion of all churches and benefices in the kingdom; the repeal of the common law ſo far as it gave the crown any eccleſiaſtical power; liberty to erect popiſh univerſities; to appoint proviſions to all church-dignities, and to exerciſe their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in its full extent; and they required a new oath for continuing the aſſociation until theſe points ſhould be effectually obtained. The ſubſtance of theſe propoſitions was readily accepted. The late peace was condemned by a formal reſolution,

ſolution, and the nuncio inſiſted on cenſuring thoſe commiſſioners who had tranſacted it; but in oppoſing this violence the aſſembly was betrayed into a ridiculous inconſiſtency. They voted, that the commiſſioners had acted honeſtly in making, and the clergy alſo in violating the peace; which, at the ſame time, in contradiction to the ſenſe of the French court, ſignified by its miniſter, and in contempt of a ſpirited remonſtrance from the marquis of Ormond, they pronounced to be null and void *.

All hope of any Iriſh ſuccours, with which the government had been ſo long amuſed, was now extinguiſhed; and Ormond, after a ſeries of toilſome efforts for the intereſts of his ſovereign, found himſelf deceived, deſtitute, and abandoned. Unable any longer to ſupport the king's cauſe, or protect his proteſtant ſubjects, he determined, as his laſt reſource, to depoſit the rights of the crown with the Engliſh parliament. The privy-council concurred in a meaſure which was become ſo neceſſary; and it was approved by a parliament held in Dublin. The king was now delivered up to the commiſſioners appointed by the two houſes to receive him from the Scots; and Ormond was aſſured, his majeſty had ſignified his pleaſure, that, in extreme neceſſity, he ſhould ſubmit rather to the Engliſh than the Iriſh. But though the king's private letters afforded Ormond ſtrong reaſon to doubt the truth of theſe aſſurances, yet they ſerved to juſtify to the public the reſolution he had formed, and which was now unavoidable. He wrote to the parliament-commiſſioners, offering to reſign his government and garriſons on their own conditions.

The confederates, who had ever profeſſed loyalty to the king, were not entirely inſenſible to the odium of forcing his lieutenant into a ſubmiſſion to his enemies; and at leaſt affected a ſolicitude for preventing it, by renewing their overtures for an accommodation. But, as the nuncio ſtill influenced their councils, the terms offered by the agents were inſolent and extravagant. They ſerved, however, to give the marquis ſome reſpite until his treaty with the parliament ſhould be concluded. Lord Inchiquin now regarded him as a friend, ſent him ſome ſupplies, and conſulted him on his operations againſt the Iriſh

* Carte.

Iriſh in Munſter. This lord was at the head of five thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, and was reinforced from England. He took ſeveral places from the Iriſh, and threatened Waterford with a ſiege. To oppoſe his progreſs, Preſton was recalled from his petty expeditions in Leinſter; for O'Nial would obey no orders, not even of the nuncio, though his rapacious followers called themſelves the pope's army. This refractory leader had lately been made general of Connaught; he was in poſſeſſion of ſome counties of Leinſter, and in all the Iriſh quarters through the northern province abſolute commander. His affectation of independency, his ſubtle, dark, and enterpriſing temper, with the inſolence of his followers, who claimed the whole iſland as the property of the old Iriſh, filled the confederates with great apprehenſions and diſcontents. Thoſe of Leinſter, and all the Catholics of the Engliſh race, dreaded extirpation from theſe ſavages; ſo that the Iriſh inſurgents, who had extorted the moſt abject conceſſions from the king, and preſcribed law to his lieutenant, were now on the point of breaking into virulent factions, and declaring deſperate war againſt each other *.

Apparently, however, they continued ſo powerful, and were ſo infatuated by an ambitious and ignorant clergy, that no inteſtine diſorders could abate their extravagance. The propoſitions of the marquis of Ormond were accepted by the parliament, and their treaty commenced: but before it was concluded, and when Ormond, by the delay of the ſuccours which had been promiſed in the mean time, was ſtill at liberty to recede, Leyburne, one of the queen's chaplains, arrived in Ireland under the fictitious name of Winter Grant. He was ſent with expedients for promoting a peace, and directed to act entirely in concert with the marquis of Ormond. The Iriſh had now a fair opportunity of correcting their errors, and treating, by means of this agent, on moderate terms. They, indeed, offered their propoſitions by Grant; but they were the ſame that had formerly been rejected, and were again rejected with diſdain. Nothing now remained for Ormond but to conclude his treaty with the parliament. Four hoſtages, among whom were his ſecond ſon, afterwards

A.D. 1647.

* Cox.

afterwards earl of Arran, were ſent to England for the performance of his ſtipulations. A conſiderable force marched out of Ulſter to Dublin, where reinforcements from England were alſo admitted. On the 19th of June the articles were ſigned: Ormond engaged to deliver up Dublin, and all the king's garriſons, his ordnance, ammunition, and ſtores, with the ſword of ſtate, and other enſigns of government, on the 28th of the ſucceeding month, or ſooner, if required by the parliament, on notice of four days. The commiſſioners on their part promiſed, that Proteſtants ſhould be protected; that all who choſe to attend the marquis out of Ireland ſhould have free liberty to depart; that popiſh recuſants, who had not been engaged in the rebellion, might reſt ſecurely on the favour of the parliament, according to their future behaviour; and that the marquis of Ormond ſhould have liberty to reſide in England, on condition of ſubmitting to the ordinances of the parliament. They acknowledged that the ſum expended by him in the king's ſervice, amounted to thirteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-ſeven pounds. They engaged to pay three thouſand of this ſum before his departure, and to ſecure the remainder by bills of exchange.

The parliamentarians were now complete maſters of Dublin, where they ſcorned to delay the exerciſe of their authority until Ormond ſhould depart *. Scarcely had the treaty been ſigned when the commiſſioners, by their own authority, without any ordinance of parliament, prohibited the uſe of the liturgy, the only form of worſhip eſtabliſhed by law, and obtruded the directory in its room. The Iriſh Catholics had already refuſed the leaſt toleration of the eſtabliſhed worſhip in any place ſubject to their power; and, in the extravagance of their expectations, had diſputed whether the king ſhould be allowed one chapel in the capital, when their dominion ſhould extend over the whole kingdom. With the ſame ſpirit of bigotry theſe zealous reformers rejected the remonſtrance of the clergy, and thundered their menaces againſt the heinous guilt of worſhipping God in any other form than their own. They were impatient for the departure of Ormond, who had delayed the reſignation of his authority

* Carte.

city until the 28th of July, in hopes of obtaining permiſſion to tranſport five thouſand men for the ſervice of France. But this overture was rejected by parliament, though the troops were to be formed of their enemies. On the 16th of this month their commiſſioners ſummoned him to remove from the caſtle, and deliver the regalia within four days. He could not oppoſe their demand; but as his preſent removal was inconvenient, he contented them with reſigning the caſtle to the cuſtody of their own guards; and the ceremonial of delivering his ſword was by agreement deferred to the day mentioned in the treaty.

The moderate among the confederates were now thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; convinced, at laſt, of their own errors, and the extravagances of their party *. Owen O'Nial became every day more terrible: he was with difficulty reſtrained by the nuncio from ſeizing Kilkenny; and the Catholics of Munſter were every moment under the apprehenſion of being expoſed to his depredations. Their new general, Glamorgan, diſcovered too great an inclination to concur with this leader of the papal army. Lord Muſkerry, the rival of this earl, and the enemy of the nuncio and O'Nial, at the moment that his deſtruction was meditated, fled to the Munſter army, was received as their leader, and Glamorgan depoſed. It was, however, ſtill apprehended, that the turbulence of the nuncio muſt increaſe, and that, on the departure of the marquis of Ormond, O'Nial would attempt ſome deſperate purpoſe. Some of the principal confederates, and even Preſton himſelf, were now convinced, that their preſervation depended on an union with Ormond; and, in a private conference with lord Digby, they earneſtly entreated that the marquis would delay his departure from Ireland; but their application was too late, and their ſincerity too juſtly ſuſpected. He left the regalia to be delivered to the commiſſioners, embarked on the day appointed, and landed at Briſtol.

* Carte.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

From the Departure of the Marquis of Ormond, to the Reſtoration of Charles II.

IRELAND, on the departure of the marquis of Ormond, ſeemed reduced to its ancient ſtate of anarchy and diſtraction. In the capital, colonel Michael Jones was appointed governor by the parliament, and commander of their forces in Leinſter. The inhabitants, who had been accuſtomed to the ſtate and decorum of Ormond and his court, were at once ſhocked at the vulgar manners of this republican and his train, and provoked at his ſeverity. Theſe ſoldiers plundered the citizens, inſulted their officers; and Jones, who could not ſupply their neceſſities, found it neceſſary to connive at their outrage. Three different armies of Catholics were quartered in different ſtations. Owen O'Nial, and his barbarous followers, were equally enemies to the king and the Engliſh parliament, profeſſing an entire obedience to the pope and his nuncio. The army of Preſton, and that of Munſter, ſeemed at length convinced of the error and obſtinacy of their party, wiſhed for the return of Ormond, and were inveterate enemies to the parliamentarians. The Scots of Ulſter were offended at the late proceedings of England, and averſe to the preſent government. In Munſter, lord Inchiquin was incenſed at ſome attempts to remove him from his command, during the time that lord Liſle reſided in this province with the inſignificant title of the parliament's chief governor. On the ſame principle which had ſeduced him from the ſervice of the king, he was now diſpoſed to abandon his preſent maſters. Such was the ſtate of confuſion in which the affairs of Ireland were now involved.

Lord Digby, who ſtill reſided near Dublin, was indefatigable in practiſing againſt the parliamentarians, and to effect the return of Ormond. His dependence was on the catholic armies of Munſter and Leinſter; and with their leaders he concerted his deſigns. The Munſter army was now entruſted to the command of lord Taafe, with the conſent of Muſkerry, that the latter might have leiſure

ſure to attend the ſupreme council, and ſupport the intereſts of their party in this aſſembly. That of Preſton conſiſted of ſeven thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, ready for action; and with this force he advanced into the Engliſh quarters, where he ſoon reduced Naas, and ſome other inconſiderable places, and had the honour of repelling Jones in two ſkirmiſhes. By inveſting Trim, he again called out this general; and, by the advice of lord Digby, reſolved to ſeize the advantage of his abſence from the capital, where the garriſon was weak, and many of the inhabitants diſaffected to the parliament. By a forced march, Preſton advanced towards Dublin, in full hope of ſurpriſing it. Jones purſued with equal alacrity; and, at a place called Dungan-hill, the armies came to an engagement. The Engliſh general having been reinforced by ſome northern troops, his numbers were nearly equal to thoſe of Preſton. They ruſhed upon the Iriſh with intrepidity, inflamed by an enthuſiaſtic hatred; and, though they fought without regard to orders, they ſoon obtained a complete and bloody victory. As Jones could not improve this advantage, from the want of proviſions, he returned to Dublin poſſeſſed of the enemies arms, cannon, and baggage, with a number of priſoners, ſeveral of diſtinguiſhed rank and conſequence; while Preſton fled with his horſe to Carlow, where he collected the ſhattered remains of his infantry.

The nuncio, and his creatures, were apprehenſive, that, if Preſton got poſſeſſion of Dublin, he would reſign it to Ormond, and invite the prince of Wales into Ireland; a meaſure which might end in the ſubverſion of all their fantaſtical projects. They received with joy the intelligence of his defeat; and recalling O'Nial from ſome petty hoſtilities which he carried on in Connaught, entruſted him with the defence of Leinſter; while Preſton had the mortification of receiving from the ſupreme council an order, to reſign moſt of his remaining forces to his rival.

The preſervation of the Munſter army, under lord Taafe, became now of greater conſequence; and the general ſeemed determined to act with proportionable circumſpection. Lord Inchiquin was obliged to exert himſelf with vigour againſt the Iriſh, not only to ſupply the neceſſities of his troops, but to allay the ſuſpicions of the

Engliſh

Engliſh parliament. He over-ran ſome counties, and took ſeveral forts, among which was Cahir, an ancient caſtle of great ſtrength. By the poſſeſſion of this place, a way was opened for his famiſhed troops to range freely over the fertile county of Tipperary; where, without any oppoſition from Taafe, he continued his progreſs, and advanced againſt the city of Caſhel. The inhabitants fled to their cathedral, ſeated on a rock well fortified, and provided with a ſtrong garriſon. Inchiquin offered to leave them unmoleſted, on condition that they would advance him three thouſand pounds, and a month's pay for his army. But this propoſal being imprudently rejected, he took the place by ſtorm, with conſiderable ſlaughter both of the citizens and ſoldiery. Here he obtained a great booty; yet ſtill not ſufficiently provided for keeping the field, on the approach of winter he diſperſed his army into garriſons.

It happened, that, in ſtorming the rock of Caſhel, about twenty eccleſiaſtics had fallen in the indiſcriminate ſlaughter. The nuncio inveighed againſt this incident, as an effect of the moſt ſacrilegious cruelty, and clamoured for revenge. His zeal was ſeconded by his whole party; and lord Taafe was obliged to take the field in the month of November. Inchiquin collected his forces, and encountered him at a place called Knocknoneſs. The left wing, of the Iriſh, commanded by lord Taafe, was quickly broken, nor could he ſtop the flight, though he killed ſeveral of the fugitives with his own hand. On the right, an officer of the family of Mac-Donnel, famed in the Iriſh wars, under the name of Rolkitto, or the *Left-handed*, commanded a gallant body of Highlanders, ſupported by two regiments of horſe. After one diſcharge of muſketry, the Highlanders, according to their cuſtom, fell ſword in hand upon the enemy, whom, after breaking, they purſued with great ſlaughter, and ſeized the cannon and carriages. On the return of Inchiquin to the aſſiſtance of his left wing, they were abandoned by the cavalry, and by the fall of Rolkitto left without a commander *. Yet ſtill they maintained their ground, until ſeven hundred of their number were ſlaughtered; when the remains of this brave body laid down their arms, and accepted quarter. In this action, more than three thouſand Iriſh, the flower of

* Borlaſe.

of the Munſter army, were cut to pieces; and to render Inchiquin's victory more complete, he got poſſeſſion of ſix thouſand arms, all the enemy's baggage and artillery, with their general's tent and cabinet, and thirty-eight colours and ſtandards.

The more temperate of the confederates, confirmed in their ſentiments by theſe diſaſters, reſolved to contend no longer with the pride and violence of the nuncio, and the outrages of O'Nial, but to abandon a cauſe, which ſerved only to deſolate the kingdom, by the united calamities of war and famine. Lord Muſkerry prevailed on them, with difficulty, to make one effort more to avert the impending ruin of their country, by labouring to effectuate a peace. For this purpoſe, it was in the firſt place neceſſary that they ſhould gain a ſuperiority in the general aſſembly now ſummoned to Kilkenny; and they applied themſelves with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs for attaining that object, that the nuncio ſoon diſcovered the deſign of ſubverting his power, and reſolved to counteract it. He had recommended eleven perſons to Rome to be made biſhops; and he prevailed on the ſupreme council, formed of his creatures, to ſummon theſe eccleſiaſtics by writ to the aſſembly. The lawyers objected, that their bulls were not yet arrived; that they were not conſecrated, nor inveſted with their temporalities. At firſt, the nuncio declared he would conſecrate them himſelf; but, as the ſafer and more expeditious method, ordered them to take their ſeats directly. The aſſembly, over-awed by his reſolution, acquieſced; and the nuncio, of conſequence, grew more inſolent. Ulſter had uſually ſent ſixty-three members to the general aſſembly; but nine only now attended from this province. He inſiſted, that, as the war had prevented a full election, theſe nine ſhould be allowed ſixty-three voices; but the oppoſite party proved ſtrong enough to reject this extravagant propoſal. In ſpite of all the oppoſition of Rinunccini, the aſſembly now declared almoſt unanimouſly for peace; and, for this purpoſe, reſolved to ſend agents to the queen and prince in France, the only perſons with whom they could commence a treaty. The nuncio, dreading this deputation, as the firſt ſtep to recalling Ormond, and inviting the prince of Wales to Ireland, oppoſed it with all his power. He

preſſed

preſſed the aſſembly to addreſs themſelves to Rome, and to implore the protection of the pope: and ſo far were his inſtances ſucceſsful, that it was reſolved to ſend deputations to Rome and Madrid, as well as to France. The choice of theſe agents was a point of delicate diſcuſſion. The opponents of the nuncio laboured for the nomination of ſuch perſons as were likely to obſtruct their meaſures, if continued in the aſſembly. By their management, the popiſh biſhop of Ferns, and Nicholas Plunket, two turbulent partizans, were appointed to repair to Rome. But, on their proceeding to nominate Mac-Mahon of Clogher to go to France, in conjunction with lord Muſkerry and Geoffry Browne, this zealous adherent of the nuncio ſaw through their deſign, and inſolently refuſed to obey the order of the aſſembly. This audacious conduct raiſed a conſiderable ferment; but ſo effectually was Mac-Mahon ſupported by the nuncio, that it was found neceſſary to ſubſtitute the marquis of Antrim in his place.

The election of the agents being adjuſted, their inſtructions became a point in which the nuncio was particularly intereſted. He and his clergy had, in the fulneſs of their inſolence, ſubſcribed a declaration, that they never would conſent that either the queen or prince ſhould be invited into Ireland, until the pope's articles relative to religion were ſecured; that any but a Roman Catholic ſhould ever be appointed chief-governor; that the forts and armies of the confederates ſhould ever be delivered to heretics, or that any peace ſhould be concluded which ſhould leſſen the preſent ſtate and public exerciſe of their religion. They now contended, that the inſtructions of the agents deſtined to France, ſhould be ſubmitted to their inſpection, and modelled agreeable to this declaration. The oppoſite party ſuffered theſe zealous churchmen to amuſe themſelves with framing the inſtructions, and inſerting all their extravagant demands; as Muſkerry and Browne had privately agreed to neglect them, and not to inſiſt upon demands which had been already rejected, which muſt ever meet with the ſame fate, or which tended to ſubject their country to a foreign power; now the favourite and avowed deſign of the clergy and the old Iriſh.

As the ſeſſion of the aſſembly drew towards a concluſion,

ſion, each party was ſolicitous about the choice of members of the ſupreme council; but, after ſome debates, it was at length agreed, that the council ſhould be formed equally of both. Lord Muſkerry artfully ſuggeſted, that as the public affairs might call away ſeveral members from their attendance, it was proper to appoint ſome ſupernumeraries to ſupply their places. His propoſal was haſtily embraced; and among theſe eventual counſellors, he contrived to introduce forty-eight of his own partizans, to the utter confuſion of the nuncio *.

Meanwhile, the agents who had been ſent to France, arrived at St. Germain's, and were graciouſly received by the queen and prince. Notwithſtanding her majeſty's partiality to the marquis of Antrim, ſhe ſoon learned that her attention was to be given chiefly to lord Muſkerry and Geoffry Browne, as men of more power and political conſequence. She conferred with them in private; when they produced ſecret inſtructions, ſigned by Preſton and lord Taafe, by which they were directed to aſſure her of the unſhaken loyalty of their party, and unalterable adherence to the king's cauſe, in ſpite of thoſe who laboured to introduce a foreign juriſdiction into Ireland, to entreat the continuance and aſſiſtance of her majeſty, and the prince; and to propoſe, as the meaſure moſt effectual for ſupporting the royal authority, that the prince ſhould come over with arms and money, and avail himſelf of the aſſiſtance of his well-affected ſubjects, by condeſcending to their moderate requeſts. Having thus executed their private commiſſion, they attended Antrim to a public audience, and preſented the propoſitions dictated by the clergy, as the mere ceremonial of their deputation.

In theſe tranſactions the queen found an able counſellor in the marquis of Ormond. On his departure from Ireland, this nobleman had been permitted to preſent himſelf before the king at Hampton-Court, and was received with the affection due to his ſtrenuous exertions in the royal cauſe. The king conſulted him with the utmoſt confidence, and when the jealouſies of the army forced the marquis to return to London, directed him to confer with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and concert meaſures for engaging Scotland and Ireland in his ſervice. The committee

* Borlaſe. Nalſon.

mittee of Derby-houſe was alarmed at the rumour of the marquis's ſecret negociations, and they ſought pretexts for ſeizing him. He was aſſured that a warrant had iſſued for this purpoſe, and inſtantly reſolved to eſcape to France, whither he was ſoon followed by his eldeſt ſon, lord Oſſory.

By advice of the marquis, the queen and prince returned a general and gracious anſwer to the Iriſh agents. They greatly condemned the violation of the late peace, but expreſſed their ſatisfaction that the confederates ſeemed at length to be ſenſible of their true intereſt. They alſo aſſured the agents, that a perſon ſhould be ſpeedily ſent into Ireland, to receive full and particular propoſitions from the confederates, and to grant them every reaſonable indulgence.

During theſe negociations in France, the ſupreme council was deeply impreſſed with the preſent dangerous ſituation of the catholic confederacy, whoſe armies had been almoſt totally deſtroyed by two ſucceſſive defeats. Their reſources were exhauſted, and they were every day deſerted by numbers of their adherents, who purchaſed protection from the parliamentarians by grievous compoſitions. With ſome of their enemies, who were powerful in every province, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to effect a ceſſation. Even the nuncio recommended a truce either with the Scots of Ulſter, or with lord Inchiquin, that the confederates might be enabled to march ſecurely to Dublin and exterminate the odious ſectaries. Lord
A.D. 1648. Inchiquin was not averſe to an accommodation. Immediately after his victory at Knocknoneſs, he had ſhewn ſome ſigns of diſaffection to the parliament, on account of the diſtreſſes to which his army had, by their neglect, been reduced. And though he continued his operations againſt the Iriſh, he held a ſecret correſpondence with the marquis of Ormond, and projected ſchemes for recalling him into Ireland, and uniting with him againſt the governor of Dublin and his party. Lord Broghill, ſecond to Inchiquin in command, had conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt this lord. Ormond contrived to reconcile them, and to engage Broghill in their deſign. An emiſſary was diſpatched to the confederates to treat about a ceſſation. Taafe and Preſton bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath to

ſupport

ſupport the king's rights, and to obey his lord-lieutenant. Inchiquin entered into the ſame engagements. The Scots of Ulſter gave aſſurances of uniting with Ormond, not only againſt Owen O'Nial, and all the Iriſh who continued in their diſobedience to the crown, but againſt the independent party of England and Ireland. Thus was a powerful union concerted in favour of the royal cauſe, when ſome Engliſh officers of Munſter attached to the independent party, ſuſpecting the deſign of their general, formed a ſcheme of defeating it, by ſeizing Cork and Youghall. They were diſcovered and impriſoned. This incident, however, obliged lord Inchiquin publicly to avow his revolt, before the neceſſary meaſures were ſufficiently ſecured, and particularly before the ceſſation with the Iriſh was concluded; a point of the utmoſt importance, as it was to prepare the way for a powerful conjunction of the confederates with the proteſtant royaliſts.

In this tranſaction, however, embarraſſments and delays were now experienced. The nuncio had but a few weeks before earneſtly recommended a ceſſation. Equally an enemy to the royal and popular parties, he indulged himſelf in the idea of detaching Ireland entirely from the Engliſh government, and ſubjecting it to the juriſdiction of the pope. From the moment, therefore, that Inchiquin declared for the king, he exclaimed loudly againſt any ceſſation with this lord. The ſupreme council repeatedly endeavoured to obviate his wild objections; when he, as uſual, had recourſe to the clergy. A number of biſhops aſſembled at his houſe, and proteſted againſt the ceſſation. The council was provoked and aſtoniſhed at this extravagance; though, being not yet ſuperior to the fear of excommunication, they heſitated at an open rupture with thoſe antagoniſts. Clanricarde, Taafe, and Preſton, laboured to confirm them in the reſolution of giving ſome relief to their diſtracted country. The ſupernumerary members of the ſupreme council ſupported the ſentiments of theſe leaders; the provincial aſſemblies of Leinſter and Munſter appeared at Kilkenny, and loudly urged the neceſſity of a ceſſation. The nuncio, and his clergy, while they raved of the church and its rights, of oppoſing heretics, and avenging the ſlaughter of their holy brethren at Caſhel, could propoſe no reaſonable ſcheme for carrying on

on the war. It was, therefore, reſolved, after various debates and conferences, that the ceſſation ſhould be concluded, with the declaration of mutual aſſiſtance againſt all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe it by hoſtilities. The nuncio was enraged even to a degree of phrenzy. He fled privately from Kilkenny, and caſt himſelf into the arms of his favourite O'Nial, whom he conjured to march without delay againſt the betrayers of the church. The council reſpectfully entreated him to return, and to confer temperately on public affairs. He diſclaimed all connection with them, unleſs the generals of their Leinſter and Munſter armies were diſplaced, proviſions and quarters aſſigned to the forces of O'Nial, and the whole conduct of peace and war ſubmitted abſolutely to the clergy. He cauſed their proteſt againſt the ceſſation to be affixed on the doors of the cathedral in Kilkenny; and when this was contemptuouſly torn down, his ſentence of excommunication was thundered againſt all thoſe who contrived and favoured the ceſſation, and an interdict denounced on all places in which it ſhould be accepted or maintained *.

Rinuncini, in the blindneſs of his preſumption, conceived that theſe ſeverities muſt have the ſame effect with the cenſures publiſhed on the peace of forty-ſix. But times and circumſtances were changed. By fulminating his ſpiritual terrors on many trivial occaſions, they had become contemptible; and men were gradually rouſed by his violences from a ſtate of implicit ſubmiſſion to his authority. The ſupreme council ventured to appeal in form againſt his cenſures; and in this they were ſupported by two archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, all the ſecular clergy of their dioceſes, by all the Jeſuits and Carmelites, many of the Auguſtinians and Dominicans, above five hundred Franciſcans, the moſt exemplary and intelligent of all thoſe legions of eccleſiaſtics which overſpread the kingdom.

The nuncio, however, was ſtill ſupported by a conſiderable party. Thoſe of the clergy who expected preferment from his favour, thoſe of the laity who looked for the reſtitution of their paternal eſtates by the expulſion of the Engliſh and Scots, they who were oppreſſed by debts,

* Carte.

debts, and they who ſubſiſted only by public commotions, all declared for deſperate meaſures, and flocked to the ſtandard of O'Nial; who, though ſworn to obey the orders of the confederates, ſolemnly denounced war againſt the ſupreme council and its adherents *. Taafe, Preſton, and Clanricarde, took vigorous meaſures for oppoſing him.

War being thus declared between the different parties of the confederates, O'Nial contrived to make a truce with the Ulſter-Scots, in order to be more at leiſure for proſecuting his operations. He collected his forces from Connaught and Ulſter; but the nuncio had now no money to ſupply them. Their ravages had procured them univerſal odium, and they ſoon found themſelves unable to contend with Preſton, reinforced by ſome troops from Inchiquin and Taafe. Athlone, which had for ſome time been occupied by the nuncio's partizans, was beſieged by Preſton and the marquis of Clanricarde; whence, before its reduction, the nuncio was driven to Galway. Here he endeavoured to convene a ſynod of the clergy, in order to confirm his cenſures by their ſanction. Clanricarde, however, by order of the ſupreme council, prevented them from aſſembling, inveſted the city, and obliging the inhabitants to proclaim the ceſſation, beſide paying a conſiderable ſum of money, and utterly renouncing the nuncio and his adherents.

This prelate, notwithſtanding the decline of his influence, continued to iſſue his cenſures, and declared thoſe who favoured or adhered to the ceſſation to be guilty of mortal ſin. Meanwhile, however, his favourite, Owen O'Nial, was permitted to make overtures of accommodation to Jones, the parliamentary governor. Jones had not been inattentive to the diſtractions of the Iriſh, but could not venture to take advantage of them, as he ſuſpected the fidelity of his garriſon. To quiet his apprehenſions, he boldly ſeized the moſt ſuſpected of his officers, ſome of whom he ſent to England, and others he impriſoned in the caſtle of Dublin. At the ſame time, Monk, who had been entruſted by the parliament with the command of Ulſter, made an irruption into this province, ſurprized Carricfergus, ſeized Monro, and ſent him

* Belling. Vindiciæ.

priſoner to England; reduced Belfaſt and Colerain, and ſtationed his garriſons on the frontiers, to reſtrain the incurſions of the Iriſh. Owen O'Nial, who, in effect, declared againſt the marquis of Ormond, was received with open arms by theſe triumphant independents. Jones readily conſented to an accommodation with him, and permitted him to march unmoleſted through Leinſter, in proſecution of his deſigns againſt the common enemy. Owen, diſappointed in his attempt to relieve Athlone, now formed a bold deſign to ſurprize Kilkenny, and make himſelf maſter of the whole ſupreme council. In this city, the capital of the Iriſh quarters, were many turbulent ſpirits, impatient for innovation, and ardent in the intereſts of the nuncio and O'Nial, thoſe profeſſed champions of the church. Of theſe, one Paul King, an eccleſiaſtic, engaged to form a party, and betray Kilkenny to O'Nial; for which deſign, no ſeaſon could be more favourable. The marquis of Antrim had lately returned from France, diſappointed in his expectations of being advanced to the government of Ireland. Full of reſentment, he joined the party which oppoſed the ceſſation, and gave O'Nial the moſt magnificent aſſurances of ſupport, by his intereſt in Ulſter; an acceſſion which ſerved to increaſe the conſequence of that chieftain, and to animate his partizans. But, though the forces of his adverſaries were diſperſed, the ſlow and cautious procedure of this general was not calculated for an enterprize of alacrity. The deſign on Kilkenny was diſcovered; and while the forces of O'Nial were ravaging the adjacent country, Inchiquin had already arrived to the aſſiſtance of the ſupreme council. This lord, with part of Preſton's army, advanced cloſe upon him in his depredations; when unable to contend with their united numbers, he craftily propoſed an accommodation, offering to leave Munſter unmoleſted, provided that his operations in the other provinces were not oppoſed. Inchiquin, inſtead of accepting this propoſal, endeavoured to force him to an engagement; but the wary Northern eluded all his attempts, and after ſome inconſiderable ſucceſſes gained on each ſide, at length found it neceſſary to retreat to Ulſter.

The marquis of Antrim was not more ſucceſsful in his attempts to oppoſe the ceſſation. After being reinforced

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by a party of Scottiſh Highlanders, and ſome Iriſh partizans at Wexford, his army was ſuddenly attacked by a detachment of the confederates, and defeated. The nuncio, diſmayed at this accident, fled to O'Nial; but the vanity of Antrim was not abated; he addreſſed himſelf to Jones, he boaſted his power in the northern province, and promiſed the moſt important ſervices againſt the Iriſh. Jones agreed to ſupport him; O'Nial conſented to ſerve under him; but his ſanguine hopes and oſtentatious engagements only ſerved, as uſual, to expoſe him to diſgrace. His inſignificance was ſoon diſcovered, and the command, which had been raſhly conferred upon him, was reſumed by O'Nial.

Meanwhile, a general aſſembly, compoſed almoſt entirely of thoſe who wiſhed for peace, was convened at Kilkenny, and condemned the exceſſes of the nuncio *. By Muſkerry and Browne, who were returned from France, they received aſſurances, that the marquis of Ormond was ſpeedily to follow, and to co-operate with them in reſtoring the public tranquillity. This intelligence animated them to proceed with reſolution and vigour. They ratified the ceſſation made by the ſupreme council; and declared Owen O'Nial a traitor, by proclamation. They hardly diſcovered more tenderneſs towards the nuncio. They renewed the appeal to Rome againſt his ſentence of excommunication; and, when Rinunccini contrived to have their meſſenger to the pope ſecured, and his papers ſeized, this new outrage only ſerved to inflame their reſentments. All the Catholics of Ireland, and particularly thoſe of Galway, where his influence was greateſt, were prohibited, under the ſevereſt penalties, from maintaining any correſpondence with him. At the ſame time, he had the mortification to receive a letter ſigned by the prolocutor of the aſſembly, exhorting him to depart from a kingdom ſo long harraſſed by his factious violence, and to prepare his defence againſt thoſe articles of accuſation which the aſſembly had drawn up, and intended to preſent to the pope, whoſe inſtructions he had neglected, and whoſe authority he had ſo notoriouſly diſgraced.

* Boraſe.

When affairs were in this ſituation, the marquis of Ormond, at the repeated inſtances of lord Inchiquin, arrived at Cork, and was received with the reſpect due to a chief governor. The object of his enterprize was to unite the proteſtant and popiſh royaliſts, as the only expedient left for extricating the king from his preſent deſperate ſituation. It was, in the firſt place, neceſſary to conciliate the Munſter army commanded by Inchiquin. As Ormond had been diſappointed in his expectations from France, and the ſmall ſums of money he had been able to procure, were exhauſted, he was obliged to have recourſe to artifices and evaſion. He laviſhed his promiſes of an immediate ſupply; and particularly aſſured them, that the prince would ſend that part of the navy which had revolted to him, to ſome part of Munſter, to aſſiſt them with large quantities of corn, and to enrich the ſoldiery by continual prizes. Theſe promiſes were enforced by a declaration addreſſed to all the Proteſtants of Munſter. For the preſent, the army was ſatisfied; and the marquis was in the next place to treat with the general aſſembly at Kilkenny. His authority, as lord-lieutenant, ſtill ſubſiſted, but his commiſſion for concluding a peace with the confederates had expired upon the treaty made in the year 1646. The queen and prince, indeed, had given him powers to treat; but, in a tranſaction of ſo important a nature he required immediate inſtructions from the king. Charles, was, at this time, engaged in the treaty of Newport. Among his conceſſions to the parliament-commiſſioners, he agreed, that an act ſhould paſs, reſcinding all ceſſations and treaties with the Iriſh, and inveſting the houſes with a full power of proſecuting the war in Ireland. He inſtantly notified this incident to his lieutenant, at the ſame time directing him to take no notice of his public commands, during his preſent ſtate of reſtraint, but to obey thoſe of the queen. Ormond, therefore, had now an additional authority, to ſatisfy thoſe who might object to the inſufficiency of his powers from the queen and prince.

In full expectation of receiving ſuch authority, he had notified to the general aſſembly, that, agreeably to their petition preſented at St. Germain's, he was ſent with power to conclude a peace; and, that as little time might be

be loſt as poſſible, he would expect their commiſſioners at his houſe at Carrick, about fourteen miles diſtant from Kilkenny. Their commiſſioners were appointed, to the utter mortification of the nuncio and his party. Theſe eccleſiaſtics exclaimed outrageouſly againſt the impiety of betraying the holy church, and precipitating the concluſion of a pernicious treaty, without even waiting the return of their emiſſaries from Rome, who were daily expected with vaſt ſums of money to ſupport the catholic cauſe. The aſſembly, in conſequence of theſe clamours, ſhowed ſome greater attachment to the church. A biſhop was appointed one of their commiſſioners; and he was admitted by the lord-lieutenant, contrary to his former ſentiments. Their demands on the ſcore of religion were extenſive, and became the ſubject of conference for twenty days *.

The aſſembly, for the ſake of expediting the negociation, invited Ormond to repair to his own caſtle at Kilkenny; which he accordingly did, and was received by all orders of the people with the utmoſt reſpect. But ſoon after his arrival, a dangerous ſpirit of mutiny in the army of lord Inchiquin required his preſence in Cork. Theſe forces, confounded at the ſucceſs of the independent party, and diſappointed in their expectations of money, grew diſcontented and clamorous. Some of their officers thought it neceſſary to make their peace in time with the ruling power of England. Propoſitions, in which it was pretended that Inchiquin concurred, were ſent to the parliament. They complained of dangerous conceſſions meditated by Ormond in favour of the Iriſh; and they threw out intimations, that they would unite with Jones at Dublin, or force their way to the quarters of Owen O'Nial. The treaty was by theſe means ſuſpended. The general aſſembly conſented to continue their ſeſſion while the marquis was called away to the aſſiſtance of lord Inchiquin. Meantime, a meſſenger from the prince landed opportunely at Cork, with aſſurances, that the fleet was ſpeedily to arrive with ammunition and proviſions; that the duke of York was immediately to ſail, and that the prince of Wales was ſoon to follow. This flattering intelligence, joined to the vigilance of Inchiquin, and the addreſs

* Borlaſe.

addreſs of Ormond, ſoon quieted the commotions of the army. Some officers were impriſoned, others diſplaced, and ſuch meaſures taken as might ſecure their attachment in future. This commotion being ſettled, the marquis of Ormond returned to Kilkenny, to reſume his negociations.

The Iriſh agents had by this time returned from Rome, loaded with reliques and benedictions, but without ſupplies of any kind. The pope pleaded the diſtreſſes of the holy ſee, which prevented him from advancing any money to the Iriſh; nor would he condeſcend on any conditions fit to be demanded in matters of religion, but left them to be governed entirely by their own diſcretion. This diſappointment ſerved to confirm the moderate part of the confederates in their diſpoſitions to peace; yet ſtill the various prejudices and intereſts, which prevailed in the general aſſembly, embarraſſed the progreſs of the treaty. Ormond remonſtrated warmly againſt the extravagance of their demands, and the danger of their delay. About the ſame time, the remonſtrance of the army to the parliament of England, requiring that the king ſhould be brought to juſtice, was received by lord Inchiquin, and ſent to Kilkenny. Its effect in Ireland was ſudden and powerful. All complaints in the proteſtant army were immediately ſilenced; and the confederates, ſtruck with a violent impreſſion of the king's ſituation, and probably of their own danger, at once acceded to the terms propoſed by Ormond. The treaty was accordingly concluded, the peace proclaimed. In reſpect of civil affairs, the articles were generally copied from thoſe of the year forty-ſix. In religion, the conceſſions of the marquis of Ormond were ſuch as he had formerly rejected with firmneſs, and ſuch as had been generally held in abhorrence by the Proteſtants. All the penal ſtatutes were to be repealed, and the Catholics left to the free exerciſe of their religion. They were not, indeed, expreſsly allowed their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, nor the grant of churches and church-livings; nor were they expreſsly reſtrained in theſe points. On the contrary, they were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of ſuch churches as they now held, until the king's pleaſure ſhould be freely declared. That greater preciſion was not uſed, and more extenſive conceſſions granted in theſe articles, was imputed entirely to the limited

powers

powers of the lieutenant. In order to allay the fears of thoſe who were conſcious of their former perfidy and guilt, and dreading that the articles of the preſent treaty might not be obſerved, the marquis even conſented to diveſt himſelf of the power inherent in his office. Twelve perſons, ſtyled Commiſſioners of Truſt, were nominated by the general aſſembly, to be joint ſharers in the authority of the lord-lieutenant *; ſo that he could neither levy ſoldiers, raiſe money, nor even erect garriſons, without the approbation of a majority of theſe commiſſioners. Ormond, ſenſible that ſuch conceſſions as he had made muſt prove highly offenſive to the zealous Proteſtants, inſtantly publiſhed a declaration to explain and juſtify his treaty. He profeſſed, that his care for the proteſtant religion, and the intereſts of the crown, had been continued through his whole conduct, to the concluſion of the peace; that he had made no accommodation with thoſe who had any ſhare in the barbarities committed in the beginning of the rebellion; and that he had not condeſcended to any article, until the treaty between the king and the parliament had been broken off, and the army proclaimed their horrid deſign againſt the king's life.

Whatever hopes the marquis conceived from his liberal conceſſions to the Iriſh, it was now too late to ſerve his royal maſter. Charles was brought to his trial; and before the intelligence of the Iriſh treaty arrived at London, he had already received the fatal ſtroke. The news of this cataſtrophe was received by the marquis of Ormond at Youghal, on his return from viſiting prince Rupert, who, to the great conſolation of the royaliſts, had arrived at Kinſale, with the fleet ſo long expected. He inſtantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king, and cauſed the like proclamation to be made in all places ſubject to his authority. Such was the deteſtation expreſſed by the Iriſh at the execution of Charles, that the nuncio at once concluded the whole party would ſubmit to the lord-lieutenant. At length, become deſperate, he reſolved to retire from a country, which he had ſo long diſtracted by his ſenſeleſs ambition. He embarked privately; and, from France,

A.D. 1649. Charles II. proclaimed.

* Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion.

France, continued to inflame the Iriſh clergy by his letters, until he was recalled to Rome.

The marquis of Ormond had now a variety of enemies to encounter. The capital was under the juriſdiction of the parliament; and Jones, the republican governor, expected a powerful reinforcement. The Britiſh forces of Ulſter profeſſed an abhorrence of the king's death; but their abhorrence of the Iriſh were equally violent; and they neither acceded to the peace, nor acknowledged the authority of the lord-lieutenant. Owen O'Nial, who commanded a formidable army, ſtill declared in favour of the nuncio's meaſures, and bade defiance to the royal party; while, beſide this hoſt of ſurrounding foes, ſir Charles Coote maintained Derry for the Engliſh parliament. The only expedient which Ormond could now purſue, was, if poſſible, to reconcile ſome of theſe enemies. He began with applying to O'Nial, who conſented to a treaty, which, however, was broken off, by the jealouſy of the commiſſioners of truſt. The marquis next addreſſed himſelf to Coote; but this officer returned only vague and general profeſſions, on which no dependence could be placed. He endeavoured in the laſt place to practiſe with Jones, who declared his firm reſolution of adhering to his principles and party, and ſupporting the Engliſh intereſt. Amidſt ſo many diſappointments, it was little conſolation, that the Britiſh forces of Ulſter declared for the king, and blocked up ſir Charles Coote in Derry *.

Ormond found no leſs embarraſſment from the want of reſources, than from the oppoſition of his enemies. He had to collect an army from men of different religions, intereſts, and prejudices; who, after years of inteſtine war, were ill diſpoſed to enter into a general union. He had few officers on whoſe attachment or abilities he could rely. The confederates had engaged for an army of fifteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; but they could not maintain this number. The rivalſhips and competitions of the leaders were alſo a fruitful ſource of perplexity to the lord-lieutenant. The marquis of Clanricarde, perceiving his diſtreſs, and actuated with a diſintereſted zeal for the royal ſervice, reſigned

* Davis.

ſigned the poſt of lieutenant-general, to aſſiſt him in accommodating the various claimants. The commiſſioners of truſt took little care to provide magazines or money; and of ſix thouſand pounds, which was propoſed to be levied among the confederates, no part was collected, at the time when the marquis was to take the field. He applied in perſon to ſeveral cities and incorporate towns; but theſe, without conforming to the orders of the general aſſembly, directed all contributions by their own acts, and granted, or with-held them, at their pleaſure.

He expected ſome aſſiſtance from the fleet under the command of prince Rupert; but this prince, from whatever motive, betrayed from the firſt an inclination to diſconcert his meaſures. Rupert having deſired one thouſand landmen to man his fleet, they were no ſooner granted, than his partiality to the Iriſh encouraged them to ſedition. In direct violation of the articles of peace, they were allowed to celebrate maſs in the ſea-ports; and incited by the attendants of the prince, they inſulted the Proteſtants, and raiſed ſuch commotions, as all the prudence and activity of lord Inchiquin could with difficulty allay. Rupert even held a correſpondence with Antrim, O'Nial, and other Iriſh malcontents. As the marquis now meditated the deſign of inveſting Dublin, the prince was requeſted to block up the harbour with his fleet. This was a meaſure which, if carried into effect, muſt have at once reduced Jones to an extremity; but, however eaſy and eſſential ſuch a ſervice, it was unaccountably declined by prince Rupert. With an obſtinacy no leſs repugnant to the intereſts of the royal cauſe, he refuſed to favour the blockade of Derry, and to cut off the ſupplies expected by ſir Charles Coote. Nor would he furniſh Ormond with the money which the king had directed him to pay to his lieutenant for the public ſervice.

Ormond now earneſtly urged that the king ſhould repair to Ireland, as the only means of giving efficacy to the royal cauſe. The powers of the commiſſioners of truſt, ſo languid in their exertions, would then be diſſolved; the loyaliſts would require freſh ſpirits; the army of Jones would neceſſarily decreaſe; and the formidable O'Nial himſelf be reconciled to the government. He had already aſſured the king of his ſubmiſſion immediately on his arrival,

rival, provided that he were included in the act of oblivion, allowed liberty of conſcience, employed in his majeſty's army, and advanced to the dignity of an earl. And ſo far was the king convinced of the propriety of viſiting Ireland, that his heavy baggage and inferior ſervants were actually ſent thither; though he was prevented, by diſappointments, from carrying this enterprize into execution. Ormond, therefore, was obliged to proſecute the war under his own auſpices. He accordingly prepared to take the field; and determined to attempt the reduction of Dublin: the gaining of which city was, in effect, to gain the whole kingdom. For this attempt, however, he was miſerably provided: he had neither magazines nor money; and the forces on which he was to depend grew mutinous by their diſtreſſes. About two thouſand of the Munſter army, which Ormond contrived to collect in the month of May, were employed under the earl of Caſtlehaven, to reduce thoſe places in Leinſter which were ſtill poſſeſſed by the forces of Owen O'Nial; and, after ſtruggling with extreme difficulties, they performed this ſervice. Sir George Monro, having reduced the parliamentarian garriſons in the Weſt, marched to the ſupport of the army which lay before Derry. Meanwhile, the Marquis of Ormond muſtered ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, near Carlow; and, by the help of ſome money borrowed from private perſons, put this body in motion. He, in a ſhort time, reduced Kildare, and other places; but his progreſs was ſo much impeded by the fatal neceſſities of his army, that, when he had the faireſt opportunity of engaging Jones to advantage, he was obliged to decline the enterprize. Nor did this enemy with-hold from the baſeſt attemps againſt the life of the lord-lieutenant, by practiſing on the officers that ſerved under Preſton; but either the plot was timely diſcovered, or they had not the hardineſs to put it in execution.

Ormond, now reinforced by two thouſand of lord Inchiquin's foot, and having received ſome ſupplies of money by the induſtry of Caſtlehaven and Taafe, proceeded in his expedition; and, in a council of war held at Naas, it was reſolved to advance againſt Dublin. He marched to Caſtlenock, within cannon-ſhot of the gates in hopes of

of raiſing ſome commotion within the capital; but afterwards found it neceſſary to retire to Finglaſs, at the diſtance of two miles from the city. Here receiving intelligence, that Jones had diſpatched the greater part of his horſe to Drogheda, which motion, by cutting off his proviſions, muſt reduce his army to extreme diſtreſs; lord Inchiquin was ſent in purſuit of them with a ſtrong body of cavalry. He was ſo ſucceſsful in his enterprize, that he ſurpriſed and routed the party, and laid ſiege to Drogheda, which he ſoon obliged to ſurrender. Nor was this all the ſervice he performed before his return. Having received intelligence of a body of horſe and foot employed to eſcort ſome ammunition ſent by the parliamentarians to Owen O'Nial, he atacked and routed the horſe, cut the infantry to pieces, and inveſted Dundalk, which Monk, by the clamour of his own ſoldiers, was forced to ſurrender *.

On the return of Inchiquin, it was reſolved to form the ſiege of the capital; and, while lord Dillon of Coſtello was left in the North with two thouſand five hundred men, Ormond, with the reſt of the army, croſſed the Liffey, and encamped at Rathmines. Meanwhile, in the northern province, the Britiſh troops who had inveſted Derry, began to ſuſpect, that the leaders of the independent party, regardleſs of the purpoſe of the covenant, had in view the unconditional reſtoration of the king, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy. Full of theſe apprehenſions, they refuſed obedience to their general, lord Montgomery of Ardes, renounced the adherents of the royal party, and deſerted in great numbers. Sir Charles Coote, ſeizing this favourable opportunity, addreſſed himſelf to Owen O'Nial, and engaged that chieftain, by a large ſum of money, to march to his relief; ſo that lord Ardes, whoſe army was too much weakened to give battle to theſe auxiliaries, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Derry, at the time when Coote was reduced to great diſtreſs. Amidſt theſe incidents, and while Ormond was on his march to Rathmines, three Engliſh Officers, Reynolds, Hunks, and Venables, arrived at Dublin with two thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. At the ſame time, intelligence was conveyed to Ormond and Inchiquin, that Cromwell lay at Briſtol with a great army, and that he intended to land in

* Borlaſe.

in Munſter, where many of the inhabitants were devoted to the Engliſh parliament, and the royal garriſons were weak. By reducing that province, he would become maſter of the beſt ports of the kingdom, and cut off the proviſions of the royaliſts; ſo that if Dublin ſhould ſurrender, they muſt ſtill have to encounter great difficulties; and, ſhould their preſent enterprize prove ineffectual, their cauſe muſt be utterly deſperate. It was therefore reſolved, that lord Inchiquin ſhould march to the South with three regiments of horſe to ſtrengthen the garriſons, and by his preſence, to animate the friends of the royal cauſe. It was likewiſe determined, more with the view of preventing diſcouragement than from any hope of ſucceſs, to continue the blockade of Dublin; but that the marquis ſhould remove from Rathmines to a more ſecure quarter, at a place called Drumnagh, whence he might hold a free communication with the party ſtationed on the north ſide of the river.

The reduction of Dublin, however, was an enterprize deemed practicable by many officers, who had more confidence than ſkill. They obſerved, that the enemy's horſe ſubſiſted only by the convenience of ſome meadows near the walls on the ſouth ſide of the river; that to deprive them of this paſture, nothing more was neceſſary than to poſſeſs the adjoining caſtle, called Baggatrath, which might be ſufficiently fortified in one night; and that, this object being attained, the works might be advanced ſecurely to the river; a meaſure which would cut off the garriſon from farther ſuccours, and oblige them to ſurrender.

The overture being approved by a council of war, Ormond did not venture to prohibit it by his own authority. At the cloſe of day, an officer was detached with fifteen hundred foot to Baggatrath. Though the caſtle lay only about a mile from the camp, yet, by the treachery of the guides, the whole night was waſted in traverſing the adjacent country, before the detachment could gain the place of its deſtination, and commence the intended works, which, in the morning, Ormond found not ſo far advanced as he expected. Parties of the enemy were diſcovered lying between this caſtle and the ſtrand. It was evidently the intention of Jones to hazard an engagement; and

and, as the whole army must now be drawn out, it seemed no less dangerous to support the detachment in its operations than to cover its retreat. Ormond, in expectation of a sally, made the necessary dispositions; when, having retired to take some repose, after the fatigue and watching of the preceding night, he was quickly roused by repeated vollies. He had scarcely rode a hundred yards, when he found Purcel, with the detachment which he commanded, driven from their works; sir William Vaughan, another of his officers, routed and slain; his horse flying, and his whole right wing completely broken. Having endeavoured in vain to rally these troops, he forced his way to the left; but thither the panic had already reached, and all betook themselves to flight. Even those who were stationed on the other side of the river, consulted only their present security, and cast themselves into Trim and Drogheda; while the marquis retired to Kilkenny with some shattered remains of his army. Fifteen hundred private soldiers, with three hundred officers, were made prisoners; and about six hundred slain *.

Though this disaster proved of no small prejudice to the royal cause, yet Ormond remained undispirited. Owen O'Nial had been disgusted by his new friends, the independents, who had rejected his overtures in England, and formally condemned the treaties made with him by Monk and Coote. He, therefore, renewed his treaty with the marquis of Ormond, whom it was expected he would soon join with six thousand well-appointed foot, and five hundred horse. At this time, Oliver Cromwell, by his intrigues, contrived to be chosen lord-lieutenant of Ireland, by a unanimous vote of the English parliament; and his armament being completed, he embarked for that kingdom. The late change of affairs, by the action of Rathmines, or the accidents of wind and weather, diverted him from his purpose of invading the southern province: he steered to Dublin, where, on the 15th of August, he landed with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, and all the necessaries of war. He immediately entered on the exercise of his authority, by regulating all civil and military affairs, and offering indemnity and protection to all who would submit to the parliament. Having committed the care of Dublin to a new governor, sir Theophilus Jones, he took the field with ten thousand chosen men.

Cromwell arrives in Ireland.

Ormond

* Carte.

Ormond was now reduced to act on the defenſive; and rightly judging that Cromwell would make his firſt attempt on Drogheda, he repaired the fortifications of this city, and committed it to the government of ſir Arthur Aſton, a catholic officer, diſtinguiſhed by his gallantry. The garriſon was augmented to two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and furniſhed with a ſuitable quantity of ammunition and proviſions. Ormond now indulged the hope that the enemy's force would be ſpeedily diminiſhed by the inconveniences and ſeverities of a ſiege, and, in the mean time, he retired, in expectation of being reinforced by lord Inchiquin *.

But the vigour of Cromwell quickly diſſipated theſe expectations. Declining the ſlow approaches of a regular ſiege, he immediately ſummoned the governor to ſurrender; and, on his refuſal, kept an inceſſant fire againſt the walls for two days, until a ſufficient breach had been effected. An aſſault was now made, and the beſiegers twice repulſed; but in the third attempt, led by Cromwell in perſon, the town was gained. Quarter had been promiſed to all thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms; and the promiſe was obſerved until all reſiſtance was at an end. But no ſooner was the place totally reduced, than Cromwell, to terrify the whole Iriſh party, iſſued the inhuman orders to put the whole garriſon to the ſword. Many of his ſoldiers, with reluctance, obeyed the barbarous command. The governor, and all his gallant officers, betrayed to ſlaughter by ſome of their troops, were maſſacred without mercy. During five days was this horrible execution continued †. A number of eccleſiaſtics, found within the walls, excited the fanatical enthuſiaſm of the victor, who, as if immediately commiſſioned to execute divine vengeance on theſe miniſters of idolatry, ordered his ſoldiers to plunge their weapons into thoſe wretched victims. A few of the garriſon made their eſcape in diſguiſe. Thirty perſons only were ſpared by the rage of an enemy glutted with carnage; and theſe were inſtantly tranſported as ſlaves to Barbadoes.

Drogheda ſurrenders.

Cruelty of Cromwell.

This execrable policy produced the intended effect. The garriſons of Trim and Dundalk, in their conſternation, neglected the orders of the marquis of Ormond to burn

* Carte. † Borlaſe.

burn these towns, and demolish their fortifications; so that they were immediately possessed by the enemy. Venables, who was detached into the province of Ulster, soon reduced Carlingford: Newry and Belfast both surrendered. Colerain was betrayed to sir Charles Coote, who drove sir George Monro from the counties of Downe and Antrim, and reduced the whole country except the castle of Carricfergus.

In the mean time, the marquis of Ormond was obliged to keep himself retired, at the head of fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse, most of them new levied, and many of the troops suspected of disaffection. He was in expectation of being reinforced by lord Inchiquin and lord Ardes; but he had neither money nor provisions. In absence of the commissioners of trust, he issued his own warrants for raising supplies. The insolent commissioners, regardless of his extreme necessity, complained of this procedure as an infringement of the articles of peace, and threatened to treat with the enemy. No other expedient remained but that of putting the confederate forces into garrisons; and, during the winter, which was now approaching, raise and discipline more troops. But for such purposes the consent of the commissioners was necessary; and these men had neither power nor influence with the cities most likely to be attacked, either to force or persuade them to admit garrisons. Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, peremptorily refused either to obey orders, or receive soldiers.

Ormond now saw no means of supporting the royal cause in Ireland without the presence of the king; and Charles showed himself disposed to share the common danger with his Irish subjects. A messenger was sent from him to Ormond, to learn his opinion of the propriety of such an adventure, and to present him with the ensigns of the order of the Garter. Ormond returned a melancholy account of the state of the royalists; but continued to urge the expediency of his majesty's repairing to Ireland, as the only means of retrieving, if possible, their sinking cause. The squadron of prince Rupert, therefore, was destined to convoy the king from Jersey; and Ormond exerted all his efforts to furnish the ships with seamen and provisions. But, while things were in this train, Charles

listened

liſtened to new counſels; and accepted the propoſitions of commiſſioners from Scotland, who invited him into that kingdom.

In the mean time, Cromwell, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year, proceeded vigorouſly in his operations. He marched with nine thouſand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of his army. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferior note were at once ſurrendered; and, on the 1ſt day of October, he ſat down before Wexford. The citizens, though they had hitherto neglected all means of defence, and obſtinately refuſed to admit any troops, in their preſent terror, they firſt propoſed to open their gates to the enemy. At the urgent requeſt of the marquis of Ormond, however, they at length condeſcended to accept of ſuccours; though, with an abſurd fanataciſm, they continued in their extremity to reject the aſſiſtance of heretics, and demanded a garriſon compoſed entirely of men of their own religion. Ormond, being by this time conſiderably reinforced, threw into the city two thouſand Catholics; and retiring with the remains of his army, arrived in ſafety at Roſs.

Surrender of Wexford and of Roſs.

But all the proviſions made for the defence of Wexford, could not ſecure it from ſecret treachery. One Stafford, governor of the caſtle, had been ſuſpected by Ormond; but, having the merit of being a Catholic, the commiſſioners of truſt would not conſent to remove him. No ſooner had Cromwell's batteries began to play than this man treacherouſly admitted his ſoldiers into the caſtle, by which they gained the city without reſiſtance. With a barbarity as deliberate as had been exerciſed at Drogheda, they proceeded to put to the ſword all who were found in arms. Cromwell next laid ſiege to Roſs; and ſent a ſtrong detachment under the command of Ireton, to inveſt Duncannon. The former was immediately ſurrendered upon articles; but the latter made an honourable reſiſtance. Wogan, the governor, by the aſſiſtance and encouragement of lord Caſtlehaven, made a ſally with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that the enemy quickly raiſed the ſiege*.

Cromwell, now paſſing the river Barrow by a bridge of boats, a device which was new to the rude Iriſh, he obliged

* Carte.

obliged the marquis of Ormond, who had by this time concluded his accommodation with O'Nial, and been joined by a part of his forces, to retire gradually to the city of Kilkenny. Here he found the reſt of the northern forces ready to receive his commands. But he was deprived of the aſſiſtance of their favourite general, O'Nial, who now laboured under a grievous malady, and ſoon after died.

Ormond, encouraged by ſo powerful a reinforcement, reſolved to meet the enemy in the field; and, in an addreſs to his ſoldiers, he repreſented the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure. They unanimouſly declared their ſentiments in favour of his deſign. He, therefore, marched in ſearch of the enemy; but Cromwell, who had advanced within five miles of Kilkenny, and reduced the fort of Knocktopher, paſſed ſuddenly with all his army over the Sure, and proceeded to the inveſtment of Waterford. This city, with the uſual obſtinacy of popiſh corporations, had with diſdain rejected the aſſiſtance of lord Caſtlehaven; but the approach of a bloody enemy rendered them more tractable. While Inchiquin was detached to recover Carrick, which Cromwell had ſurpriſed in his march, Ormond haſtened to the defence of Waterford. The citizens accepted a reinforcement of fifteen hundred Ulſter troops; and the marquis was on the point of returning to Carrick, in confidence that his forces were already maſters of the town, when he received intelligence that they had failed in their attempt, and retired to Clonmel. With the few troops he had left, he marched to the ſame place, through a country filled with conſternation, which increaſed by the reduction of Paſſage-fort. The citizens of Waterford now declared, that, unleſs they were inſtantly ſupplied with additional troops and proviſions, they could make no reſiſtance. Ormond, therefore, marched once more thither, to ſtrengthen the garriſon with a new reinforcement. On his approach, the enemy began to raiſe the ſiege with evident marks of confuſion. But, in proportion as he appeared ſucceſsful, the inſolence of the citizens revived. They now conſidered his troops as uſeleſs and burdenſome, and refuſed to ſupply boats for ferrying them over the river, to attack the rear of an army waſted by fatigue and ſickneſs, until the opportunity was loſt.

Freſh vexations and diſappointments awaited the marquis on his return to Clonmel. Antrim was detected in labouring to corrupt his ſoldiers, and inflame the diſaffection of the corporate towns. Several deſigns, likewiſe, formed in Munſter againſt the king's cauſe, were now on the point of being carried into execution. Cromwell, before his departure from London, had learned that lord Broghill intended to repair to the king, and accompany him into Ireland *. He ſurpriſed this lord by a viſit; aſſured him that his deſigns were ſufficiently known to the council of ſtate; terrified him with the proſpect of immediate impriſonment; and, in the end, induced him to engage in the ſervice of the commonwealth. Broghill accordingly arrived in Ireland at this time, raiſed a troop to the aſſiſtance of Cromwell, and practiſed ſo ſucceſsfully with the Proteſtants of Munſter, that of a ſudden, all the chief garriſons of this province declared for Cromwell.

Ormond was now obliged to give his troops ſome reſpite. He repreſented to the commiſſioners of truſt the neceſſity of quartering them in the cities, whence they might be readily collected, at the opening of the next campaign. But, except Kilkenny and Clonmel, none of the cities could be perſuaded to admit them. The magiſtrates of Waterford even refuſed his troops a paſſage through their city to ſuccour Ferral, who had failed in his attempt to recover the fort of Paſſage. So inſolent were theſe burghers, and ſo infected by the malicious ſuggeſtions of their faction, that it was even propoſed in their council to ſeize the lord-lieutenant, and fall on all his adherents. Nothing now remained for Ormond, but to diſmiſs his forces to ſeek ſhelter and ſubſiſtence wherever they were moſt likely to procure them; and they accordingly diſperſed into different quarters. Lord Ardes, and ſir George Monro, in endeavouring to recover thoſe places which had been lately loſt in the counties of Down and Antrim, were routed by ſir Charles Coote; Carricfergus ſurrendered, and the whole northern province, Claremont and Enniſkillen excepted, fell into the hands of the parliamentarians.

Great diſtreſs of Ormond.

Ormond now found himſelf involved in ſuch difficulties, from the caprice of the catholic party, that he deſired the king's

* Memoirs of Lord Orrery.

king's permiſſion to retire from Ireland. But as Charles's treaty with the Scots was to produce in England a diverſion, which might have a happy effect upon his Iriſh intereſts, the lieutenant was ſtill left to ſtruggle with his numerous embarraſſments.

In the mean time, Cromwell advanced towards Kilkenny, in reliance on the promiſes of an officer named Tickle, who had engaged to betray the city into his hands. But the plot was diſcovered, and the agent executed. Ormond, at the head of a little troop, compoſed of his friends and domeſtics, ſo animated the citizens, and diſplayed ſuch an appearance of defence, that the enemy retired; and the cuſtody of the city and the adjacent country was entruſted to lord Caſtlehaven, with a body of twelve hundred men. But the fate of Kilkenny was only ſuſpended. Cromwell again took the field about the end of February. One part of his army he entruſted to Ireton; and each commander reduced ſeveral places in his march. They met at Callan, which was inſtantly taken. At Gouran they received an additional reinforcement, which enabled them to inveſt Kilkenny with a conſiderable army. A plague, which had viſited moſt parts of Ireland, raged particularly in this city, and, obliging Caſtlehaven to retire, reduced the garriſon to about four hundred and fifty. With this body ſir Walter Butler made ſo brave a defence, that Cromwell, deſpairing to gain the town with that expedition which his affairs required, began to meditate a retreat, when the mayor and citizens invited him to ſtay, and promiſed to receive him into the town. His aſſaults were renewed, and again repelled; but, at laſt, the city and caſtle were obliged to ſurrender. A.D. 1650. Reduction of Kilkenny.

Cromwell proceeded next to inveſt Clonmel, where he met with a ſtill more obſtinate reſiſtance. But after a brave defence of two months, the garriſon found their ammunition and proviſion exhauſted, without any proſpect of relief. Hugh O'Nial, who commanded the confederates, withdrew ſecretly with his forces to Waterford; while the inhabitants of the town treated with the beſiegers, and capitulated upon honourable terms. Cromwell now reſigned his command to Ireton, and embarked for England. Cromwell returns to England.

Though Cromwell, through the obſtinacy of the Iriſh in oppoſing every reaſonable proviſion for defence, had

reduced ſeveral places of importance, yet a great part of the kingdom was ſtill from the power of the parliamentarians. The province of Connaught was entirely poſſeſſed by the Catholics. Waterford, Limerick, and Galway, which they yet occupied, might be rendered ſo ſtrong as to defy the utmoſt force which Ireton could command, and were ſo happily ſituated for receiving ſuccours by ſea, that, if well ſupplied, they might maintain a war againſt the whole kingdom. They had the forts of Duncannon and Sligo, with the forts of Athlone, Charlemont, Carlow, and Nenagh; and they could readily collect forces more than double the number of their enemies; but they were deſtitute both of union and reſolution *.

Meanwhile Ormond, patiently contending with his difficulties, formed a ſcheme for proſecuting the war with vigour and effect. He caſt his eyes on Limerick, a place of the utmoſt conſequence, and which there was reaſon to think would be ſoon attempted by the enemy. Going thither in perſon, he repreſented to the citizens the neceſſity of their receiving fifteen hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, not only for their own ſecurity, but the preſervation of the kingdom; but the citizens, influenced by the factious clergy and their partizans, rejected his propoſal. Ormond, however, having ſummoned twenty-four of their biſhops and ſeveral of the nobility to a conference, for deliberating on the moſt effectual means of promoting the king's ſervice, they aſſembled with apparent reſpect and ſubmiſſion. With an affected deference, they preſented him ſome propoſitions for removing thoſe diſcontents which prevailed among the people. The moſt important of their demands were, that the receiver-general ſhould account for the ſums levied ſince the peace, and that a privy-council ſhould be compoſed of the native nobility, ſpiritual and temporal, to aſſiſt the chief governor; an expedient by which they really meant to aſſume to themſelves the adminiſtration of public affairs. As the former of theſe demands was evidently calculated to encourage the ſuſpicions themſelves had raiſed, of ſome miſapplication of the public money, Ormond readily conſented that all thoſe who had received any money for the king's ſervice, ſhould be brought to a ſtrict account.

* Borlaſe.

In reſpect of the ſecond demand, he obſerved, that the right of naming a privy-council was veſted in the king alone; yet if they would ſpecify what acts were neceſſary to be done by ſuch a council, he promiſed to give ſufficient power to perſons who were free from any juſt exceptions. With theſe reaſonable anſwers the aſſembly appeared to be ſatisfied; and they publiſhed a declaration, that they would endeavour to root out of men's minds all jealouſies and unfavourable opinions of the marquis, and the preſent government. Some of the biſhops undertook to perſuade the citizens of Limerick to receive a garriſon; and Ormond himſelf deſigned to practiſe with the magiſtrates and principal leaders, for the ſame purpoſe. But his efforts were ſecretly counteracted: they now refuſed to treat him with thoſe forms of reſpect due to his ſtation. The commanders of the city-guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted to him thoſe they had received. No officer could gain admittance to him but by licence of the chief magiſtrate. A catholic lord, who ſerved in his army, was committed to priſon, for preſuming, by his order, to quarter a few ſoldiers within the liberties of the city. Ormond, exaſperated at theſe inſults, retired, with indignation, to Loghrea, whither he was followed by the biſhops. The illiberal artifices, and duplicity of theſe eccleſiaſtics, were a diſgrace to their profeſſion. In their private conferences with Ormond, they declared, that all the jealouſies of the people aroſe from their ſuſpicions of Inchiquin and his puritanic forces; and even demanded, as the only effectual means of allaying the general diſcontent, that all the Engliſh troops ſhould be removed from the kingdom. To Inchiquin they, at the ſame time, profeſſed the greateſt attachment. The hypocriſy of their public profeſſions became every day more apparent; and Ormond, at laſt, wearied by their inſolent and inſidious conduct, declared his reſolution of availing himſelf of the licence he had received from his royal maſter, by quitting the kingdom. But, however acceptable his departure might be to the clergy, the power to which they aſpired was not yet ſufficiently ſecured to relinquiſh the benefit they derived from his nominal authority. The nobility and commiſſioners of truſt were terrified at the proſpect of anarchy; and all, therefore, united in endeavouring to

diſſuade

diſſuade him from his reſolution. For this purpoſe, they promiſed to renew their inſtances with the citizens, and to reduce them to a juſt ſubmiſſion. At the ſame time, the citizens, alarmed at the approach of ſome parties of the enemy, ſeemed to relent, and conſented to accept a garriſon; requiring only that it ſhould conſiſt of ſuch troops and officers as they ſhould chooſe; that they ſhould be quartered without the walls, and demand no ſubſiſtence from the city.

Ormond, encouraged by theſe promiſing appearances, ſuſpended his purpoſe of embarking, and drew his forces to Clare, within twelve miles of Limerick *. Receiving here a reſpectful invitation from the magiſtrates of this city, that he would honour Limerick with a viſit, and regulate the garriſon, he conſented, on condition of being received with the honours due to his ſtation, and quarters being provided for his guards. On advancing near the walls, however, he received intelligence, that a ſeditious friar had raiſed a tumult in the city to oppoſe his entrance, and that the riotors had rifled the magazines, and diſpoſed of the corn at their pleaſure.

To complete the diſtreſs of Ormond, the example of this city was ſoon followed by that of Galway, which refuſed to admit any garriſon but ſuch as ſhould be appointed and commanded by the magiſtrates. The conduct of the diſobedient cities demonſtrated a purpoſe either of yielding to the enemy at once, or of erecting an independent authority. The refractory clergy, it was evident, entertained the latter deſign. They had already petitioned ſeveral catholic powers for protection; they continued to inveigh with the moſt malicious bitterneſs againſt the adminiſtration of Ormond; and he had reaſon to ſuſpect, that the leaſt proſpect of advantage might induce ſome of their partizans to betray him to the enemy. From all theſe conſiderations, he reſumed his purpoſe of retiring from the kingdom. No ſooner was this purpoſe intimated, than the clergy and their faction redoubled their clamours. They now affected to impute his reſolution of retiring to a ſecret agreement with the parliamentarians; and, not ſatisfied with theſe inſinuations, reſolved on more direct meaſures for renouncing the king's authority, and

* Carte.

and the government of his lieutenant. The biſhops, aſſembling at a place called James-town, drew up ſome overtures in a ſtrain of the utmoſt inſolence, and preſented them to the marquis. They required that his excellency ſhould ſpeedily delegate his authority, and repair to the king. Ormond, at the deſire of the commiſſioners of truſt, ſummoned the biſhops to a conference; but they refuſed to attend him; at laſt, unable entirely to ſuppreſs his indignation, he now declared that he would not remove from the kingdom, until forced by inevitable neceſſity. They now threatened to preſent articles of accuſation againſt him to his majeſty, and enjoined the people to obey no orders but thoſe of the congregation of clergy, until a general aſſembly ſhould be convened. The more to enforce this edict, it was attended with a ſolemn ſentence of excommunication, againſt all thoſe who ſhould adhere to the lord-lieutenant, or give him ſubſidy, contribution, or obedience *.

The folly and violence of theſe proceedings appear the more extraordinary, conſidering the progreſs of the parliamentarian forces, and the preſent ſituation of the marquis of Ormond. Immediately after the ſurrender of Clonmel, Trecrohan, a fort of great conſequence, on account of the quantity of ſtores and artillery there depoſited, was reduced; as were alſo Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Caſtledermot, Carlow, Waterford, the ſtrong fort of Duncannon, and other places. Ireton, not yet prepared for the ſiege of Limerick, ſent a detachment to block it up at a diſtance. While the parliamentarians ranged over the adjacent country, Ormond, with a few troops haſtily levied, contended at once with famine and a victorious enemy, and made the moſt deſperate efforts to prevent them from paſſing the Shannon. In the mean time, Ireton and ſir Charles Coote advanced towards Athlone, and thus alarmed the Iriſh with the apprehenſions of loſing the whole weſtern province. Clanricarde marched with his forces to oppoſe them; but the ſentence of excommunication, which was publiſhed at the head of his troops, diſcharged them from all obedience to government. The commiſſioners of truſt, the nobility, the more moderate of the clergy, with ſome who repented of their violences,

* Cox. Appendix.

violences, all made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the congregation, to ſupport the preſent government, and not to abandon their country to the mercy of an implacable enemy. But nothing could induce thoſe prelates to revoke the ſentence of excommunication: they conſented only, with a haughty reluctance, to ſuſpend it, during the expedition made for the relief of Athlone. They proceeded to levy forces by their own authority; continuing their ſeditious clamours, and invoking the divine vengeance upon the people, for contempt of their cenſures and thoſe of the nuncio, to which they aſcribed all the public calamities.

The commiſſioners of truſt were ſcandalized at the exorbitances of the clergy; and they expoſtulated with the prelates, but found them inexorable. They importuned the marquis to wait the reſult of a new general aſſembly, which, however, ſoon appeared too ſubmiſſive to the eccleſiaſtics. The marquis unable any longer to endure theſe repeated inſults, prepared for his departure. Thoſe members of the aſſembly who were not totally infatuated, beſought him, at leaſt, to delegate the royal authority to ſome perſon faithful to the king, and acceptable to the nation. Ormond anſwered, that he would comply with their deſires when he ſhould be ſatisfied that the perſon entruſted with the king's authority would be ſecured from thoſe inſults himſelf had experienced, and be received with due reſpect and ſubmiſſion. He appointed the marquis of Clanricarde his lord-deputy, with directions to uſe, or decline the commiſſion, as he ſhould think proper, from the proceedings of the aſſembly; and embarking at the port of Galway, he, after a tempeſtuous voyage, arrived in France.

Ormond quits Ireland, and appoints Clanricarde his deputy.

Clanricarde was deterred by every conſideration of perſonal intereſt from aſſuming ſo invidious a charge; but he was, at the ſame time, ſolicitous to preſerve ſome appearance of the king's authority, and to protect the remains of his adherents, as well as to make a diverſion in favour of the royal party in England. He was, therefore, willing to accept the government, provided he might be aſſured of due obedience. The anſwer made on this head by the aſſembly, was far from being explicit; nevertheleſs

Clanricarde,

Clanricarde, after ſome heſitation, accepted the government *.

This event was no ſooner notified, than ſome agents arrived from Ireton, and propoſed to the aſſembly to abandon their deſperate cauſe, and treat with the parliamentarians, who might grant more favourable conditions to the nation than to particular perſons. This propoſition was, for ſome time, ſupported by the influence of the clergy; but, at laſt, dreading the indignation of the public at a conduct ſo apparently inconſiſtent with the common intereſt of the nation, they deemed it neceſſary to keep ſome meaſures with their opponents. They, therefore, concurred with the aſſembly in oppoſing any treaty with the parliamentarians; and when the lord-deputy iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to reſort to the quarters of the common enemy, to enliſt in their army, or to pay them contributions, the prelates deigned to enforce this act of ſtate, by pronouncing ſentence of excommunication on all thoſe who ſhould not pay it ſtrict obedience. Notwithſtanding this compliance, they retained their averſion to the royal authority, and indulged themſelves in the hopes both of eſtabliſhing the papal juriſdiction, and their own ſovereign power in Ireland, by the intervention of ſome foreign prince.

The Iriſh ſolicit the protection of the duke of Lorrain.

In conformity with theſe views, they ſent the biſhop of Ferns, their moſt active partizan, to Bruſſels, to ſolicit the protection of the duke of Lorrain. Before the departure of the marquis of Ormond, the king, in his extreme neceſſity, had liſtened to a propoſal of mortgaging the fort of Duncannon to this duke for twenty-four thouſand pounds. Ormond received inſtructions, if he approved of the contract, to deliver up the fort to perſons appointed by the duke, upon receipt of the ſtipulated ſum. But difficulties ariſing from the precarioufneſs of the ſecurity, the agents of Lorrain retired, without bringing the negociation to an iſſue. A treaty, however, with that prince was afterwards renewed by lord Taafe, who, by the ambitious hopes with which he flattered the duke of Lorrain, obtained from him five thouſand pounds to purchaſe arms and ammunition, which arrived in the bay of Galway when the aſſembly deliberated about treating with

* Borlaſe.

with the parliamentarians, and had no ſmall ſhare in influencing their deciſion. This munificence, the duke declared, was but an earneſt of his future favour. He profeſſed the utmoſt commiſeration for the Iriſh Catholics; aſſuring lord Taafe that he was ready, if invited, to appear perſonally in their defence, with ſuch ſupplies as would ſoon recover the kingdom; hinting, at the ſame time, that he ſhould expect implicit obedience, and that he could not conſent to act by commiſſion from any perſon whatever. For conditions of ſuch a nature Taafe could not venture to engage; and he, therefore, propoſed that the duke of Lorrain ſhould ſend ſome perſon of diſtinction into Ireland to treat with thoſe in authority. Stephen de Hennin, abbé of St. Catherine, was choſen for this purpoſe, and landed at Galway, while the biſhop of Ferns was on his way to Bruſſels, with a commiſſion from the diſaffected clergy to treat with the duke.

The abbé, on his arrival, finding that Clanricarde was veſted with the authority of chief governor, judged it neceſſary, for the ſake of decorum, to apply immediately to him. The marquis, to avoid all clamour, appointed a committee, compoſed of prelates, nobility, and gentry, to receive the abbé's propoſals, and deliberate upon them. His propoſals were, that the duke of Lorrain, his heirs and ſucceſſors, with a ſaving to his majeſty's rights, and thoſe of the ſubjects, ſhould be accepted as protectors of Ireland, and, while reſident in that country, ſhould have the ſupreme command of the militia, with power of convening general aſſemblies, and with other appendages of royal authority, until all diſburſements were repaid. In deliberating on theſe propoſals, the committee excluded the more moderate and loyal of their number, and in their room admitted others, without conſent of the lord-deputy, with whom they ſcorned to communicate. Clanricarde juſtly complained of this proceeding, as well as of the propoſitions offered by the envoy, ſo derogatory to the king's honour and authority. The biſhops inſiſted that they ſhould be accepted; but, being deſired to ſubſcribe this advice, they heſitated, and refuſed. The abbé conſented to ſome abridgment of his demands, which, however, the marquis declared were ſtill inadmiſſible. At laſt, the former agreed to advance twenty thouſand pounds on the

the ſecurity of Limerick and Galway, and to refer all articles relative to the protectorſhip to be adjuſted by a treaty at Bruſſels. In conſequence of this propoſal, lord Taafe, and two other commiſſioners, were appointed to treat with the duke of Lorrain; and expreſly inſtructed to be governed, in the negociation, by the directions they ſhould receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the marquis of Ormond.

But their conduct ſoon evinced that they diſregarded theſe limitations. On their arrival at Bruſſels, they found that lord Taafe had gone to Paris, to communicate the tranſactions with the abbé de St. Catherine, and to deſire farther inſtructions from the queen and lord-lieutenant. Meantime, the biſhop of Ferns waited on the duke of Lorrain, and was graciouſly received. He was aſſiſted in his negociation by ſome other creatures of the diſaffected clergy, and ſome agents ſent from the cities not yet reduced. They gave the duke the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they could inveſt him with the whole power of the kingdom. French, the turbulent prelate of Ferns, inveighed againſt the agents ſent from the lord-deputy, their oppoſition to the nuncio, and the appeal againſt his excommunication. He declared that this excommunication was confirmed in heaven; and that all its oppoſers were forſaken of God, and delivered up to Satan. He exhorted them to make ſuch an agreement with the duke of Lorrain, as would be profitable to their nation, and acceptable to heaven; to proſtrate themſelves in the name of all the people before his holineſs, to ſupplicate his apoſtolic benediction; and aſſured them, that God would never proſper any treaty directed by the deputy, a man excommunicated for many juſt cauſes, and particularly his oppoſition to the intereſts of the catholic church. Plunket and Brown, who, in conjunction with lord Taafe, were commiſſioned to treat with the duke of Lorrain, liſtened to this hypocritical cant with the utmoſt attention. They diſclaimed the lord-deputy's commiſſion, and pleaded a ſuperior authority. In the name of the people of Ireland, they concluded with the duke a treaty, inveſting him, in effect, with the ſovereignty of the kingdom under the title of Protector Royal. Plunket, at the ſame time, by the inſtigation of the biſhop of Ferns, was perſuaded to

ſign

ſign a petition to the pope, by which, in the name of the nation, he profeſſed an entire ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee, and implored abſolution from the nuncio's cenſures. Browne, leſs bigotted than his aſſociate, had the ſpirit reſolutely to refuſe his ſubſcription. The name of lord Taafe was ſigned in his abſence, without his conſent or knowledge. The clergy now exulted at the proſpect of their church's riſing ſplendor, under the protection of a catholic prince. But whatever were the deſigns entertained by the duke of Lorrain, he ſoon found that they could not be promoted by any farther treaty with the Iriſh; for he received from the lord-deputy a formal proteſt againſt the unwarrantable proceedings of his agents.

In the mean time, the Iriſh clergy, from the expectation of an agreement with this prince, were tranſported to the utmoſt extravagance. Their ſynods were convened; they publicly declared the duke of Lorrain protector of the nation; they excommunicated thoſe who ſhould preſume to diſpute this nomination; and it was determined, that the prelates of each province ſhould chooſe two perſons to compoſe a new ſupreme council, with full powers to tranſact all civil and military affairs, by the direction, and with the conſent of the clergy *.

A. D. 1651. During theſe tranſactions, Ireton, having made all proviſions for an early campaign, and received ſome reinforcements from England, reſolved to reſume his operations by beſieging Limerick. As it was neceſſary to pierce into Connaugh, in order to inveſt this city on all ſides, ſir Charles Coote was directed to advance towards Sligo. The Iriſh prepared to relieve this place; when Coote, ſuddenly drawing off his men, paſſed, with ſome difficulty, over the Curlew Mountains, and inveſted Athlone. Clanricarde, though embarraſſed by faction and oppoſition, made ſome efforts to oppoſe him; but, before his forces could be collected, Athlone was reduced; and Coote, purſuing his advantage, marched againſt Galway. The deputy, ſolicitous to defend this important poſt, ſummoned the earl of Caſtlehaven to his aſſiſtance; but ſcarcely had this lord marched a few miles, with a detachment of four thouſand men, when a party, which he had left to defend a paſs over the Shannon, ſuffered themſelves

* Cox. Borlaſe.

ſelves to be overpowered by the enemy, and fled precipitately. His whole army caught the panic, and immediately diſperſed. At the ſame time, an officer who had been ſtationed at Killaloe, to defend this paſſage of the Shannon, abandoned his ſtation, either from treachery or cowardice; ſo that the Engliſh burſt rapidly into the weſtern province; and every thing being now ready for the attempt on Limerick, Ireton began the ſiege in form.

Ireton commences the ſiege of Limerick.

Both the citizens and the clergy had promiſed all ſubmiſſion to the lord-deputy; but, when he propoſed to ſhut himſelf up in Limerick, and to ſhare their fortune, he was excluded with the ſame inſolence which Ormond had experienced. At the approach of danger, indeed, the magiſtrates deigned to accept ſome troops, of ſuch number and quality as they choſe; and appointed Henry O'Nial to be their nominal governor, reſerving all real power to themſelves. A conſtant correſpondence was maintained between the beſiegers and the citizens, by means of thoſe Iriſh who had ſubmited to Ireton; and ſo far were the citizens wrought upon, by the inſinuations of theſe men, that in three days a reſolution was formed of ſurrendering the place. But the biſhops and clergy knowing that Ireton would except ſeveral perſons from the benefit of any articles and dreading that themſelves would be made the firſt victims of his cruelty, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all motions for capitulating; while O'Nial, exerted himſelf in defence of the city, with the ſame bravery which he had before diſplayed in that of Clonmell.

Lord Muſkerry, alarmed at the dangerous ſituation of Limerick, advanced from Kerry with a ſtrong party to its relief; but lord Broghill being detached to oppoſe him, Muſkerry, after a ſhort engagement, in which he ſuffered a conſiderable loſs, was obliged to retire. O'Nial, however, continued to make a brave defence; and in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, ſlew a conſiderable number of the beſiegers. Winter now approached, and the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, and ſickneſs of his army, muſt ſoon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprize, when treachery and ſedition began to operate in his favour. The governor's authority had ever been controuled by the magiſtrates, and conſequently diſregarded by his officers. Of theſe a number aſſembled tumultuouſly,

tumultuouſly, and reſolved to treat with the beſiegers. The biſhops clamoured againſt the deſign of ſacrificing them to the fury of the enemy, and thundered an excommunication againſt the authors of ſuch impious counſel; but in the hour of their terror, their ſpiritual authority was neglected. Fennel, the officer who had yielded the paſs of Killaloe, at the head of a ſeditious rabble of ſoldiers and citizens, ſeized two of the principal gates; while the chief magiſtrate protected him from the authority of the governor. He turned the cannon on the town, inſiſted on capitulating, and ſent commiſſioners to Ireton for that purpoſe. It was agreed, that the garriſon ſhould lay down their arms, and march out unmoleſted; and that the citizens ſhould be allowed to remove their effects. Twenty-four perſons, clergy, ſoldiers, and inhabitants, were excluded from mercy; and Ireton, now maſter of the city, executed the ſevereſt vengeance on thoſe who had been the moſt violent partizans of the nuncio, and the opponents of the Engliſh government *. O'Brien, the popiſh prelate of Elmly, was ſeized, and inſtantly executed. Fennel, notwithſtanding his ſervices, was tried for ſeveral murders, and condemned to death. Geoffry Browne, on his return from Bruſſels, alſo ſuffered by the hands of the executioner. Nor did Wolfe, the friar, who had ſeditiouſly excluded the marquis of Ormond from Limerick, eſcape the juſt reward of his preſumption. The brave O'Nial had ſo offended by his defence of the city, that he was condemned by a court-martial; but, at laſt, after much difficulty, the gloomy republican conſented to ſpare his life.

Limerick capitulates.

Galway was now ſummoned to accept the conditions originally offered to Limerick; and in caſe of any refuſal or delay, threatened with the ſame ſeverities. The intimidated citizens were ready to treat, when Ireton caught the infection which then raged in Ireland, and died at Limerick. The Iriſh of Galway aſſumed courage from this event; and uniting under the command of general Preſton, addreſſed themſelves to Clanricarde for aſſiſtance, with the promiſe of obedience to his authority. The marquis attended them in perſon, and ſummoned an aſſembly

* Ludlow's Memoirs.

bly of nobility, gentry, and prelates, to meet at Galway, and concert measures for defence.

Ludlow assumes the command.

Meanwhile, the command of the English forces was, for the present, entrusted to Ludlow, who exerted himself with vigour to complete the reduction of the Irish. He issued orders, requiring all persons to withdraw from the enemy's quarters, on pain of being treated as such themselves; and he directed that no quarter should be granted to those who had joined the Irish since the arrival of general Cromwell. These orders being executed with severity, the Irish were every where thrown into consternation. Numbers of them daily submitted, and secured the remains of their property by compositions. A submission was offered in the name of the nation, by an assembly held at Leinster; and no sooner had Sir Charles Coote appeared before Galway, than the assembly there convened prevailed on Clanricarde to transmit to Ludlow the like offer. But no general treaty of submission could now be admitted; as the settlement of the nation, it was said, belonged to the parliament of England. The pride and turbulence of the Irish clergy and their creatures, notwithstanding the present distress, remained unabated. They still opposed Clanricarde, and continued their seditious practices.

Galway surrendered.

In the midst of the confusion, Preston, the governor of Galway, fled by sea from the impending danger; and the city, without the least regard to the authority of Clanricarde, was surrendered with a facility which astonished the besiegers.

Notwithstanding this disaster, and the reduction of a few inferior towns, the marquis of Clanricarde still continued some appearance of hostilities, from a vain hope of making a diversion in favour of the king's enterprises in England *. He penetrated into the northern province, and being joined by some Ulster forces, took the castles of Ballyshannon and Donnegal. But, after maintaining these posts some time, he was obliged to fly from the superior force of the enemy. His troops were dispersed, his resources utterly exhausted, and his person every moment in danger from the treachery of his followers. In this extremity, he pursued the king's instructions, and accepted conditions from the republicans. He was permitted

The lord-deputy surrenders to the republicans.

* Borlase.

mitted to reſide unmoleſted in their quarters for ſome time, and afterwards to tranſport himſelf and three thouſand Iriſh into the ſervice of any prince in amity with England. He thus retired from a country which had been loſt by the ſenſeleſs factions and incorrigible perverſeneſs of the clergy and their adherents.

A.D. 1652. The Engliſh parliament, in the mean time, concerted meaſures for the final ſettlement of Ireland. Lambert was appointed ſucceſſor to Ireton, and prepared for his departure; but as Cromwell's commiſſion of lord-lieutenant was ſoon to expire, a queſtion aroſe, whether it ſhould not be renewed, inſtead of ſending Lambert as his deputy. Cromwell, with his uſual duplicity, entreated that himſelf might not be continued in this office; affecting to concur with thoſe who deemed the title of lord-lieutenant more ſuitable to a monarchy than a commonwealth; and, at the ſame time, he moved to employ Lambert in the character of lord-deputy. But the parliament refuſed to grant him any higher title than that of commander in chief of their forces in Ireland. Lambert, as Cromwell wiſhed, was offended, and refuſed to accept the command; which, was, therefore, conferred on Fleetwood, who had lately married the relict of Ireton, and was particularly devoted to his father-in-law, Cromwell.

Fleetwood appointed to the government of Ireland.

Two acts relative to Ireland were now debated in parliament; one for the confiſcation of all the lands of rebels; the other, for adjuſting the claims of adventurers, and veſting them with their Iriſh eſtates. Meanwhile, Fleetwood was diſpatched to Ireland, where he found the inhabitants of all orders ſubmitting to the terms which had been impoſed. They were to abide a trial, if accuſed of any murders committed in the beginning of the war: if convicted, they were to be incapable of pardon, and their eſtates confiſcated. Thoſe who had only aſſiſted in the war, were to forfeit two-thirds of their eſtates, and to be baniſhed from Ireland. But among thoſe excepted from pardon, for life and eſtate, were the marquis of Ormond, lord Inchiquin, Bramhal, the proteſtant biſhop of Derry, and the earl of Roſcommon.

To enforce theſe rigorous ordinances was the firſt employment of the new adminiſtration. Commiſſions were iſſued in the ſeveral provinces for the erection of a high court

court of juſtice, to try thoſe who were accuſed of murdering the Engliſh. Lord Mayo, in Connaught, and colonel William Bagnall, in Munſter, were condemned on evidence far from being unexceptionable. Lord Muſkerry was charged with the aſſaſſination of ſeveral Engliſhmen, but honourably acquitted. So many authors of the firſt barbarous outrages of this war, had been cut off by war or diſeaſe, or had eſcaped into foreign countries, that, on the ſevereſt inquiſition, two hundred only were condemned to death. In the northern province, which had been the great ſcene of barbarity, ſir Phelim O'Nial was the only perſon brought to juſtice.

Ireland, after the havoc it had experienced by a ſeries of public commotions, was now to be recruited, and reſtored to ſome degree of order. For this purpoſe, while Fleetwood had the ſole command of the army, four commiſſioners were joined with him in the adminiſtration of the civil government. The people of England were permitted to export grain and cattle free from duty, to ſupply the immediate neceſſities of an exhauſted country; and the commiſſioners were directed to raiſe a revenue for all ſuch as had been wounded and diſabled, and for the children and widows of thoſe who had been killed in the public ſervice.

For the payment of the arrears due to the Engliſh army, forfeited lands were aſſigned; but this ſatisfaction was confined to thoſe who had ſerved after the arrival of Cromwell. The only acknowledgement made to thoſe who had borne arms againſt the Iriſh before this period, was a ſmall portion of lands in Wicklow, and the adjacent counties, not ſufficient to diſcharge a fourth part of their arrears. The adventurers, perſuaded that there were forfeited lands in one moiety of nine principal counties, ſufficient to repay them, accepted this moiety as a full ſatisfaction; the other was aſſigned to ſoldiers. Connaught was reſerved entirely for the Iriſh, under the qualifications determined by parliament. To this province they were reſtricted, that the new Engliſh planters might proceed without interruption, and without the danger of degenerating by an intercourſe with the Iriſh. The counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Corke, remained ſtill unappropriated, and reſerved by the parliament to be after- A.D. 1653.

wards diſpoſed of at its pleaſure. Courts were eſtabliſhed at Dublin and Athlone, to adjudge all claims, which were to be exhibited within a limited time, that all proprietors might be freed from future litigation. Theſe arrangements, however, were attended with many diſputes and jealouſies; nor, in the diſtribution of lands, were the commiſſioners and their creatures inattentive to their own intereſts.

Soon after the commencement of theſe regulations, intelligence was received, that Oliver Cromwell had forcibly diſſolved the parliament, and was declared, by his council of officers, protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The news of this important change was variouſly received in Ireland *: by the army, which complained of partiality in the commiſſioners, with particular ſatisfaction; but, by the zealous republicans, with abhorrence and indignation. It was propoſed to proclaim the protector; and after this motion had been debated a fortnight, Fleetwood, and a few principal officers, with all the commiſſioners, except Ludlow, at length, with difficulty, reſolved, by the majority of one voice, that a proclamation ſhould be iſſued. Ludlow retired in diſguſt, and declared his purpoſe of acting no longer as a commiſſioner, but retained his poſt of lieutenant-general. Oliver ſoon ſent his ſon Henry into Ireland, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the army, and to reconcile men's minds to the uſurpation. Henry diſcovered, that the commiſſioners had done little more than make orders for the diſtribution of lands, reſerving large proportions to themſelves; ſo that, in ſome inſtances, the ſtate had been ſhamefully defrauded. He beheld, with particular concern, the miſerable condition of the courts of judicature; and the general deſolation, ariſing from the inſolence of his countrymen againſt the old inhabitants. He endeavoured to reconcile the diſaffected, and practiſed with Ludlow to gain him to his father's intereſt, but without effect.

Cromwell is proclaimed protector.

A. D. 1654.

The inſtrument of government required, that a parliament ſhould be ſummoned for the three nations, now united into one commonwealth. Thirty members were to be choſen for Ireland; and the commiſſioners were directed

Inſtrument of government.

* Ludlow.

directed to tranſmit their advice relative to the election of this number. The commiſſioners were of opinion, that, in the preſent deſolate and unſettled ſtate of the nation, ſuch an election was not to be attempted, as improper perſons might be choſen in ſome places; and they adviſed, that the protector ſhould call the thirty members to parliament by writ. Ludlow was filled with indignation at this propoſal: he exhorted the commiſſioners not to reſign the appearance of liberty, though the reality had been tamely yielded. In conſequence of his ſpirited repreſentations, Fleetwood adopted the mode of election; he proportioned the number to be choſen by the counties and cities; the perſons to be returned were fixed upon by a private junto of the commiſſioners; and, for the moſt part, the elections were made agreeably to their deſires.

The office of the commiſſioners was too important for the protector not to be jealous of their authority. He, therefore, put an end to their power, and appointed Fleetwood lord-deputy for three years, aſſigning him a new council to aſſiſt in the adminiſtration. It was obſerved, however, by the enemies of Cromwell, that this alteration was more ſuited to a royal than a republican government, and indicated a ſettled purpoſe in the protector, of eſtabliſhing a monarchial power in his family *. The army was diſcontented at the delays in aſſigning them their portions of land, and many of them utterly diſſatisfied with the preſent government. Ludlow was ſo active in inflaming the diſcontented, that Oliver was alarmed; and directed Fleetwood to require him to ſurrender his commiſſion, and, in caſe of refuſal, to ſend him priſoner into England. Ludlow refuſed to reſign a commiſſion which he had received from the parliament; but, at length, was prevailed on to promiſe, that he would preſent himſelf before Cromwell; and, in the mean time, not to act againſt the preſent government. Cromwell, however, upon recollection, judged it more ſafe to detain him in Ireland; and, in order to diminiſh his influence, care was taken ſome time after that his regiment ſhould be diſbanded.

Ireland, at this period, affords few materials for the hiſtorian. The old inhabitants were completely broken A.D. 1655.

* Thurloe.

and ſubdued; and the great object of the adminiſtration was to reconcile men's minds to the preſent government. Henry Cromwell was again employed, firſt as a military officer, and ſoon after as lord-deputy, in the place of Fleetwood. By his juſtice, liberality, and benevolence, he eſtabliſhed his authority ſo firmly in the hearts of the people, that they became entirely reconciled to his father's intereſts; and when Oliver received a petition from the officers of his own regiment, publicly avowing their diſ-
ſatisfaction at his government, addreſſes were tranſmitted from the army and the inhabitants of every county in Ireland, expreſſing their reſolution of adhering to the
A.D. 1658. protector againſt all his opponents. On the death of Oliver, the ſame aſſurances of ſupport were renewed to Richard, who confirmed his brother in the government of Ireland, by the new title of lord-lieutenant. It was afterwards determined by the Engliſh parliament, that the government of Ireland ſhould be again adminiſtered by commiſſioners, that Henry Cromwell ſhould be recalled, and Ludlow appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in this kingdom.

The royaliſts of Ireland now began to conceive the moſt ſanguine hopes of the king's ſpeedy reſtoration: and this diſpoſition was conſiderably promoted by the ſeverity and jealouſy of the commiſſioners. At length, the royal party burſt from their concealment, and demoliſhed the whole fabric of the republican government. Some gentlemen of diſtinction formed a bold deſign to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and to ſecure the perſons of the commiſſioners. They aſſembled at Dublin, on pretence of petitioning for a general council of officers, to deliver their ſentiments on the preſent ſtate of affairs. Their petition was rejected; when, by a ſudden and deſperate effort, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle, made three of the commiſſioners their priſoners, and declared for a free parliament. In the mean time, ſir Charles Coote, who had engaged in the parliament ſervice, not from principle, but intereſt, impatient to be diſtinguiſhed by his zeal for the royal cauſe, ſecured the town and fort of Galway, changed the governor, collected a conſiderable body, conſiſting chiefly of old Engliſh, ſurpriſed Athlone,

marched

marched to Dublin, and impeached Ludlow and the commiſſioners of high treaſon. The royaliſts of other quarters poſſeſſed themſelves of Youghal, Clonmel, Carlow, Limerick, and Drogheda; ſo that in one week, moſt of the conſiderable garriſons of Ireland declared for a free parliament; by which was now generally underſtood, an aſſembly attached to the royal cauſe.

While affairs were in this ſituation, lord Broghill invited Charles to repair immediately to Ireland; and it was even debated in the king's council, whether he ſhould not go directly thither. Charles was ſtrongly inclined to this enterprize; but as there was now great expectation from the proceedings of Monk, it was thought proper to ſuſpend this reſolution, until the iſſue of Engliſh affairs ſhould be diſcovered. The government of Ireland was now aſſumed by a council of officers; who, on a petition of the magiſtracy of Dublin, ſummoned a convention of eſtates. The council of ſtate in England ordered this convention to be diſſolved; but their orders were diſregarded. The convention and council of officers now proceeded without reſtraint or oppoſition, and avowed their deſign of reſtoring the king. The nation, a few inconſiderable fanatics and old Iriſh excepted, caught the flame of loyalty, and waited with impatience for the declaration of Breda. This being readily accepted, Charles was proclaimed in all the great towns of Ireland with every demonſtration of joy; while the convention voted a preſent of twenty thouſand pounds to his majeſty, four thouſand to the duke of York, and two thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter.

A.D. 1660.

Charles is proclaimed in Ireland.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Reſtoration to the End of this Hiſtory.

THE reſtoration of Charles II. though an object of national ſatisfaction, excited a variety of emotions among the individuals of Ireland. Some were impatient to be reſtored to their ancient poſſeſſions; others to be confirmed in their new acquiſitions: ſome were ſolicitous to

Charles II.

to be pardoned for their delinquency; and others to be rewarded for their ſervices. In this general agitation, the Iriſh catholics were the moſt impatient. They who had been ejected from their eſtates, and obliged to accept ſome inferior portions of land in Connaught, now exulted in the extinction of a fanatical tyranny. Even before the king had been proclaimed, many of them re-entered on their patrimonial lands, and expelled the new intruders. Hence aroſe various diſorders, which obliged the convention to publiſh an ordinance for preſerving the public peace. Theſe outrages were induſtriouſly repreſented in England as the prelude to a new rebellion; ſo that before the landing of the king, the act of indemnity was prepared in ſuch a manner as to exclude all thoſe who had any ſhare in contriving or abetting the rebellion in Ireland; a meaſure by which the whole Romiſh party was in effect excluded *.

Great diſorders in Ireland.

Meanwhile, the Iriſh Roman catholics were treated with the utmoſt ſeverity. They were not permitted to paſs from one province to another on their ordinary buſineſs, and many of them were impriſoned. The king no ſooner arrived in London than the houſes united in expreſſing their apprehenſions of the violences in Ireland; and Charles was obliged to publiſh a proclamation for apprehending and proſecuting all Iriſh rebels, and commanding that no perſon ſhould be diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of houſes or lands, until legally ejected, or his majeſty, with the concurrence of the parliament, ſhould make farther proviſions for the purpoſe.

But this proclamation was not ſufficient to allay the apprehenſions of the people of Ireland; and an Iriſh parliament was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the intereſts of the ſoldiers and adventurers. The king was urged to convene ſuch an aſſembly without delay; but it was anſwered, that ſeveral arrangements muſt firſt be made in the eccleſiaſtical and civil affairs of Ireland, both of which were at this time in great diſorder. Beſide the Scottiſh miniſters in the northern province, ſome preſbyterian clergymen had lately gained poſſeſſion of churches in Dublin, and the adjacent country, where they regulated the divine worſhip according to the Directory, and preached

* Belling. Vindic.

preached the covenant with remarkable zeal. Though theſe were not numerous, yet they petitioned the king to have their model of church-government eſtabliſhed; and a petition of the ſame nature was promoted in the army of Ireland. The epiſcopal clergy, alarmed at theſe proceedings, applied for protection to Ormond, who proved their zealous and powerful advocate. He repreſented to the king, that inſtead of truſting to the ſenſe of a new parliament, compoſed of the adventurers and officers of Cromwell's army, the king ſhould immediately proceed to fill up the eccleſiaſtical preferments of this country with men of worth, learning, and well attached to the eſtabliſhed church. Charles, approving the advice, immediately filled up the four archbiſhoprics, and twelve epiſcopal ſees, with the moſt eminent of the Iriſh clergy.

On the return of the king, Monk had been appointed lord-lieutenant, and lord Roberts, deputy of Ireland; but as both continued in England, the adminiſtration was committed to ſir Charles Coote, and one major Bury, with the title of commiſſioners of government. The king had now ſome leiſure to attend to the diſtractions and competitions of this kingdom; and it was neceſſary that he ſhould make ſuch eſtabliſhments, as might, if poſſible, ſatisfy the different claimants, and prevent all future litigation. But the variety of pretenſions, as well as the unreaſonable expectations of both parties, rendered this taſk extremely difficult. For this purpoſe, various ſchemes were deviſed, until, at length, the king publiſhed his famous declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland. The king's declaration.

By this declaration, in the firſt place, the adventurers were confirmed in the lands poſſeſſed by them on the 7th day of May, 1659, agreeably to the acts of parliament of the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of Charles I. and all their deficiencies were to be ſatisfied before the enſuing month of May. Theſe lands were to be held in free and common ſoccage. In the next place, the king confirmed to the ſoldiers the lands allotted for their pay (to be held by knights ſervice, in capite) with an exemption of church-lands, of eſtates procured by fraudulent means, and of lands poſſeſſed by thoſe who were excepted in the act of oblivion and indemnity. Officers who had ſerved before the month of June, 1649, and had not yet received lands for

for their pay, were to be ſatisfied by eſtates, houſes, and other ſecurities allotted for this purpoſe. From theſe they were to receive immediate ſatisfaction of twelve ſhillings and ſixpence in the pound of their arrears, and an equal dividend of whatever ſhould remain of their ſecurity. Proteſtants, whoſe eſtates had been given to adventurers, or ſoldiers, were to be reſtored, unleſs they had been in the rebellion before the ceſſation, or had taken out decrees for lands in Connaught or Clare. Innocent papiſts, though they had taken lands in Connaught, were to be reſtored to their eſtates. But thoſe, whoſe former eſtates lay within corporate towns, inſtead of being reſtored to their poſſeſſion, were to be indemnified in the neighbourhood *.

A.D. 1661. A parliament.

The declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland, however calculated to provide for all intereſts, yet did not ſatisfy the expectations of every party; and in ſuch diſpoſitions, men waited impatiently for the meeting of that Iriſh parliament, which was to confirm the royal declaration by a law, and by which they hoped to be eſtabliſhed in their poſſeſſions, or to be redreſſed in their grievances. The parliament was accordingly convened; and, as the adventurers and ſoldiers kept poſſeſſion of their lands and their intereſts in their ſeveral corporations, moſt of the members of the lower houſe were elected of their party. No catholics, and but few of the more virulent fanatics, were returned. Both houſes began with a declaration, requiring all perſons to conform to the church-government and liturgy eſtabliſhed by law; and they alſo concurred in cenſuring the covenant, and oaths of aſſociation. But the great object of this parliament was the heads of a bill for ſettling the kingdom, purſuant to the king's declaration. In the houſe of commons, where the intereſt of adventurers and ſoldiers were predominant, it was contended, that the declaration ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved. In the upper houſe were ſeveral lords of the Iriſh race; ſeveral who, by intereſt and inclination, were attached to the old Engliſh families of Ireland, and exaſperated that they ſhould be ſupplanted by a new colony of mean extraction and ſeditious ſpirit. At the head of theſe ſtood the earl of Kildare, fortified by powerful connections, and the proxy of

* Borlaſe.

of Ormond, now created a duke. They contended, that, if the king's declaration ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, the hopes of the new intereſt indeed would be amply gratified, but no repriſals could be found, either for the old proteſtants, or ſeveral other claſſes of the people. To enlarge the fund of repriſals, they inſiſted, that a number of the moſt peſtilent fanatics ſhould, by name, be excluded from all the advantages of the declaration. In the proceedings of the court of claims, they found various ſubjects of complaint: the ſtreets of Dublin were crowded with widows, who had entered claims for their jointures, and, though moſt of their caſes admitted no difficulty, not one had been reſtored. When reſtitution had been directed by the king to particular perſons, they could obtain no order for their eſtates: the commiſſioners pleaded that there were no repriſals for the preſent poſſeſſors; and, on enquiry, it was found, that they had clandeſtinely granted to their own friends the lands allotted for repriſals. The lords judged it neceſſary to put ſome ſtop to this ſcandalous abuſe of power, and to petition the king, that theſe illicit grants ſhould be revoked.

London became ſoon after the great ſcene of debate upon Iriſh affairs. Hither, therefore, both the Iriſh catholics and the adventurers ſent agents to plead their cauſe; and the latter raiſed a conſiderable ſum of money, to be diſtributed among thoſe who could ſupport their intereſt. The very tediouſneſs of the examinations and debates, relative to the affairs of Ireland, was ſufficient to weary the diſſipated temper of the king. When he iſſued his declaration, he was perſuaded that there were lands ſufficient to ſatisfy all parties; but he was now ſenſible of the miſtake. One or other of the diſcordant intereſts muſt ſuffer; and Charles, who conſidered the ſettlement of Ireland as an affair rather of policy than juſtice, was readily made to believe, that the advantage of the crown, and the ſecurity of his government, required, that the loſs ſhould be ſuſtained by the Iriſh. A.D. 1662.

The arrival of the duke of Ormond was now impatiently expected in Ireland, as the perſon who was to complete the work of a national ſettlement. The Iriſh parliament, in a ſtrain of uncommon generoſity, preſented him with the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds; and all men

Generoſity of the Iriſh Parliament to the duke of Ormond.

men vied with each other in expreſſing their reverence for a nobleman, who had ſo long maintained the royal intereſts under every difficulty, and was ſo deſervedly the favourite of his ſovereign *. Soon after he arrived, he gave the royal aſſent to the bill of ſettlement. The act, however, was not ſo accurately deviſed as to guard againſt reaſonable exception; nor was it, indeed, poſſible that any act could be ſo framed as to be accommodated to the jarring intereſts of every party. Many of the proviſos inſerted in it had been diſapproved by the duke of Ormond; and the king would have at once ſtruck out all the proviſos, but the duke adviſed that they ſhould ſtand, as, in the execution of the act, the effect of thoſe which were unreaſonable or unjuſt might be prevented. For this purpoſe, a clauſe was inſerted, empowering the lord-lieutenant and council to give ſuch farther inſtructions to the commiſſioners appointed to execute this act, as they ſhould judge proper.

The Iriſh catholics now added to their former complaints, that they had not been heard before the Engliſh council, nor their agents conſulted on framing the bill. The forty-nine officers, whoſe merits were inconteſtable, found the ſecurity of their arrears diminiſhed by this act. Even the houſe of commons acknowledged the ſeverities impoſed on theſe loyal officers; and, as ſoon as the act of ſettlement had paſſed their houſe, ordered a bill of explanation to be brought in, calculated chiefly for their relief. Nor were the adventurers and ſoldiers, for whom the ampleſt proviſion ſeemed to have been made, leſs diſſatisfied than others.

The execution of the act was entruſted to Engliſh commiſſioners, diſengaged from all intereſts in Ireland. They ſat in Dublin to receive claims, and hear proofs of innocency; and notwithſtanding thoſe vigorous qualifications neceſſary for exculpating the Iriſh, more of their party were pronounced innocent than their adverſaries expected. Thoſe innocents were to be immediately reinveſted with their eſtates, without any proviſion for indemnifying thoſe who ſhould be ejected; and as the fund for future repriſals was known to be ſmall, the adventurers and ſoldiers were confounded at theſe deciſions. In their

* Carte.

their fears for their property, they expected to be entirely diſpoſſeſſed; while, in their ſuſpicions of the king, they concluded that the commiſſioners were influenced by ſecret inſtructions, and that a ſcheme was formed to exalt the Iriſh upon the ruins of the Engliſh intereſt. The more violent declared for maintaining their poſſeſſions by the ſword; and this ſeditious diſpoſition was readily propagated. The proceedings which indicated ſo much favour to the Iriſh, were repreſented with every circumſtance of aggravation in England, where the old republicans were impatient of the preſent form of government. Agents were ſent to try the diſpoſitions of their friends in Ireland, and found them prepared for any deſperate purpoſe. A number of officers who had ſerved in Cromwell's army, was eaſily encouraged to form a ſcheme of a general inſurrection. To conduct it they appointed a private committee, one of which diſcovered the deſign to the duke of Ormond. Some of the conſpirators, impatient of delay, formed a deſperate ſcheme of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin; but this too was diſcovered and defeated. It did not, however, put a ſtop to the more general ſcheme of inſurrection. Meetings were ſtill held in the capital; correſpondences maintained with different parts of the kingdom, eſpecially the northern province; arms and ammunition were prepared, and numbers of diſbanded ſoldiers engaged. The zeal of the conſpirators ſo far outran their diſcretion, that intimations of their deſigns and proceedings were from time to time conveyed to the duke of Ormond, who planned his meaſures accordingly. Sir Arthur Forbes was ſent into Ulſter, where ſoon diſcovering the deſign of an immediate inſurrection, he boldly ventured to ſeize one of the principal conſpirators, though ſurrounded by his friends, and ſo intimidated the whole party, that the accomplices fled to Scotland. An attempt was made to engage ſir Theophilus Jones in this enterprize, and the whole ſcheme was raſhly communicated to him. He inſtantly conveyed his information to the lord-lieutenant; ſo that on the eve of the day appointed for ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin, and publiſhing their declaration, about five and twenty conſpirators were ſeized, and a reward proclaimed for apprehending

Scheme of an inſurrection,

A.D. 1663.

which is ſuppreſſed.

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ing thoſe who eſcaped. A few were condemned and executed; the reſt received the king's pardon *.

The ſtate of property in Ireland was ſtill unſettled; and the king refuſed to accept of any ſcheme for a final accommodation, formed by an aſſembly which had given him unfavourable impreſſions of its temper, and which he had ſome thoughts of diſſolving. He referred the whole affair to the lord-lieutenant and council, and directed that they ſhould prepare an entirely new bill. They proceeded with the caution neceſſary in a point ſo important and delicate. The purport of the bill which they framed, was to explain ſome clauſes in the declaration; to aſſign a better ſecurity to the forty-nine officers; to prevent the reſtitution of Iriſh lands and houſes in corporations; to increaſe the ſtock of repriſals, by taking away a fixth part from adventurers and ſoldiers, and by other expedients. The bill was accompanied by agents from the different parties to London, where they were heard before the privy-council. In the perplexity ariſing from the various claimants and petitioners, the king was deſirous of being aſſiſted by the duke of Ormond, who was, therefore, called into England, and his ſon, the earl of Oſſory, appointed lord-deputy during his abſence †.

A. D. 1664. On Ormond's arrival in London he found all parties weary of their unſettled condition, harraſſed by expence and trouble, and all diſpoſed to abate ſomething of their ſeveral pretenſions, in order to obtain a final ſettlement. It was, at length, propoſed on the ſide of the Iriſh catholics, that the adventurers and ſoldiers ſhould reſign one third of the lands enjoyed by them, on the 7th day of May, 1659. The propoſal was accepted; one third of all the king's grants (with ſome exceptions) retrenched; and, on this principle, with conſent of all the agents, the bill of explanation was at laſt framed, and preſented to the council. Nothing remained but the addition of twenty perſons to the liſt of nominees, whom the king was to reſtore to their eſtates, and were to be ſpecified in the new act. The choice of theſe was aſſigned to the duke of Ormond; and it was an office, which, however impartially executed, could not but expoſe him to reſentment. Through the whole affair of the ſettlement, he had acted

Bill of explanation.

* Carte. † Carte.

acted a diſintereſted and honourable part. He had given up his own rights to facilitate a general accommodation. But the Iriſh, in the bitterneſs of their reſentment, had no leiſure to diſcover the merit of his conduct. It was declared in the new bill, that the proteſtants were, in the firſt place, particularly to be ſettled, and that any ambiguity was to be interpreted in the ſenſe moſt favourable to their intereſts. It was alſo provided, that no papiſt, who, by the qualifications of the former act, had not been adjudged innocent, ſhould be entitled to claim any lands or ſettlements. By this means, every hope which had been entertained by thoſe numerous claimants whoſe cauſes had not been heard, was entirely cut off. They complained of perjury and ſubornation in the cauſes that had been tried before the commiſſioners of claims; though thoſe criminal practices were probably not confined to one party. But their great and ſtriking grievance was, that more than three thouſand perſons were condemned, without ſo much as the appearance of a fair and equal trial *.

Diſintereſted conduct of Ormond.

A. D. 1665.

However favourable this bill was deemed to the new intereſt, it was far from being generally acceptable to the commons. Some objected to it as not ſufficiently ſecure; ſome thought their own ſervices not rewarded ſo much as they deſerved; and ſome, perhaps, were averſe to any mode of ſettlement, which might preclude the hope of reaping future advantages from the public diſorders. It ſeemed not adviſeable for the lord-lieutenant to lay the bill immediately before a houſe of commons of ſuch temper, and who had diſcovered ſuch turbulence in their former ſeſſion. He, therefore, determined that the vacant ſeats ſhould firſt be ſupplied, and theſe he endeavoured to fill with members acceptable to the government. Several of their members, and among them Mervyn, their ſpeaker, were ſaid to have taken ſome part in the intended inſurrection; ſo that, to remove all ſuſpicions of his own conduct, every man was forward to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his zeal againſt the conſpirators. At the opening of the ſeſſion, a letter from the king to the duke of Ormond was laid before them, condemning their former proceedings relative to the commiſſioners of claims. Apprehenſive of a diſ-

* Borlaſe.

a diſſolution, and a new parliament leſs friendly to their intereſts, they made the humbleſt ſubmiſſion to the king, and retracted the meaſures which had given him offence. Seven of their members, accuſed as accomplices, were expelled the houſe, and declared incapable of ſerving in any future parliament. A bill was likewiſe prepared to diſqualify them for holding any office, civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical.

Seven members expelled the Iriſh parliament.

A.D. 1666.

Scarcely were the diſorders of Ireland terminated by the act of explanation, when the tranquillity of the kingdom was again diſturbed by a meaſure which derived its origin from the Engliſh houſe of commons. It was found that the rents of England had of late years decreaſed to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds annually. The cauſes of this alarming deficiency were, many of them, ſufficiently obvious. Numbers of induſtrious puritans had been driven by perſecution to Holland, and the American plantations: the trade of the nation, which had been greatly diminiſhed with France and Spain, was farther interrupted by the war with Holland; and the plague had very much leſſened the conſumption of proviſions. The commons, however, were willing to aſcribe the decreaſe of rents to the importation of Iriſh cattle. In vain was it urged, that the value of the cattle ſent annually to England, was far ſhort of the deficiency in the value of lands; and that, before the late civil wars in England, far greater numbers had been imported, without any complaints. So early as the year 1663, the Engliſh parliament had paſſed a temporary act for prohibiting the importation of fat cattle from Ireland after the firſt day of July in every year. The inconveniences ariſing to both countries from this reſtraint, were repreſented to the king in the ſtrongeſt terms; but in proportion as he ſeemed convinced of the impropriety of this meaſure, the commons were the more inflamed; and in the parliament held at Oxford in 1665, a bill was brought in for the perpetual prohibition of importing cattle from Ireland, dead or alive. This bill, though highly prejudicial to the intereſts of both kingdoms, paſſed the houſe of commons; but it was oppoſed in the houſe of lords; the report was delayed, and the parliament prorogued.

Impolitic meaſures of the Engliſh parliament reſpecting Ireland.

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In the mean time, Ireland, deprived of its trade with the ſiſter kingdom, and diſabled from any foreign commerce by the want of ſhipping, and by the war with France and Holland, experienced the greateſt diſtreſs; and it required all the prudence, the vigilance, and activity of Ormond, to prevent the diſcontents of the people from breaking forth into open inſurrection.

The experience of three years had now proved the effects of reſtraining the importation of cattle from Ireland. Notwithſtanding that prohibition, the rents of England had not increaſed; and Ireland was ſo reduced, as to be unable to pay the ſubſidies granted by parliament. But Buckingham, Aſhley, Lauderdale, and their party, had already determined the deſtruction of the chancellor, at the ſame time that they hated his friend Ormond, whoſe views and principles were ſo oppoſite to their own, and whoſe influence was a powerful obſtacle to the ſchemes which they meditated. To remove their rival from his government, if not to afford ſome plauſible ground of an impeachment, diſcontents were to be raiſed in Ireland. Every argument was uſed to perſuade the people that their diſtreſs aroſe from the importation of Iriſh cattle. The members of the northern and weſtern parts, in particular, were tranſported to the utmoſt violence, and the bill of prohibition was eagerly reſumed. The king had expreſſed his utter abhorrence of this bill, and paſſionately declared that it never ſhould receive his aſſent. The commons, on whom he depended for the ſupport of the war, were the more determined to mortify him with a diſplay of their importance, by declaring, in the preamble to the bill, that the importation of Iriſh cattle was a nuiſance; they precluded him from attempting any diſpenſing power in favour of the Iriſh ſubjects; and they paſſed the bill in a rage of oppoſition, without the leaſt attention to argument. In the houſe of lords it received ſome amendments, particularly by inſerting the words detriment and miſchief, inſtead of nuiſance. When returned to the commons, their violence ſeemed to be ſuddenly allayed. Intelligence having been received of an inſurrection in Scotland, they began to apprehend ſome danger from exaſperating Ireland; but the inſurrection ſoon being quelled, they returned to their former ſentiments reſpecting Ireland. They inſiſted that the preamble

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ſhould remain in its preſent form; and, in a conference between the committees of both houſes, neither ſeemed diſpoſed to recede. Aſhley, with an affected moderation, propoſed, that inſtead of calling the importation a nuiſance, it might be declared to be felony, or a premunire. The chancellor ſuggeſted an amendment equally reaſonable, and obſerved, that it might, with equal propriety, be declared, adultery. In their debates on this bill, the lords diſcovered a vehemence no leſs indecent than that of the commons: ſeveral ſeemed on the point of drawing the ſword againſt each other. The commons perſiſted in refuſing to alter the preamble; and offered to the lords intereſted in Iriſh eſtates, that if they would conſent to adopt it, a year's liberty ſhould be given for the importation of cattle. While both parties continued obſtinate, and the king apprehended the danger of loſing his ſupplies, he directed his miniſters in the houſe of lords to conſent to the word nuiſance; and thus decided the fate of this ſo much conteſted bill.

A.D. 1667. The ill effects of this bill ſoon became ſenſible to both nations. All commerce between them was interrupted; and no money could be found for diſcharging the ſubſidies, which were requiſite for ſecuring both kingdoms againſt an invaſion of the enemy. Ormond found it neceſſary to accept part of theſe ſubſidies in proviſions; and the king was alſo well diſpoſed to alleviate the preſent difficulties of Ireland. With the conſent of his council, obtained not without ſome reluctance, he, by an act of ſtate, allowed a free trade from Ireland to all foreign countries, either at war or in peace with his majeſty. He permitted the Iriſh, at the ſame time, to retaliate upon the Scots, who, following the example of England, had prohibited their cattle, corn, and beef. The importation of linen and woollen manufactures, ſtockings, gloves, and other commodities from Scotland, was forbidden, as highly detrimental to the trade of Ireland *.

In the ſtagnation of Iriſh commerce, Ormond, ever attentive to the intereſts of the kingdom, reſolved on the improvement of one of its principal reſources. An act of parliament was paſſed at Dublin to encourage the growth of flax and manufacture of linen. He was at the charge

* Borlaſe.

charge of ſending ſkilful perſons into the Low Countries, to make obſervations on the manner of conducting it, and to engage ſome of the moſt experienced artiſts. At his inſtance, ſir William Temple ſent to Ireland five hundred families from Brabant, ſkilled in manufacturing linen, while others were procured from Rochelle, and the iſle of Rhé, from Jerſey, and the neighbouring parts of France *.

Nor was this excellent governor leſs aſſiduous to cultivate knowledge and learning in Ireland. On the reſtoration of the king, he found the univerſity of Dublin in the utmoſt diſorder. Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, the pious and learned biſhop of Down, was entruſted with the regulation of this ſeminary; and the lord-lieutenant wiſely deemed it an important object of his adminiſtration, to inſpect the diſcipline, and to promote the intereſts of the body and its particular members.

While the duke of Ormond employed his power in Ireland to the nobleſt purpoſes, his enemies in England were inceſſantly labouring to diſgrace him. Buckingham, in particular, was impatient to ſupplant him in his poſts of ſteward of the houſhold, and lieutenant of Ireland. The moſt malicious induſtry, therefore, was uſed, to find out in his conduct ſome plauſible ground of accuſation; and thoſe whom Ormond had offended in his government, by denying their unwarrantable requeſts, became willing inſtruments in forwarding this ungenerous purpoſe. He had given a commiſſion for trying the mutineers at Carrickfergus by martial law, in what his enemies called a time of peace, when an invaſion was expected, when the mutinous troops had ſeized the king's forts, and maintained them by force of arms. From an obſolete Iriſh law, of the eighteenth of Henry VI. it was inferred, that the chief governor could not legally iſſue warrants for quartering ſoldiers in Dublin, and that Ormond (who, however, differed totally from the perſons deſcribed in the law) had incurred the guilt of high-treaſon, by maintaining the king's guards, and quartering the troops neceſſary for the ſafety of his government, agreeably to the uſage of his predeceſſors. Theſe two points of delinquency, with others ſtill more frivolous, were formed into

Intrigues againſt the duke of Ormond.

* Carte.

twelve articles of impeachment, which were diſplayed in the utmoſt triumph by Buckingham and his creatures. Charles expreſſed ſome indignation at theſe attempts againſt the duke of Ormond; but, at the ſame time, declined ſending him any approbation of his conduct in quartering ſoldiers, or any directions for the future, leaving him entirely to his own diſcretion. Thoſe of the Iriſh who had formerly allowed no benefit of laws to others, now clamoured for a ſtrict and liberal adherence to law. An oppoſition was made in many towns to quartering the army; while Ormond, with a vigour which was juſtified by the ſituation of public affairs, continued to iſſue and enforce his warrants. Every complaint of miſconduct in the Iriſh government, was received in England with avidity. The earl of Orrery, who now enjoyed the preſidential government of Munſter, and ſeems to have aſpired to the chief government of Ireland, was, from a deſire of recommending himſelf to the Engliſh miniſtry, ſeduced to embrace the views of thoſe who ſought the ruin of the deputy. The earl prepared for a voyage to England, and Ormond, dreading his deſign, reſolved to repair thither likewiſe. He, therefore, committed the care of Ireland to his gallant ſon, the earl of Oſſory *.

When the duke arrived in London, he found his enemies ſtill deeply engaged in intrigues to diſgrace him, notwithſtanding the fair profeſſions of Buckingham. Attempts were made to poſſeſs the king with an opinion, that great embezzlement had prevailed in the revenue of Ireland; a point which the preſent neceſſities of the crown, it was ſuppoſed would irritate him violently againſt Ormond. But after a long enquiry, no ground of accuſation againſt the lieutenant could be diſcovered. Inſidious attempts were next made to bring him to a voluntary reſignation of his government; which alſo proving ineffectual, the king was wearied with inceſſant applications for his removal; and the cabal was now become too powerful to be refuſed. At laſt, after repeated expoſtulations on the part of the duke of Ormond, lord Arlington was employed to acquaint him in form, that his majeſty intended to appoint a new lieutenant of Ireland, lord Robarts, lord privy-ſeal. This nobleman was ſent thither entirely

A.D. 1669. Ormond diſmiſſed.

* Borlaſe.

entirely for the purpoſe of ſcrutinizing the conduct of his predeceſſor; but could not, with all his diligence, diſcover any ſolid objections to the government of the duke. Of a ſullen temper, and an ungracious deportment, he ſoon diſguſted the Iriſh, who had been habituated to the affable and conciliating manners of the duke of Ormond. Being, therefore, uſeleſs to his faction in England, he was ſpeedily recalled, and John, lord Berkeley of Stratton, nominated his ſucceſſor.

Berkeley appointed to the government of Ireland. A. D. 1670.

The new lieutenant, who was a creature of the duke of Buckingham's, is ſaid to have obtained his preferment by the influence of the popiſh party. It is certain, however, that his adminiſtration opened an alarming ſcene in Ireland. He had ſcarcely aſſumed the reins of government when his conduct diſcovered a predilection in favour of Roman catholics, and particularly the Anti-Remonſtrants, of whom it is neceſſary to give ſome account.

For almoſt a century the meaſure of obedience due by Papiſts to the civil power, was a queſtion frequently agitated in their conventions, and which had given riſe to great violence during the late commotions. On the reſtoration of Charles, ſome of the Iriſh prelates and clergy, dreading ſeverities from the government, commiſſioned Peter Walſh, a Franciſcan friar, to preſent to the king an addreſs, congratulating his acceſſion to the throne, and imploring the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in the year 1648. Walſh, judging it neceſſary to obviate the objection againſt tolerating the Romiſh religion, from its inconſiſtency with the ſecurity of a proteſtant government, drew up the remonſtrance, as it was called, of the Roman catholic clergy of Ireland.

In this remonſtrance they acknowledged the king to be the rightful ſovereign of the realm of Ireland; that they were bound to obey him in all civil and temporal affairs, notwithſtanding any ſentence or declaration of the ſee of Rome; and they declared their reſolution to detect and oppoſe all conſpiracies and traiterous attempts againſt the king. The remonſtrance thus framed, was preſented to the duke of Ormond, who objected that it was not ſigned by the clergy, but offered ſolely on the authority of Walſh, their procurator. One Iriſh biſhop, and upwards of twenty of their clergy, immediately ſubſcribed it. Circu-

lar letters were, at the ſame time, ſent to the Iriſh prelates in their ſeveral reſidences, inviting them to concur in an addreſs, which was ſoon ſubſcribed by an additional number of the clergy, and by a reſpectable number of lay lords and gentlemen. A declaration againſt the temporal authority of the pope could not be acceptable at Rome. The internuncio of Bruſſels, therefore, who had the charge of eccleſiaſtical affairs in Ireland, and cardinal Barberini, were both employed to cenſure the remonſtrance in the pope's name. A powerful party was ſoon formed againſt the remonſtrance: ſome, in particular the Jeſuits, propoſed new forms of an addreſs, which, appearing evaſive, were judged ineffectual; and others objected to that of Peter Walſh, for ſeveral reaſons. Some expreſſed a deſire that the remonſtrance ſhould be debated in a national ſynod, and for this purpoſe applied to Ormond, who allowed them to aſſemble. The agents of Rome laboured to prevent the deſign, but, after ſome vigorous oppoſition, the aſſembly was appointed to be held at Dublin, on the 11th of June, 1666. The whole proceedings of the clergy were intemperate and tumultuous. The members, violently inflamed againſt each other, divided into two parties, and the aſſembly broke up without any deciſion.

On the arrival of lord Berkeley, provincial councils and dioceſan ſynods were convened; and the pope, who named the biſhops, and commanded the preferments of regulars, eaſily formed his party *. The remonſtrants were every where diſpoſſeſſed of their cures and ſtations; and Walſh and his aſſociates were denounced excommunicated. The anti-remonſtrants had juſt now a powerful partizan in Peter Talbot, who was created by the pope archbiſhop of Dublin, for the very purpoſe of chaſtiſing the opponents of his temporal authority. This eccleſiaſtic, through the patronage of Buckingham, had acquired great favour at the Engliſh court, and was, therefore, become an object of conſequence to the popiſh clergy; to whom he declared publicly, that the king had appointed him to ſuperintend their whole order in Ireland; and he perſuaded lord Berkeley, that his influence in this country was irreſiſtible. Talbot propoſed to celebrate a maſs in

* Carte.

in Dublin with extraordinary ſplendour; and, on this occaſion, he applied to ſir Ellis Leighton, ſecretary to the lord-lieutenant, to borrow ſome hangings and plate, which made part of the furniture of the caſtle. The ſecretary complied with the requeſt, and, in his compliment to Talbot, was ſaid to have expreſſed a wiſh that high maſs might ſoon be celebrated at Chriſt-Church.

The body of Romiſh clergy was now on the point of uniting in the doctrine of the pope's unlimited authority; a doctrine rejected in France and other catholic countries, and to which the late miſeries of Ireland were in a great meaſure to be imputed. The remonſtrants, who oppoſed this doctrine, requeſted to lay their caſe before the lieutenant, but he refuſed them an audience. They next addreſſed themſelves to the duke of Ormond, in whom they found a zealous friend to their intereſts; but Berkeley complained of his officiouſneſs, and openly declared, that he would conſider any new orders from the Engliſh council as the dictates of the duke, and therefore diſregard them. Talbot, and his colleagues, proceeded without reſtraint in the exerciſe of a foreign juriſdiction, and in ſeverely treating thoſe who preſumed to maintain the doctrine of allegiance.

This indulgence, however, was not the only favour ſhewn by the lieutenant to Iriſh Catholics. An order was ſoon after iſſued for granting commiſſions of the peace to profeſſed Papiſts, and admitting them to inhabit and trade in corporations. An attempt to eſtabliſh ſome popiſh aldermen, and a popiſh council in Dublin, was, after much oppoſition, at length effected. The Proteſtants were thrown into conſternation, and every where began to entertain apprehenſions of new plots and maſſacres.

A number of popiſh lords and gentlemen, encouraged by the favourable diſpoſitions which the court diſcovered towards their party, granted a commiſſion to Talbot for laying their grievances before the king and parliament of England. He accordingly preſented their petition to the king and council *. It ſet forth that the petitioners had, on account of their loyalty, been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of their lands; they prayed that ſome impartial perſons ſhould

A. D. 1671.

The Roman Catholics preſent a petition to the king.

* Carte.

ſhould be employed to examine their grievances; and that, in the mean time, the king would ſuſpend his grants of any lands not yet diſpoſed of in Ireland. A committee was appointed to conſider this petition. Ormond, one of the members of it, was alarmed at the project of overturning the whole ſettlement of Ireland; perſuaded, that though ſome grievances had been ſuſtained by individuals, they were not to be redreſſed by involving the kingdom in general confuſion. He therefore preſſed that the petitioners might not be heard, nor their counſel admitted to object againſt the acts. When this could not be obtained, he anſwered all their allegations fully; and ſir Heneage Finch, the attorney-general, to whom all the papers were referred, made a report highly unfavourable to the petitioners. The cabal, however, was determined not to abandon the proſecution of their object. Another committee, from which Ormond was induſtriouſly excluded, was appointed to reviſe all papers and orders for the ſettlement of Ireland. Their report was erroneous. A third commiſſion was iſſued, and many months waſted in endeavouring to find materials for another report.

In the mean time a general alarm prevailed over Ireland. The adventurers and ſoldiers, the forty-nine officers, the Connaught purchaſers, preſented their ſeveral petitions, which all agreed in the maintenance of the preſent ſettlement. In England, the people were not indifferent to the conduct of Iriſh affairs, but beheld with extreme apprehenſion every indulgence to popery. Their clamour was ſo violent, that the miniſters dreaded the approaching parliament; they now affected to condemn lord Berkeley, whom they found it neceſſary to remove from his government, and appointed the earl of Eſſex in his place. The Engliſh parliament immediately preſented to the king an addreſs relative to the affairs of Ireland. They petitioned, that he would maintain the acts of ſettlement and explanation, and recall his late commiſſion of enquiry, as dangerous to the peace of the kingdom; requeſting him, at the ſame time, to give orders that no Papiſts ſhould be admitted juſtices of the peace, ſheriffs, coroners, or magiſtrates in Ireland; and that all licences to Papiſts for inhabiting within corporations ſhould be recalled. They farther required, that all popiſh prelates and

and others, exerciſing eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction by the pope's authority, particularly Peter Talbot, pretended archbiſhop of Dublin, ſhould be commanded to depart from Ireland, and all other his majeſty's dominions; and that all convents and ſeminaries ſhould be diſſolved, and all ſecular prieſts baniſhed.

In conſequence of this addreſs, the commiſſion of enquiry was ſuperſeded, and the king declared his reſolution to maintain the acts of ſettlement. The obnoxious proceedings in the corporation of Dublin were reverſed; the ejected Proteſtants reſtored to their places; and the countenance of the government, ſo inconſiderately ſhown to the popiſh intereſt, was for a time withdrawn.

Eſſex, through the whole of his adminiſtration, appears to have been greatly embarraſſed by the fears of the Engliſh factions, and the reports which might be ſpread in London to his diſadvantage. Nor was he attentive to gratify his majeſty by an implicit obſequiouſneſs to his commands, when theſe were not exactly conformable to law. A ſucceſſor to his government was therefore meditated by the court; and Ormond, who had for a conſiderable time been treated by the king with great neglect, was, unexpectedly, once more appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland *.

A.D. 1677. Ormond again appointed lieutenant.

Ormond no ſooner reſumed the reins of the Iriſh government, than he directed his attention particularly towards rendering the army reſpectable, to have it duly exerciſed, and regularly paid. He likewiſe reſolved to convene a parliament for procuring the ſupplies which were neceſſary to the defence of the kingdom, and for correcting many abuſes, and redreſſing a number of public grievances. But while he was meditating theſe ſalutary purpoſes, an alarming incident in England interrupted all his meaſures, and involved his adminiſtration in perplexity. This incident was the popiſh plot; concerning which he was informed, by a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, that it extended to Ireland; that Peter Talbot was engaged in it; and that perſons were hired to aſſaſſinate the lord-lieutenant. At a time when the Proteſtants of Ireland entertained ſuch great apprehenſions of the ſecret deſigns of the Roman Catholics, the leaſt degree of inactivity

* Carte.

vity on the part of the government, or the ſlighteſt doubt of the reality of the plot in general, would have been conſidered as dangerous and treaſonable. Peter Talbot, however, factiouſly inclined, was at preſent utterly incapable of taking any active part in a conſpiracy. For two years violently afflicted with the ſtone and ſtrangury, he had petitioned for a tacit permiſſion to remove from Cheſhire, and die in Ireland. Ormond, however, inſtantly ſigned a warrant to ſecure his perſon. Orders were iſſued that all officers and ſoldiers ſhould repair to their reſpective garriſons; that popiſh eccleſiaſtics ſhould depart the kingdom; and that all Papiſts ſhould ſurrender their arms within twenty days to perſons appointed, and receive and depoſit them in the king's ſtores. Informations quickly multiplied; and directions were received from England to ſeize Richard Talbot, lord Mountgarret and his ſon, and a colonel of the name of Peppard. Lord Mountgarret, repreſented as a dangerous conſpirator, was, at this time, eighty years old, bed-ridden, and in a ſtate of dotage; and, to the farther diſcredit of the evidences, no colonel Peppard was known, or could be found in Ireland. On examining Richard Talbot, nothing could be collected to warrant his farther detention; and he was, therefore, by order of the Engliſh council, ſuffered to depart from Ireland.

Ormond diſarms the Papiſts.

Amidſt theſe general alarms, Ormond proceeded with coolneſs and vigour to ſecure the public tranquillity. He diſarmed the Papiſts, ſeized the militia, and preſerved the army untainted by the clamours of the ſeditious. The country was at this time infeſted by a number of vagabond robbers, called Tories, who concealed themſelves in the mountains and bogs of Ulſter, and other parts of the kingdom, whence they iſſued out occaſionally, and harraſſed the inoffenſive inhabitants with every kind of outrage. They were uſually concealed by their relations; but ſometimes by the popiſh prieſt, who, notwithſtanding the repeated proclamations of the government, continued to exerciſe his function in the neighbourhood of theſe robbers. In a ſeaſon of apparent danger, Ormond had recourſe to an extraordinary expedient, juſtified only by neceſſity. A proclamation was publiſhed, directing, that the near relations of known Tories ſhould be committed

mitted to priſon, until ſuch vagabonds were killed or brought to juſtice; and that any popiſh pretended pariſh-prieſt of any place, where murder and robbery was committed by thoſe Tories, ſhould be committed to priſon, and thence tranſported, unleſs within fourteen days the guilty perſons were killed or taken, or ſuch diſcovery made, that they might be apprehended and brought to juſtice.

Theſe meaſures, however rigorous, were conſidered by many of the Proteſtants as inſufficient for the exigence of the occaſion. They propoſed, that thoſe of the old Iriſh who ſtill enjoyed the rank of chieftainry, and who, having loſt their eſtates, were likely to engage in any deſperate purpoſe, ſhould be ſecured, ſo as to reſtrain their ſepts from rebellion. But Ormond conſidered it as unjuſt to impriſon men before they had diſcovered any dangerous diſpoſitions. It was well known how much the impriſonments, and other ſeverities of ſir William Parſons, had contributed to drive numbers into the laſt rebellion; and neither the duke nor the privy-council thought it prudent to hazard a repetition of the ſame meaſures. Ormond and the council, therefore, took a middle courſe. They iſſued a proclamation, that none of the popiſh religion ſhould come into the caſtle of Dublin, or any other fort or citadel, without ſpecial order from the lord-lieutenant; that fairs and markets ſhould be held without the walls of ſome principal cities, to which Papiſts were to reſort unarmed. Such of them as had lately been admitted into theſe cities were removed; and from others, where the popiſh inhabitants chiefly abounded, all the idle and uſeleſs were expelled *.

This moderate conduct of the government, however well adapted to preſerve the tranquillity of the nation, was not entirely agreeable to the paſſions and prejudices of many Engliſh ſubjects in Ireland. The more violent attempted to precipitate the duke of Ormond into rigorous meaſures, by alarming him with fears of aſſaſſination. This expedient proving ineffectual, they tranſmitted complaints to England, inſinuating that the Iriſh Proteſtants were in the utmoſt danger, and little care taken by the lieutenant for their defence. Ormond was accuſed of not

* Memoirs of Ireland.

not ſeizing the Iriſh chieftains; of not expelling Papiſts from corporate towns; of commanding them by proclamation to deliver up their arms, inſtead of ſending ſoldiers
A.D.1679. to diſarm them. The unreaſonableneſs of theſe complaints prevented them from being received with avidity by the prevailing party in England, where the duke's enemies conſpired to load him with the odium of being popiſhly inclined. Lord Shaftſbury, who was impatient to remove Ormond from his government, endeavoured to enforce theſe inſinuations in the houſe of lords, and exerted all his influence with the king for accompliſhing this meaſure; but Charles firmly reſiſted his applications. Shaftsbury and his party were now obliged to proceed indirectly, and to procure orders for the council of Ireland to tranſmit ſevere bills againſt popiſh recuſants. Should they refuſe, they muſt be removed; ſhould they obey, the Iriſh might be driven to rebellion. But the prudence of Ormond baffled all the inſidious practices of his enemies in England. On the death of his gallant ſon, the earl of Oſſory, they renewed their efforts to remove him from
A.D.1681. the government of Ireland. Every art of faction and intrigue was employed for this purpoſe; but Ormond ſtood the attacks unmoved. After ſeveral trials in Ireland, the minds of the people were at length relieved from all the apprehenſions of a plot, which had been ſo induſtriouſly propoſed; trade and induſtry increaſed; and the compoſed ſtate of public affairs enabled Ormond to commit the ſword of ſtate to a deputy, the earl of Arran, and to repair to England, whither he was called by the king.

Ormond called to England.

A.D.1684. After two years reſidence in England, Ormond prepared to return to his government, which he had ſcarcely reſumed, when he was ſurpriſed at receiving proof that, with reſpect to this country, were formed deſigns, in which his concurrence could not be expected. The party which had made ſuch deſperate efforts to circumſcribe the king within the ſtrict limits of the conſtitution, and to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, was totally ſubdued; and the king, indulging himſelf in the indolent enjoyment of that ſuperiority which he had acquired over all the oppoſers of his power, committed the reins of government to the duke of York. The duke repreſented to his brother the neceſſity of ſecuring and perpetuating

petuating that ſuperiority he had now acquired, and which could only be effected by an army implicitly devoted to his ſervice. For this purpoſe he turned the king's attention to Ireland, where might be found a military eſtabliſhment, ſufficient to give reſpect and ſtability to his government. But it was not the preſent army of Ireland, for the attachment of which the duke of York could ſo peremptorily engage. He regarded it as an aſſemblage of fanatical republicans, irreconcileable to monarchical government. He adviſed the king to fix his reliance on another party, that of the Catholics, who, notwithſtanding all their grievances, were unalterably devoted to the crown and the preſumptive heir. Charles, in careleſs compliance with his brother, haſtily adopted this ſcheme. In conſequence of this project, it was ſpeedily reſolved to remove the duke of Ormond from the government of Ireland, as his powers could not be diminiſhed, and his principles were known to be repugnant to this new deſign. Accordingly the duke of Ormond, when he had but juſt reſumed his government, received private aſſurances of his intended removal; and theſe were ſoon followed by a letter from the king, acquainting him of the earl of Rocheſter being appointed to ſucceed him.

Rocheſter appointed governor of Ireland.

The government of Ireland was granted to Rocheſter with ſuch limitations that he diſcovered ſome reluctance to aſſume it. The king ſeemed again diſpoſed to change his meaſures and counſellors, and all projects with reſpect to the management of Iriſh affairs appeared ſuſpended. The hopes of the proteſtant ſubjects revived; thoſe of the Roman Catholics in Ireland were proportionably depreſſed, when the death of Charles II. attended with the immediate recall of the duke of Ormond, produced a total revolution in the proſpects of the ſeveral parties, and opened a new ſcene of politics in this kingdom *.

A.D. 1684.

James II. Ormond is remanded from the government.

On the acceſſion of James, the Iriſh Catholics were inſpired with the moſt extravagant expectations. Ormond, whom the violent of their party conſidered as a mortal enemy, was removed from his government, with evident impatience of his continuing in power, even for the ſhorteſt time. He was directed to reſign the ſword immediately to two lords-juſtices. The age and infirmities of

* Carte.

of the duke were aſſigned as the cauſe of his removal, and, in public, Ormond affected to believe this to be the true cauſe. But, however he concealed his ſentiments of the king's real purpoſe, the proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland felt the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. They ſaw the popiſh gentry crowding in triumph to the capital, and were terrified with rumours of catholic meetings. Imaginary dangers were diſcovered even in the choice of a new council, though compoſed of Proteſtants, and in the appointment of two lords-juſtices, who had repeatedly approved their fidelity in this ſtation; Boyle, primate and chancellor, and Forbes, earl of Granard. But, whatever difference might be in the political or religious ſentiments of theſe governors, they now concurred in ſupporting the general intereſts of Proteſtants, and the public tranquillity. Futile informations were every day propagated of dangerous plots formed againſt the king, by papiſts and fanatics reſpectively; but all ſuch officious accuſations were diſcouraged by the juſtices. So intolerable, however, was the inſolence of the Catholics, and ſo violent the clamours of both parties, that Granard expreſſed a deſire of being diſmiſſed from his ſtation. James thought his ſervice ſo neceſſary at preſent, that, in a letter written with his own hand, he aſſured him nothing ſhould be done in Ireland prejudicial to the proteſtant intereſt; and with theſe aſſurances the lords-juſtices laboured to allay the fears of the Proteſtants. The effect of their endeavours to preſerve the public peace was ſoon diſcovered, on the attempts made in Scotland and England to diſturb the government of James. The Iriſh forces marched with alacrity to the northern province, to be tranſported, if neceſſary, to ſerve againſt the adherents of Argyle.

James, from the late ſucceſs of his arms in quelling Monmouth's rebellion, proceeded with leſs reſerve in the affairs of Ireland. Information was tranſmitted by his order to the lords-juſtices, that, for the ſafety of the kingdom, it was judged neceſſary to recall the arms of the militia, and to depoſit them in the king's ſtores. This militia was formed entirely of Proteſtants, embodied and diſciplined by the duke of Ormond. The order for reſigning the arms was received with conſternation by men trained to a habitual horror of the Iriſh Catholics, and who

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now would be expoſed defenceleſs to their fury. Their apprehenſions were increaſed by the conduct of the Papiſts, who threatened them with the vengeance of the government, ſhould they retain any arms in their poſſeſſion. The juſtices were not without fears, that the proclamation for diſarming them might be attended with ſome commotion. Boyle was employed to practiſe with the citizens of Dublin, and laboured to diſſipate their terror. By his perſuaſion they reſigned their arms; and this example ſo much influenced other quarters of the kingdom, that in all places the orders of government were obeyed without apparant reluctance *.

The Proteſtants diſarmed.

But this meaſure was only the beginning of that great work which James meditated. A new chief governor, who might prove more obſequious to the king's wiſhes than the preſent lords-juſtices, was now deſtined for Ireland. All thoughts of employing the earl of Rocheſter in this kingdom had ended with the life of the late monarch. He was advanced by his brother-in-law to the dignity of lord high-treaſurer of England; and Clarendon, the king's other brother-in-law, was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Earl of Clarendon appointed lord-lieutenant.

James, in his public inſtructions to the earl of Clarendon, intimated a deſire of introducing Catholics into corporations, and inveſting them with judicial offices; at the ſame time it was directed ſome condeſcenſion ſhould be ſhewn to the apprehenſions of the Proteſtants.

No ſooner had the proteſtant militia been diſarmed, than the ſavage banditti, called Tories, iſſued in vaſt numbers from their retreats, to the no ſmall terror of the civilized and induſtrious inhabitants. While the Engliſh were defenceleſs againſt their ravages, the Iriſh would not ſuppreſs their friends and kinſmen. The grievance was ſo urgent, that Clarendon was impowered to reſtore ſome arms to thoſe who were fit ſo be entruſted, and moſt expoſed to depredation; but his caution was too great for exerciſing this power with the neceſſary ſpeed and alacrity. In the mean time, the Proteſtants were not only a prey to robbers, but were expoſed to the malice of miſcreants ſtill more deteſtable. A number of informers ſuddenly aroſe in different quarters, and laboured to involve

* Walſh.

volve their neighbours in the guilt of treaſon. Where their memories could ſupply no materials for caſual converſation, they tortured their inventions for plauſible fiction, in order to accuſe the Engliſh inhabitants of words ſpoken againſt the king when duke of York. The moſt innocent perſons were thus accuſed, ſometimes impriſoned, expoſed to a troubleſome proſecution, or harraſſed with continual apprehenſions from revenge and perjury. Informations of this kind were every day received by the lord-lieutenant, who, though he ſaw clearly through their falſhood and malice, yet could not venture openly to diſcover them, as the king affected a particular jealouſy of the proteſtant ſubjects in Ireland *.

The Iriſh, encouraged by the prepoſſeſſion of the king, prepared a petition for the relief of thoſe who had ſuffered by the acts of ſettlement. They had the hardineſs to demand of the lieutenant a general reverſal of the outlawries occaſioned by the rebellion of the year 1641. Though the caſe of ſome individuals might have merited attention and favour, yet the petition, if granted in its full extent, muſt have been conſidered as a ſtep to the ſubverſion of all eſtabliſhments of property. But the Iriſh knew no moderation in their demands. Their gentry, who crouded to the court of England, were favourably received; and hither the earl of Tyrconnel, a zealous Catholic, had alſo repaired on the arrival of lord Clarendon in Ireland, and repreſented the Iriſh affairs in ſuch a manner as ſuited the intereſts of his party, or gratified the violence of his violence. The ſeals of Ireland were ſuddenly taken from primate Boyle; and ſir Charles Porter, a man whoſe diſtreſſed circumſtances promiſed to render him implicitly ſubmiſſive to the court, was ſent thither as chancellor. Three proteſtant judges, without any reaſon aſſigned, were at once removed from their offices, which were conferred on Nugent, Daly, and Ingoldſby, the two firſt of whom were Iriſh, and the latter an Engliſhman. But Ingoldſby declining his preferment, Rice, another Iriſh lawyer, not of unexceptionable character, was choſen to ſupply his place. In vain did lord Clarendon repreſent, that the admiſſion of Roman Catholics into offices of truſt and honour, without taking the oath of ſupremacy, was contrary to law. All theſe new popiſh judges, and ſome

* Carte.

ſome lawyers of the ſame perſuaſion, were admitted into the privy-council of Ireland, an honour not hitherto conferred on men of their rank. Rice was aſhamed of ſuch promotions, and heſitated; Nagle, an active and ſkilful lawyer of the popiſh party, and greatly favoured by Tyrconnel, declined to accept an honour which would interfere with the ſolid advantages of his profeſſion.

The Proteſtants were every where alarmed at theſe innovations; many ſold their effects, and abandoned a country in which they expected a ſpeedy eſtabliſhment of popery, and a confuſion of poſſeſſions. The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting quietly for the effects of the king's favour, ſeemed rather ſolicitous to augment the terror of their rivals. They boaſted their correſpondence with Whitehall, and talked confidently of great alterations both in the army and the church. The archbiſhoprick of Caſhel was vacant, nor could the king be perſuaded to fill it up. The popiſh clergy did not ſcruple to report, that he had written to the pope to nominate a new archbiſhop; but though the report ſeems not to have been well founded, yet it ſoon appeared that the revenues of this, and other vacant ſees, were reſerved for the maintenance of popiſh biſhops. Orders were iſſued by the king's command, that the catholic clergy ſhould not be moleſted in the exerciſe of their functions; and theſe were ſoon followed by a notification of the royal pleaſure, that the prelates ſhould appear publicly in the habit of their order; the proteſtant clergy were prohibited from treating on controverſial points in the pulpit; and whoever preſumed to glance the ſlighteſt reflection on popery, was inſtantly reported to the king, and marked as diſaffected and ſeditious *.

While every thing tended to alarm the Proteſtants, their apprehenſion was increaſed by the arrival of the earl of Tyrconnel, with a commiſſion to command and regulate the army, independently of the lord-lieutenant, with particular orders likewiſe for the admiſſion of Roman Catholics to the freedom of corporations, and the offices of ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace; beſides a number of new military commiſſions, by which the old proteſtant officers were ſuſpended, and the moſt deſpicable of the catholic party

* Mem. of Ireland.

party ſubſtituted in their place. His natural violence, inflamed by the adulation of the popiſh party, prompted him to the moſt inſolent treatment of the lord-lieutenant. He raved of the iniquity of the acts of ſettlement, and of miſconduct in the whole adminiſtration of Ireland. He proceeded to execute his commiſſion with the moſt furious impatience. The king's inſtruction implied no more than that all ſubjects indiſcriminately ſhould be admitted to ſerve his majeſty, without regard to their religious principles; but this lord iſſued ſtrict orders that none but Catholics ſhould be admitted into the army. Lord Clarendon remonſtrated againſt a conduct which muſt inflame the animoſities already excited in the kingdom. Tyrconnel was for a moment confounded, and had the meanneſs to deny his own orders; but lord Roſcommon, with a manly boldneſs, aſſerted to his face, that he and other officers had received theſe orders from him in the moſt peremptory terms.

The more violent of the popiſh party declared, that, in a few months, not one proteſtant would be left in the army; and now that they were provided with arms, they would ſpeedily reſume poſſeſſion of their lands. Laymen and eccleſiaſtics concurred alike in promoting the general ferment. Some of the old proprietors cautioned the tenants againſt paying any rent to their Engliſh landlords; and, with the ſame inſolence, ſome popiſh clergy forbade the people to pay tithes to proteſtant incumbents.

The earl of Clarendon, with the zeal of a faithful miniſter, remonſtrated both to the king and Sunderland againſt the violence and preſumption of Tyrconnel. To quiet the ſuſpicions and fears of the Proteſtants, he recommended a commiſſion of grace for confirming titles, and a general pardon for offenſive words ſpoken againſt the king while duke of York. But Sunderland returned no anſwer to his repreſentations, and was even ſuſpected of ſecreting his letters from the king. James now poſitively refuſed to repeat his former aſſurances of maintaining the acts of ſettlement by a proclamation. Tyrconnel, having already filled one complete moiety of the army with Iriſh Catholics, haſtened to England, to lay his repreſentations before the king.

In the mean time Clarendon was unjuſtly accuſed to the

the king of male-adminiſtration. His defence was clear and ſatisfactory; but as he was not an inſtrument ſuited to the execution of the wild ſchemes deviſed by the king's bigotted counſellors, the appointment of a ſucceſſor to his lieutenancy became an object of deliberation in the cabinet. Several lords were propoſed and rejected by the king: at laſt Tyrconnel, the moſt dangerous of the competitors, having privately ſtipulated to pay Sunderland an annual penſion from the profits of the Iriſh government, was, by the intereſt of that miniſter, appointed chief-governor of Ireland, with the inferior title of lord-deputy. To this popiſh delegate lord Clarendon reſigned the ſword of ſtate, in a general and violent agitation of the kingdom. He embarked at the port of Dublin, attended by fifteen hundred proteſtant families of that city, who abandoned a kingdom devoted to the violence of a popiſh adminiſtration. Sir Charles Porter not proving ſo pliant as the king expected, was removed from his office of chancellor, and in his room was placed ſir Alexander Fitton, a man convicted of forgery, and publicly ſtigmatized, but who atoned for the infamy of his character by conforming to the king's religion. This odious appointment was followed by conſtituting Nagle, the popiſh lawyer, attorney-general, in the place of ſir William Domville, a Proteſtant of diſtinguiſhed loyalty and abilities. Nugent and Rice were advanced to the ſtation of chief-judges; and Iriſh Papiſts were choſen to ſucceed them in their former offices *.

Tyrconnel appointed lord-deputy.

Almoſt the whole Iriſh army was by this time formed of Catholics; and a number of proteſtant officers, deprived of their commiſſions which they had purchaſed, and gradually driven out of the kingdom, ſought refuge in Holland, where they were protected and employed by the prince of Orange. Tyrconnel reſolved to inveſt the catholic party with the whole power of the kingdom, eſpecially that of modelling all future parliaments; addreſſed himſelf to the city of Dublin, and recommended them to reſign their charter to the king. They heſitated to adopt a meaſure for which he had not even aſſigned a plauſible pretence; and, though he grew more peremptory, they ſtill delayed their anſwer. At laſt, in a rage of diſappointment,

A. D. 1687.

* Secret Conſults, &c.

pointment, he loaded them with reproaches, and threatened them with all the ſeverity of the royal vengeance. It was in vain to expoſtulate with the deputy on the impropriety of his requiſition; they therefore, by the hands of their recorder, who was diſpatched to London, preſented to the king a petition, ſetting forth their zealous attachment to his government, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with diſdain; a quo warranto was immediately iſſued, and judgment haſtily pronounced againſt their charter. Many other corporations were ſoon after diſſolved by the ſame procedure; and ſome were influenced to ſurrender their charters by promiſes and menaces.

Quo Warrantos iſſued.

In forming the new corporations it was the general rule that in great cities, where the Engliſh intereſt had been predominant, two thirds of the members ſhould be Catholics, and one third Proteſtants; but the latter were choſen from Quakers, or other enthuſiaſts, from the poor, the profligate, and contemptible. In one northern city the chief magiſtracy was conferred upon a man who had been condemned to the gallows.

Before the removal of lord Clarendon, the king's mandate had been preſented to the governors of the univerſity, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman Catholic, to a profeſſorſhip *. It was ignorantly ſtyled in the king's letter a profeſſorſhip of the Iriſh language, though no ſuch eſtabliſhment had ever been made. The emoluments, therefore, as well as the office, exiſted only in imagination; but though Green was thus diſappointed, the univerſity expected, with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, ſome farther attacks on their privileges. In this ſituation they reſolved to convert moſt of their plate into money, for the purpoſe of erecting new buildings, or purchaſing lands. They had obtained the conſent of their viſitors to this project, and of Clarendon, for tranſporting their plate, duty-free, into England, as to a better market. In the mean time Tyrconnel arrived, and, being informed of the tranſaction, ſeized the plate in the port of Dublin, and depoſited it in the king's ſtores. The more moderate of his adviſers, aſhamed of this arbitrary conduct, prevailed on him to reſtore it to the univerſity.

Attacks on the univerſity of Dublin.

The

* Archives of Trin. Col. Dub. MS.

The plate was ſold; when, in an inſtant, all the fury of Tyrconnel was rekindled. The purchaſer appeared before him: Nugent, the lord-chief-juſtice, with aſtoniſhing impudence, accuſed him of purchaſing ſtolen goods, the property of the king, and obliged him to give ſecurity to proſecute the governors of the univerſity. Happily, however, by the interpoſition of Nagle, who poſſeſſed more temper, they were defended from any farther outrage. But this tranſaction was ſcarcely concluded, when another letter from the king directed that one Doyle ſhould be admitted to a fellowſhip, without taking any oaths but the oath of a fellow. The man was not only extremely unqualified in point of education, but ſcandalouſly profligate. He had lately, however, been reconciled to popery, and the merit of his converſion was to be rewarded. But here again the ignorance of his patrons defeated the purpoſe of their party. The oath of a fellow included that of ſupremacy, and this the candidate refuſed to take. The terms of the king's mandate were ſo explicit, that the popiſh judges directed him to procure a ſecond letter; and his character was proved to be ſo infamous, that his friends were aſhamed to make any farther effort in his favour. The vexation of Tyrconnel at this diſappointment was expreſſed in a manner worthy of him: he ſtopped the penſion annually paid to the univerſity from the exchequer, and which, at this time, made the moſt conſiderable part of their ſubſiſtence.

The whole kingdom now reſounded with complaints of the meanneſs, the ignorance, and brutality of the popiſh ſheriffs, ſcandalous partialities in the courts of juſtice, and the inſolence and barbarities of military officers. Robberies and murders were committed with impunity, and confuſion univerſally prevailed *. But the alarming decreaſe of the Iriſh revenue had its full impreſſion on thoſe Engliſh miniſters, whoſe views were not ſolely confined to the eſtabliſhment of popery. They imputed it to the miſconduct of Tyrconnel, and inveighed againſt his violence. Lord Bellaſis, in particular, urged the king to appoint a wiſer and more temperate governor for Ireland. To avert the impending ſtorm, Tyrconnel obtained permiſſion to attend his royal maſter, now in his progreſs at Cheſter.

Great diſorders in Ireland.

* Secret Conſults, &c.

Cheſter. He committed his government to the hands of chancellor Fitton and lord Clanricarde, reminding theſe and his popiſh counſellors of the irreſiſtible power they had now obtained in this kingdom, and, with the moſt profligate indecency, praying God to damn them, ſhould they ever part with it. Rice, chief baron of the exchequer, attended him to Cheſter, and made repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland, ſo plauſibly calculated to recommend his patron, that the king without heſitation, remitted Tyrconnel to his government, where he continued to proceed with his uſual violence.

A. D. 1688. The enterprize of the prince of Orange was yet a ſecret to James, when Tyrconnel received intelligence of his deſign from Amſterdam, and conveyed it to the king, by whom and Sunderland it was treated with the utmoſt deriſion. But this infatuated prince was ſoon awakened to a ſenſe of his danger; and, on the firſt certain aſſurance of an invaſion, Tyrconnel was directed to tranſport four thouſand forces to England. The Iriſh Catholics ſtill affected to deſpiſe the prince of Orange and his attempt; but advice being received that the prince had landed in England, that he was advancing towards the capital, and James was deſerted by his ſubjects, the Iriſh and their chief governor ſunk into conſternation. Tyrconnel now, forgetting his pride, deſcended to flatter the Proteſtants, and to court them to make the moſt favourable repreſentations of his conduct. In the mean time new commiſſions were iſſued by Tyrconnel for levying forces. The popiſh clergy every where urged the people to take arms; and in all quarters of the kingdom an armed rable ſuddenly ſtarted up, under the name of the king's ſoldiers, and ſupported themſelves by open depredations.

A letter, addreſſed by an unknown perſon to lord Mount-Alexander, in the county of Down, warned him of a general maſſacre intended by the Iriſh. It was confident and circumſtantial, and pointed out Sunday, the 9th of December, as the time for this bloody deſign, which it was propoſed to execute without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. Intelligence of the like import was conveyed to ſome other gentlemen of the northern province. Whatever might be the authority for theſe informations, they ſpread univerſal conſternation among the

the Proteſtants. The capital became a ſcene of uproar and confuſion. In ſome places the dreadful intelligence was received on the very day appointed for the maſſacre. The people ſtarted ſuddenly from their devotions, and fled in aſtoniſhment; while others, ſeized with the infectious panic, ſwelled the crowds of fugitives. Some gained the coaſt, and were tranſported to England; others ſought ſhelter in walled towns and proteſtant ſettlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of Iriſh plunderers. In the northern counties, where the Proteſtants were moſt numerous, they collected the arms ſtill left among them, reſolving to defend themſelves, and even meditating the deſign of riſing againſt the preſent government. Derry, otherwiſe called Londonderry, was the town which afforded the principal ſhelter to the fugitive Proteſtants. Seated on the left ſide of the lake Foyle, it maintained a communication, by a ferry, with the county from which it derived its name. It was ſurrounded by a firm wall, ſtrengthened by baſtions, but was by no means ſufficient to maintain a ſiege againſt a regular army. On the firſt alarm of the prince of Orange's invaſion in England, Tyrconnel had recalled the garriſon of this city to Dublin. But ſoon perceived the error of leaving Derry to the government of the townſmen, he detached thither the earl of Antrim's regiment, conſiſting intirely of Papiſts, Iriſh, and Highlanders, to take up their quarters in the place. A body of twelve hundred men, of great ſtature and terrible in their aſpect, followed by a crowd of women and children, arrived at a village called Limavaddy, within twelve miles of Derry, preciſely at the time when the inhabitants received the information of an intended maſſacre. The proprietor of the village inſtantly diſpatched to Derry the moſt alarming accounts of the number, appearance, and ſuſpected deſtination of this band, which ſeemed rather the inſtruments of ſlaughter than the regular forces of government, and conjured the citizens to ſhut their gates againſt the barbarous crew. His meſſenger found them already armed by the general reports of danger, and irreſolute what courſe to purſue. Two of the aldermen conſulted the biſhop, who, cautious from his years, and moderate in his principles, adviſed them to peace and ſubmiſſion. Some graver citizens concurred

Reſolute conduct of the people of Derry.

curred with him; others affected to concur. In the mean time the troops approached, and an advanced party appeared within three hundred yards of the ferry-gate. At this critical moment nine young men of the populace, with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, drew their ſwords, made themſelves maſters of the keys of the city, raiſed the draw-bridge, and locked the Ferry-gate. Being inſtantly joined by numbers of their own rank, they ſecured alſo the other gates. Deaf to all timid remonſtrances they aſſembled in the great ſquare, ſeized the magazine, which afforded them a ſmall quantity of arms and ammunition, and were ſoon countenanced by men of better rank. At length the body of inhabitants caught the ſame ſpirit, and declared for a brave defence. Their numbers were quickly increaſed by a conflux from the different diſtricts. Philip Limavaddy, the perſon who firſt encouraged them to this enterprize, was choſen their governor. They immediately tranſmitted to London an account of their dangers and proceedings; and Cairnes, the moſt conſiderable of their party, was commiſſioned to ſolicit ſuccours from the prince of Orange. At the ſame time their magiſtrates and graver citizens, apprehenſive of the iſſue of an enterprize commenced under every diſadvantage, addreſſed themſelves to Tyrconnel, through the mediation of lord Mountjoy. They repreſented their inabiſity to reſtrain the populace, terrified by the rumours of a maſſacre; and declared their reſolution to confine themſelves intirely to ſelf-defence, without violating their allegiance.

Tyrconnel had, at laſt, perceived his error in withdrawing the garriſon from Derry, and endeavoured, when too late, to correct it *. A detachment of ſix companies, under the command of lord Mountjoy, was remanded to Ulſter to reduce this city. Mountjoy, a proteſtant lord, was highly acceptable to the inhabitants, who, however, deteſted his popiſh forces. They ſtill diſclaimed all ſeditious purpoſes, but expreſſed a firm reſolution to defend themſelves. After various conferences, Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly ſtipulated, that a free pardon ſhould be granted within fifteen days; that, in the interval, two companies only ſhould be quartered in the city; that the forces afterwards admitted

* Walker's Diary.

mitted ſhould be formed of at leaſt one half Proteſtants; that, until the pardon was received, the citizens ſhould keep the guards; and that all who deſired to remove ſhould be left at liberty. Mountjoy aſſumed the command of the city, and was obeyed as a friend and aſſociate. Money was chearfully ſubſcribed, ammunition purchaſed in Scotland, and Cairnes, the agent, earneſtly ſolicited to procure ſupplies.

The example of Derry excited a generous emulation among the northern Proteſtants. Enniſkillen, the only borough-town in the county of Fermanagh, ſituated on an iſland in the narrow part of lake Erne, and inhabited by a few reſolute Proteſtants, refuſed admittance to two companies of Tyrconnel's popiſh army. In Downe, Donnegal, Tyrone, Armagh, and Monaghan, parties aroſe under the direction of their reſpective leaders, united in the reſolution of defending themſelves and the proteſtant religion. County-councils were nominated, and a general council to meet at Hillſborough, which was veſted with the power of appointing officers, and directing the operations of the aſſociates.

In the mean time Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and ſeemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom *. The prince of Orange was now too much engaged in England to attend to the affairs of the ſiſter kingdom. But what he had neither leiſure nor power to attempt openly, he laboured to effect by practiſing ſecretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a popiſh general, ſent into England on the firſt alarm of an invaſion, was, in ſome ſort, his priſoner. This officer had ſerved with reputation in France, but was baniſhed on account of his imprudent addreſſes to the king's daughter, the princeſs of Conti. He was recommended to the prince as one who had conſiderable influence with Tyrconnel; and as he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence of perſuading the deputy to reſign the government of Ireland, William readily embraced the overture that he ſhould repair thither for that purpoſe. Hamilton arrived at Dublin; but, inſtead of executing his commiſſion, adviſed Tyrconnel to retain poſſeſſion of his government; aſſuring him, that the affairs of England began to wear an aſpect favourable to James, and that

* Secret Conſults, &c.

that nothing but the firmneſs of his friends was neceſſary to reinſtate him. Tyrconnel adopted the advice, and Hamilton was employed in Ireland. The deputy, however, ſtill found it neceſſary to diſſemble; and therefore aſſured the proteſtant lords of his readineſs to ſubmit to the prince of Orange. He ſo much impoſed on lord Mountjoy by his plauſible profeſſions of ſincerity, that this nobleman was perſuaded to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief-baron, Rice, to repreſent the weak condition of Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the times, inſtead of exaſperating his Engliſh ſubjects, by a fruitleſs attempt to conquer England with Iriſh forces. He even intimated, that if the king ſhould refuſe to ſurrender Ireland, he ſhould regard the refuſal as the effect of force, and deemed himſelf fully warranted to reſign his authority. Mountjoy, after ſome ſtipulations with Tyrconnel in favour of the Proteſtants, departed to execute his inſtructions; but, on his arrival at Paris, was committed to the Baſtile, while Rice employed himſelf in ſoliciting ſuccours for the ſervice of his maſter. In the mean time Tyrconnel grew outrageous. He utterly denied the ſtipulations made with Mountjoy; the arms yet remaining in the hands of Proteſtants were wreſted from them by his ſoldiers in every place ſubject to his power; their horſes ſeized, their perſons inſulted, and their houſes plundered. Temple, ſon of ſir William, at whoſe inſtances Hamilton had been ſent to Ireland, was ſo much affected at the melancholy iſſue of his advice, that, in the bitterneſs of vexation, he put an end to his own life *.

Tyrconnel was confirmed in the proſecution of his meaſures by a meſſenger from James, with aſſurances that he would ſoon appear in Ireland at the head of a powerful armament. The deputy, however, had too long ſuffered the northern aſſociators to proceed unmoleſted, both in Munſter and Connaught. On aſſurance of ſupplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north-eaſtern towns; but their exultation was ſoon allayed by Tyrconnel. He commanded them by a proclamation to lay down their arms, and to diſſolve their aſſemblies. General Hamilton marched againſt them with a formidable body of troops: they gradually retired to Dromore; where the enemy overtaking them, they fled, and were

* Secret Conſults, &c.

were purſued with ſlaughter. They gained Hillſborough, which, however, they quickly abandoned, and continued their flight. Several fled to Britain; others accepted protections from the Iriſh army; but, by the exertions of Rawdon, Mount-Alexander, and other leaders, about four thouſand were ſtill kept embodied, and took their ſtation at Colerain, with the view of preventing the enemy from paſſing the river Bann; while thoſe of the north-weſt took refuge in the town of Enniſkillen. The Iriſh army was ſo engaged in riot and plundering, that the confederates had time to collect, and to fortify Colerain, which, nevertheleſs, they were at length obliged to abandon. The Iriſh, after a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh, paſſed the Bann in boats, and the Northerns haſtened, by various routes, to Derry, as their ultimate refuge.

After the departure of lord Mountjoy, the government of this city had been committed to Lundy, a man who affected great attachment to the proteſtant cauſe, and the utmoſt indignation at the tyrannical proceedings of Tyrconnel. He was, however, on ſeveral accounts, ſuſpected of retaining a partiality for James. William, amidſt his embarraſſments, was obliged to truſt and employ him; and when an officer of the name of Hamilton was ſent to Derry with arms, ammunition, and money, a commiſſion from William was delivered to Lundy to command in the town, and to adminiſter the oaths of all officers civil and military. Some refuſed to take the oaths: Lundy would not conſent to take them publicly, alledging, that he had already ſworn on board Hamilton's veſſel. Many of the inhabitants, becoming daily more ſuſpicious of Lundy's deſigns, prepared to abandon the city, when Cairnes, their agent, happily arrived from London, with aſſurances from king William, that preparations were made for the relief and protection of Ireland. Animated by this declaration, they now prepared for a brave defence. Lundy ſeemed to have caught the enthuſiaſm of the people, and announced his reſolution of marching to engage the enemy.

A.D. 1688

James lands in Ireland.

James, who had been earneſtly ſoliciting the court of France for aſſiſtance, at length obtained his requeſt. On the 7th of March this unhappy monarch embarked at Breſt, with fourteen ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and three fire-

fire-ſhips *. His military forces conſiſted of about twelve hundred of his own native ſubjects in the pay of France and one hundred French officers. With theſe he arrived at Kinſale, and ſoon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. Addreſſes were inſtantly poured upon him from all orders of people. He returned to each the moſt gracious and conciliating anſwer; but his faireſt declarations were received with coldneſs and ſuſpicion, when all the remaining Proteſtants of the privy-council were removed, and their places ſupplied by others of different principles. He now iſſued five ſeveral proclamations: by the firſt, he ordered all Proteſtants who had abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the ſevereſt penalties; and that his ſubjects of every perſuaſion ſhould unite againſt the prince of Orange: the ſecond was calculated to ſuppreſs robberies; commanding all Catholics, not of his army, to lay up their arms in their ſeveral abodes: a third invited the country to carry proviſions to his troops: by the fourth he raiſed the value of money; and, by the laſt, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th day of May.

Derry, or Londonderry, was conſidered as the place where his arms were likely to meet with the greateſt reſiſtance, and it therefore became a peculiar object of his attention. After various conſultations, it was at laſt reſolved to preſs the city by a ſlow ſiege; and James determined to lead his forces in perſon to the walls †.

James marches for Londonderry.

Amongſt thoſe who took arms againſt Tyrconnel and his maſter, was George Walker, a clergyman, of a Yorkſhire family, and rector of a pariſh in the county of Tyrone. Being zealous and indefatigable in defence of liberty and religion, he raiſed a regiment, and commanded it. Nor was he ſatisfied with diſcharging this ſervice, but flew from poſt to poſt, conferring with the leaders, and animating the people to a vigorous reſiſtance againſt the partizans of the abdicated king. Haſtening to Derry, he informed Lundy of the approach of James, reminded him of his former declarations, and intreated him to give the enemy battle, before their whole ſtrength was collected. Lundy ſtill

* Kennet. Ralph. † Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

ſtill affected vigour and zeal. The Iriſh having already paſſed the Bann, he was now to prevent them from croſſing the Finn-water. He ſtationed his forces for this purpoſe; but, in the hour of danger, he refuſed to ſupport them, ſhamefully abandoned his poſt, and hid himſelf within the walls of Derry, ſhutting the gates againſt many of thoſe who ſought the ſame refuge.

In the mean time there arrived in lake Foyle two Engliſh regiments, the colonels of which had orders to put themſelves under the command of Lundy. They notified their arrival to this officer, who, by a written anſwer, directed them to land; his meſſenger, at the ſame time, delivering his orders that they ſhould leave their men on board, and come to the city with ſome of their officers, to conſult on the meaſures neceſſary in the preſent juncture, when, though all uſeleſs mouths ſhould be diſmiſſed, there would not be proviſions for ten days. Eleven officers from the ſhips, and five of the town, formed a council of war, in which it was agreed, in conſequence of Lundy's repreſentations, that the place was not tenable; that the Engliſh regiments ſhould not diſembark; and that the principal officers ſhould privately withdraw from the town, and leave the inhabitants to make the beſt conditions in their power with the enemy. Theſe reſolutions being communicated to the town-council, it was reſolved to offer terms of capitulation to James, who now advanced ſlowly towards the city. Theſe proceedings were no ſooner known to the people, than they exclaimed againſt the governor, the council, and every ſuſpected officer, and cried aloud for vengeance againſt their betrayers. In the violence of reſentment they ſlew one officer, as he was haſtening to make his eſcape from the city, and another they wounded. In this moment of uproar, Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement, and, though Lundy commanded him to retire, inſiſted on entering the town, and was received with acclamations. He inveighed againſt the baſe purpoſe of ſurrendering to a cruel and perfidious enemy; the people liſtened to him with rapture; and, while he expoſtulated with Lundy, they ruſhed to the walls, pointed the cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take poſſeſſion of the city.

city. The more cautious and timid ſent a deputation to apologize for this violence; but the body of the people declared unanimouſly for defence. The authority of the governor, council, and magiſtrates, was no longer regarded. Lundy reſigned all care of the city, and concealed himſelf in his own houſe. The people now choſe for themſelves two new governors, Walker, the brave eccleſiaſtic, and one major Baker, that, if one ſhould fall, the garriſon might not be without command. By theſe officers they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to ſeven thouſand and twenty men, excluſive of three hundred and forty-one officers*.

In a little time their reſolution becoming deliberate, they ſuffered the timid to depart without moleſtation; and Lundy, by connivance of the new governors, eſcaped to the ſhips in diſguiſe. Every thing was now conducted with the greateſt compoſure and regularity; each regiment, each company, had their particular ſtation. Eighteen clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church, and ſeven non-conformiſt teachers, chearfully ſhared the labours and dangers of the ſiege; and every day alternately aſſembled the people in the cathedral church, where, by the fervour of their devotions, and their animated exhortations, they inſpired their hearers with enthuſiaſtic reſolution. Eleven days James continued his aſſaults, without any proſpect of ſucceſs. Impatient of diſappointment, he at laſt left the camp, and returned to Dublin; having done nothing more in his northern expedition than reduced the fort of Culmore, which he was ſuſpected to have atchieved by the help of money.

After the departure of James, the garriſon of Derry continued to defeat all the attempts of the beſiegers, and to harraſs them by ſucceſsful ſallies; but they had the mortification to be ſoon threatened with more terrible enemies, diſeaſe and famine. In the midſt of their diſtreſs they diſcovered in lake Foyle thirty ſhips, which they readily concluded had been ſent to their relief from England. Theſe veſſels contained troops, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, under the command of Kirk; but this officer poſſeſſed too little humanity to make any hazardous attempt for the relief of the garriſon. He even returned to the

* Walker's Diary.

the ſignals of the beſieged no anſwer which evinced any alacrity. The enemy, encouraged by his apparent irreſolution, prepared to oppoſe his paſſage. On each ſide of the lake, where it grew narrow towards the city, they planted batteries, ranged their forces, and, from two oppoſite forts, they ſtretched acroſs the water a boom, formed of ſtrong timber, joined by iron chains, and ſtrengthened by thick cables. The fleet, to which the garriſon had looked for relief, now ſet ſail and diſappeared. Kirk, ſoon after, ſent them the afflicting intelligence, that, as he found it impoſſible to force a paſſage by the river for his ſtores and proviſions, he had ſailed round to lake Swilly, with the view of making ſome diverſion to the enemy, and ſending ſupplies to the proteſtant forces collected at Enniſkillen. With a coolneſs which rather inſulted than alleviated their diſtreſs, he informed them, that more forces were hourly expected from England; that both there and in Scotland affairs were entirely favourable to the new government; that, by the intelligence he had gained, the beſiegers could not long continue to inveſt them; and adviſing them, at the ſame time, to be good huſbands of their proviſions.

Great diſtreſs of Derry.

Famine and diſeaſe continued to make daily ravages in the garriſon; yet when numbers of them were ſcarcely able to ſupport their arms, they threatened inſtant death to any who ſhould mention a ſurrender *. While general Hamilton endeavoured to move them by perſuaſion, they reproached him with his own treachery. Roſen, who was ſent to command the ſiege, thundered out dreadful menaces againſt them; but theſe had no other effect than to confirm their reſolution. He declared, that if the town was not ſurrendered by the 1ſt day of July, all of their party, ſo far as Ballyſhannon, Charlemont, Belfaſt, and Inniſowen, ſhould be given up to plunder, and driven under their walls, there to periſh. The appointed day arrived, but the garriſon continued unmoved. On the next morning a confuſed multitude was ſeen hurrying towards the walls. They were at firſt miſtaken for enemies, and the garriſon fired on them; but happily without committing any ſlaughter. This unfortunate multitude conſiſted of thouſands of Proteſtants, of all ages and conditions, goaded

* Walker's Diary.

goaded on by ſoldiers, whoſe ears were tortured by their ſhrieks, and who executed their inhuman orders with tears. At the afflicting ſpectacle the garriſon was tranſported to fury: numbers of the wretched ſufferers, thus driven to periſh under their walls, conjured them in the moſt earneſt manner not to conſider their diſtreſs, but to defend their own lives bravely againſt their implacable enemies. A gallows was now erected in view of the beſiegers; and they were aſſured, that all the priſoners taken by the garriſon ſhould be inſtantly executed, unleſs their friends were allowed to depart. Confeſſors were even admitted to prepare them for death; but Roſen continued inflexible. James, however, hearing of theſe tranſactions, ordered the Proteſtants to be releaſed. Thoſe who ſurvived a confinement of almoſt three days without ſuſtenance or ſhelter, were thus permitted to return to their habitations, where the ravages of the ſoldiers had left them no means of comfort.

So invincible was the horror conceived of the beſiegers, as to overcome the moſt powerful antipathies of nature. The fleſh of horſes, dogs, and vermin, hides, tallow, and other nauſeous ſubſtances, were purchaſed for extravagant prices, and eagerly devoured by the wretched inhabitants; who, nevertheleſs, continued their obſtinate defence, and even made deſperate and ſucceſsful ſallies, though too much weakened by hunger to purſue their advantage. Every miſerable reſource, at laſt, began to fail, and no means of ſubſiſtence could be found for more than two days; but ſtill the famiſhed crowds liſtened to the exhortations of Walker; and ſtill he aſſured them from the pulpit that the Almighty would grant them a deliverance. During theſe aſtoniſhing exertions of zeal and fortitude, they diſcovered three ſhips in the lake making way to the town. Kirk, who had abandoned them from the 13th day of June to the 30th of July, at length thought fit to make a deſperate effort to relieve them. Two ſhips laden with proviſions, and conveyed by a frigate, advanced in view both of the garriſon and the beſiegers. The enemy, from their batteries and muſketry, thundered furiouſly on the ſhips, which returned their fire with equal ſpirit. The foremoſt of the victuallers ſtruck forcibly againſt the boom, and broke it; but, rebounding with violence,

ran

ran aground. The enemy, exulting in loud acclamations, prepared to board her, while, on the crowded walls, the garriſon ſtood ſtupified by deſpair. The veſſel fired her guns, was extricated by the ſhock, and floated. Paſſing the boom, ſhe was followed by the other victuallers; and the town being thus relieved, the enemy abandoned the ſiege.

Of ſeven thouſand five hundred men regimented in Derry, little more than half the number ſurvived at this period; and of theſe more than one thouſand were incapable of ſervice. The ghaſtly objects had ſcarcely taſted food, when they had the hardineſs to march in queſt of the enemy. The latter retired in vexation to Strabane, after loſing eight thouſand men by the ſword, and by various diſeaſes, in a ſiege of one hundred and five days*. The ſiege raiſed.

During the whole courſe of this ſiege, James's army had been conſiderably embarraſſed in their operations by the Enniſkillen-men, or thoſe proteſtants who had aſſembled about Enniſkillen, choſen Guſtavus Hamilton governor of their little town, and proclaimed William and Mary as the ſovereigns of Ireland. Lord Galway marching to reduce them, inveſted Crom-caſtle, their frontier garriſon, ſeated on lake Erne; but as he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he had recourſe to a ſtratagem. Eight horſes were employed to draw two pieces of tin, formed in ſhape of cylinders, and ſo coloured as to reſemble cannon. With this he threatened to batter the caſtle. The garriſon returned a defiance; and being reinforced from Enniſkillen, ſallied, and drove the enemy from their trenches, returning in triumph with a conſiderable booty, and the counterfeit cannon, which had been drawn up with ſo much appearance of difficulty. The ridicule which Galway thus incurred, was ſoon followed by general deteſtation. On his march, he had made priſoners two youths, with whom he found commiſſions from the prince of Orange. He now propoſed to exchange them for one of his own officers. The officer was returned, but the youths, in violation both of faith and humanity, were executed.

In the mean time, the numbers of the northern confederates increaſed, but they were not furniſhed with arms or ammunition

* Walker's Diary.

ammunition until the arrival of Kirk, when they became ſo formidable, that it was propoſed to attack them by three different armies. For this purpoſe, Macarthy, a gallant and experienced officer, lately created a peer, encamped at Belturbet with ſeven thouſand men; Sarſefield, another general of diſtinguiſhed abilities, led an army from Connaught; and the duke of Berwick prepared to attack them from the north. But, by a peculiarity of fortune, the ignorance of their danger proved the means of their deliverance. They knew only of the motions of the Connaught army. They marched out with aſtoniſhing rapidity, ſurpriſed the enemy's camp, and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. Againſt the duke of Berwick they had not the like ſucceſs. As he approached Enniſkillen, ſome companies which had been ſent to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, venturing beyond the bounds preſcribed, were ſurpriſed, and cut to pieces; but Hamilton, the governor, advancing, the duke retired.

Macarthy, after ſuppreſſing lord Inchiquin, in Munſter, marched towards Enniſkillen, and inveſted Crom. An officer was detached to the relief of the caſtle, but the enemy advancing againſt him with a ſuperior body, he was obliged to retreat. He was purſued, and a ſkirmiſh followed, which was the prelude to a general engagement between the main bodies on each ſide; one commanded by Macarthy, and the other by Wolſley, one of Kirk's officers. This action happened near Newtown-Butler and Lionaſkea, from both which places it has received its name. The inferior number of the Northerns was compenſated by their valour, and an abhorrence of the enemy, whom they defeated and purſued with great ſlaughter, granting quarter to none but officers. About two thouſand of the catholics were ſlain in the field, and about five hundred plunged into lake Erne. The priſoners, among whom was Macarthy, amounted to the ſame number. The news of this victory was ſoon conveyed to this army, which retired from Derry, and ſerved to precipitate their flight.

Battle of Newton-Butler.

James had by this time returned to Dublin, where, in all the ſtate of ſovereignty, he aſſembled a parliament. In the upper houſe, a number of new popiſh lords, and ſeveral

James aſſembles a parliament.

ſeveral whoſe outlawries had been reverſed, gave a weight to that party; while the commons were almoſt entirely compoſed of men named by Tyrconnel. James, in a ſpeech from the throne, commended the loyalty and zeal of his Iriſh ſubjects; declared his abhorrence of violating either the rights of conſcience, or thoſe of property; and that he would readily conſent to any laws for the good of the nation. Fitton, in the upper houſe, and Nagle, ſpeaker of the commons, enlarged on this ſpeech, which was echoed by a joint addreſs; and immediately was brought in a bill, recognizing the king's title, and expreſſing an abhorrence of the prince of Orange, and his uſurpation *.

Declaration of James.

In a declaration now publiſhed by James, he expreſſed his reſolution to protect the properties, privileges, and religion of his proteſtant ſubjects; but whatever might be his inclination, he was at preſent totally enſlaved by different factions. The ambaſſador, D'Avaux, affected to take the lead in his council; and James was ſervilely attentive not to afford him any pretence of complaint. All preferments in his army were given to Frenchmen, to the utter diſcontent of the Iriſh. In parliament, however, the latter, with their uſual violence, reſolved to ſeize an opportunity of providing for their own intereſts, without even the appearance of any attention to the embarraſſment of their unfortunate prince. They tumultuouſly paſſed a bill for repealing the acts of ſettlement, though nothing could render James more obnoxious to the Engliſh, than the ſuſpicion that he countenanced ſuch a meaſure, which he appears to have ſincerely diſapproved. Daly, the popiſh judge, inveighed againſt it with ſo much vehemence as to incur the cenſure of the commons, who inſiſted that he ſhould come to the bar of the houſe, and publicly beg pardon. This order, however, was remitted, on ſome falſe intelligence of the ſurrender of Derry. In the houſe of lords, the proteſtant biſhop of Meath argued againſt the bill on the principles of juſtice and policy; and this, as we are told, by the particular direction of James. Whatever unfavourable opinion he had formed of the acts of ſettlement, and however his Iriſh miniſters had repreſented to him the hardſhips their countrymen

* Ralph.

had ſuſtained from theſe acts, yet nothing could more provoke the Engliſh, even of his own party, than his appearing to countenance this bill. It is therefore natural to ſuppoſe that he muſt have expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of it. But, unfortunately for this prince, it was not only a favourite object of the Iriſh, but warmly recommended by the French ambaſſador; and their united influence was too powerful to be reſiſted. When an addreſs againſt the bill was preſented by the purchaſers under the acts of ſettlement, James coldly replied, that he could not do evil, that good might reſult from it. When ſome peers propoſed to enter their proteſt, he obſerved, that proteſts were uſual only in rebellious times.

Thus paſſed the bill for repealing the acts of ſettlement, with a preamble which exculpated the Iriſh from rebelling in the year 1641; and a clauſe by which the eſtates of all thoſe who dwelt in any of the three kingdoms, and did not acknowledge James as ſovereign, or who had aided or correſponded with his enemies, from the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1688, were declared to be forfeited and veſted in the king. In conſequence of this act, almoſt every proteſtant of Ireland who could write was to be deprived of his eſtate. They, at the ſame time, reſolved on a proſcription, which tended to inflame the prejudice of James's enemies. An act was paſſed, by which a number of perſons in the ſervice of the prince of Orange, thoſe who had retired from the kingdom, and did not return in obedience to the king's proclamation, numbers who were reſident in Britain, and therefore preſumed to be adherents to the new government, were all attainted of high treaſon, and adjudged to ſuffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unleſs they ſhould ſurrender within a limited time. It was provided, that the eſtates even of thoſe who were detained abroad by ſickneſs, or nonage, ſhould be ſeized by the king; and, to add to the violence of this procedure, they were obliged to prove their own innocence before they could be reſtored. Two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-one perſons, of all orders and conditions, were included in this arbitrary ſentence; which was likewiſe ſo framed, as to preclude the king from all power of pardoning, after the 1ſt day of November, 1689. In a few

few inſtances, James had the reſolution to adhere to ſuch meaſures as he knew would be acceptable to the Engliſh. He oppoſed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poyn-ings' law; nor would he conſent to eſtabliſh inns of court in Ireland for the education of young lawyers; a point ſo long and ſo ardently purſued by the Iriſh catholics.

Of the other acts paſſed in this aſſembly, the more remarkable were a ſupplement to the bill of attainder, by which the perſonal eſtates of abſentees were veſted in the king; one declaring that the parliament of England cannot bind Ireland; and againſt writs of error and appeals to England; one for liberty of conſcience; another which aboliſhed the proviſion formerly made for miniſters in towns corporate; and one for entitling the Romiſh clergy to all tithes and eccleſiaſtical emoluments payable by thoſe of their own communion.

The parliament had granted James a monthly ſubſidy of twelve thouſand pounds to be levied from lands; but this tax, however grievous, was inſufficient for his purpoſes. Unable to obtain money from France, he, during the continuance of the parliament, iſſued a proclamation, by virtue of his prerogative, impoſing an equivalent tax on all chattels. Some of his council ventured to remonſtrate againſt this arbitrary proceeding; but without effect. "If I cannot do this, ſaid he, I can do nothing."

Arbitrary conduct of James.

James, in his preſent exigence, had recourſe to a violent expedient, which greatly exaſperated the Iriſh proteſtants. Seizing the tools and engines of one Moore, who, by virtue of a patent of the late king, enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland, he eſtabliſhed a mint in Dublin and Limerick *. To theſe places were carried braſs and copper of the baſeſt kind, old cannon, broken bells, and houſhold utenſils; and from every pound weight of thoſe materials, valued at four pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the firſt proclamation, they were made current in all payments between the king and the ſubjects of the realm, except in the duties on exportation of foreign goods, money left in truſt, or due by mortgages,

* Simon on Iriſh Coins.

mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promiſed, that, when this money ſhould be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full ſatisfaction in gold and ſilver. His ſoldiers were now paid in this coin. The nominal value was raiſed by ſubſequent proclamations; the original inſtructions were removed; and this baſe money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As braſs and copper became ſcarce, the coin was made of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on proteſtants with circumſtances of the moſt flagrant injuſtice. Old debts of one thouſand pounds were diſcharged by pieces of baſe metal, of the intrinſic value of thirty ſhillings. Attempts were made to purchaſe gold and ſilver at immoderate rates with the braſs money; but this was quickly forbidden on pain of death; and when proteſtants attempted to convert this coin into the ſtaple commodities of the kingdom, James, by proclamation, ſet a rate on theſe commodities, demanded them at his own valuation, obliged the proprietors to accept his baſe coin in return, and, with all the meanneſs of a trader, exported his purchaſe to France.

In the midſt of public diſorder, and of all the dangers which threatened James, he was implicitly reſigned to the councils of the popiſh clergy for extending their religion. A ſchool erected at Kilkenny by the Duke of Ormond, was converted into a popiſh ſeminary by a new charter. In a few months after his arrival in Ireland, a mandamus was preſented to the governors of the univerſity of Dublin, in favour of Green, who had formerly been diſappointed of his profeſſorſhip. He was now deſtined to another office, that of ſenior fellow of Trinity-College. Though the ſevereſt vengeance was denounced againſt them in caſe of non-compliance, the governors boldly refuſed obedience to the mandamus. They pleaded their own cauſe before ſir Richard Nagle; urging, at the ſame time, both the incapacity of Green, and the falſe allegations of his petition. The iſſue of this unequal conteſt was ſpeedy and deciſive. In a few days, the fellows and ſcholars were forcibly ejected by James's ſoldiers; the property of particular members, the communion-plate, library, and furniture of the community, were all ſeized; their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers

chambers into priſons. The members of the ſociety obtained their perſonal liberty only by the interceſſion of the biſhop of Meath; and this, on the expreſs condition, that three of them ſhould not meet together on the pain of death *.

The greater part of the proteſtant clergy was by this time deprived of ſubſiſtence. They could recover no dues from non-conformiſts, who, by the late act for liberty of conſcience, were exempted from the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts. They could demand no tithes from the numerous body of Roman catholics; while popiſh incumbents, who every day multiplied by the death or reſignation of proteſtants, exacted them from all parties. The zeal of the proteſtants, however, was not diminiſhed by theſe diſcouragements; but both the clergy and laity crowded to their places of worſhip. The popiſh government was not ſlow in ſuppreſſing thoſe meetings. A proclamation was iſſued, confining proteſtants to their reſpective pariſhes; a meaſure which, in effect, excluded great numbers from public worſhip, as, in ſeveral parts of Ireland, two pariſhes or more had but one church. But the popiſh clergy were deſirous of enforcing their religion by more violent meaſures. With the aſſiſtance of magiſtrates, they ſeized churches for their own uſe, both in the country and the capital. The proteſtants remonſtrated to James againſt theſe proceedings: he acknowledged his promiſe of protecting them, and publiſhed a proclamation againſt theſe outrages; but the clergy and their votaries refuſed obedience to whatever oppoſed the propagation of the catholic faith. A conteſt now aroſe between James and the prieſts, in which the former had the mortification of being foiled, and of ſeeing his authority treated with a contemptuous diſregard in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. But, whatever reſentment this unhappy prince expreſſed againſt the inſolence of the clergy, he continued to reſign himſelf with a ſervile compliance to their counſels; and his principal ſolicitude ſeemed to be, to render Ireland a catholic kingdom. An order was iſſued in the name of his governor of Dublin, that no more than five proteſtants ſhould meet together, even in churches, on pain of death; the alarm of

*Mem. of Ireland.

of an invaſion indeed was pleaded for this ſeverity, which, however, was but too congenial to the bigotted principles of James.

During this time, it was ſcarcely poſſible for William to proceed in the ſervice of Ireland with neceſſary vigour. The Engliſh forces, if it might be deemed ſafe to employ them againſt the abdicated king, could not be ſpared: New levies were ordered, and ſpeedily completed; but the arms of the Tower having been embezzled, it was neceſſary to ſeek for a ſupply from Holland; nor could money be eaſily raiſed for ſuch ſervice upon parliamentary grants. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a ſubject of popular complaint; and it was, at length, determined to ſend hither a body of forces. The levies for the ſervice of this kingdom conſiſted of eighteen regiments of foot, and five of horſe; but both officers and ſoldiers were unexperienced in war. The chief command was aſſigned to the duke of Schomberg, who, after long detenſion ſet ſail on the 12th of Auguſt, with about ten thouſand of his forces, and part of the artillery. On the next day he appeared in the bay of Carricfergus, and landed near Bangor, in the county of Downe.

Schomberg arrives in Ireland with an army.

The garriſons of Belfaſt and Antrim retired at his firſt appearance, ſome to Liſburne, but moſt to Carricfergus, as the place of greateſt ſtrength. To the latter of theſe he marched to lay ſiege with a conſiderable force. On the approach of his army, the garriſon parleyed; demanding liberty to ſend to king James for ſuccours, or for leave to ſurrender. The demand was ſcornfully rejected, and the ſiege carried on in form, while ſix ſhips battered the town from the ſea. The garriſon was required to march out with the honours of war: Schomberg inſiſted on making them priſoners; but, at laſt, allowed them to march with their arms and ſome baggage, and to be conducted to the next garriſon. His ſoldiers murmured at this indulgence; and ſuch was the antipathy of the Ulſter-Scots to theſe men, both from religious and political conſiderations, that, without regard to faith, they fell furiouſly upon the garriſon, wreſted from them their arms, and were reſtrained from murder only by the vigorous interpoſition of the general *.

Carricfergus ſurrenders.

Schomberg's

* Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Schomberg's army, now augmented from England, advanced to Liſburn, Hillſborough, Dromore, and Loughbrickland, through a deſolated country. The proteſtants had abandoned it on the firſt commotions of the North, and now the popiſh inhabitants fled precipitately with all their cattle and effects. The Iriſh garriſon of Sligo alſo took to flight on a falſe alarm of danger. In their retreat, they burnt down Newry and Carlingford. Schomberg, by a trumpet, threatened to give no quarter, ſhould the enemy continue theſe violences. They abandoned Dundalk, without injuring the town; and hither the Engliſh army advanced.

So high was the opinion which James's officers formed of Schomberg and his army, that they entertained little hope of oppoſing him, and, it was ſaid, had even reſolved not only to abandon their ſtation at Drogheda, but to retire from Dublin. Tyrconnel had the honour of diverting them from a reſolution ſo inglorious. He haſtened to the main army at Drogheda, conſiſting of about eight or ten thouſand, and aſſured them of an immediate reinforcement of twenty thouſand more. Theſe ſuccours accordingly ſoon arrived; and it was, therefore, finally reſolved to maintain their preſent ſtation.

The country through which Schomberg had hitherto arched, was full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not annoy him. That which now lay before him was plain and open, where the ſuperior numbers of the Iriſh could eaſily ſurround his army, and cut off all communication with their ſhips, and their northern friends. The fleet, on which he depended for artillery and proviſions, had not yet arrived at Carlingford. Several of his undiſciplined troops had already ſunk under the joint ſeverities of fatiguing marches and a rigorous ſeaſon; and many of them lay languiſhing on the roads. In ſuch circumſtances, Schomberg deemed it imprudent to advance. Mareſchal Roſen immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while the Duke fortified his camp againſt any attack of the enemy. In this confined and unwholeſome ſtation, with a ſcarcity of all neceſſaries, his ſoldiers ſoon became ſickly. In the mean time, the enemy approached. One party was detached to ſeize a paſs at Newry, ſo as to fall on the rear of the Engliſh; but,

but, on the firſt appearance of oppoſition, retreated to Sligo. Another preſented itſelf before the camp, but, at the ſight of ſome cavalry, retired to the main body. The whole army, with James at its head, was then drawn out, and diſplayed the royal ſtandard. Though they advanced towards Schomberg, he continued in the belief that they had no intention of coming to any engagement. At laſt, they ſeemed determined to ſtorm his camp. The duke now diſpatched orders to his cavalry to return, on an appointed ſignal, from foraging, and the foot were commanded to ſtand to their arms. Theſe orders were ſo generally received with joy, that even the ſickly and languid ſeized their muſkets in confidence of victory, and were only ſolicitous to be relieved from their preſent diſtreſs. But at the moment when an engagement ſeemed inevitable, James drew off his forces to Ardee. His army affected aſtoniſhment and vexation at this retreat; and, as if the ſtorming Schomberg's camp were an enterpriſe of no danger, they imputed his irreſolution to a miſtaken tenderneſs for his Engliſh ſubjects. The latter, on the other hand, ſuſpected that the enemy's motions had been intended only to countenance a conſpiracy formed by ſome French papiſts to betray the camp. Next day the deſign was diſcovered; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of popiſh ſoldiers diſarmed, and tranſported to Holland.

Sickneſs, in the mean time, continued to make great progreſs in the unwholeſome camp of Schomberg; while the enemy, who lay on firmer and more elevated ground, inſulted their calamities. But themſelves were ſoon overtaken by the ſame diſaſters, and their numbers were equally diminiſhed.

Great diſtreſs of Schomberg's army.

While they prepared to retire to winter-quarters, Schomberg was reinforced by ſome regiments from England and Scotland. To prevent theſe troops from catching the infection, and to preſerve the remains of his army, he reſolved to abandon this fatal ſtation, and, for the preſent, pitched a new camp beyond the town. The ſick were ordered on board the ſhips; but theſe proving inſufficient for the purpoſe, waggons were provided to convey the reſt to Belfaſt. Some expired on their firſt attempt to remove; the officers were employed in attend-

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ance on the ſick; and the humane general, at the age of fourſcore years, during the violence of a tempeſtuous ſeaſon, ſtood for hours at the bridge of Dundalk, directing every means for alleviating the miſeries of his men. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt care and aſſiduity, numbers died, and the roads were ſtrewed with their carcaſſes. It was now time for Schomberg to diſpoſe of that part of his army which remained in the northern towns. Hither, therefore, he retired, and his ſoldiers conveyed with them the un-extinguiſhed infection of their camp *.

In England, the people had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs from the military reputation of the duke of Schomberg. So much were his diſtreſſes concealed from them, that they had been aſſured his camp was in a flouriſhing condition; but when, inſtead of reducing Ireland, they learned that he was entrenching himſelf againſt an enemy whom they long had been taught to deſpiſe, their pride was exaſperated; and all the factious part of the nation embraced the opportunity of exclaiming in the ſevereſt terms againſt the conduct of the king's miniſters. From the commencement of the war in Ireland, the Engliſh commons affected to conſider this country with the greater attention, as it was apparently neglected by William. They accordingly ſtudied means for relieving thoſe proteſtants who fled from Ireland. The artificers of that kingdom were permitted to trade in Engliſh corporations; their clergy to hold benefices in England conſiſtently with their Iriſh preferments, until theſe ſhould be recovered; their gentry they recommended to be ſupplied from the eſtates of thoſe who were in arms againſt the preſent government. Enraged at repeated intelligence of the diſtreſs ſuſtained by the brave garriſon of Derry, they enquired into the delays and miſconduct in the ſervice of Ireland; and when the king heſitated to communicate the minute-books of that committee of the privy-council which managed the affairs of this kingdom, they paſſed a reſolution, importing, that his adviſers were enemies to the king and kingdom. Having at length obtained the minute-books, and found them inſufficient for their ſatisfaction, they proceeded to examine witneſſes; they enquired with particular attention into

* Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

into the conduct of Lundy, now a priſoner in the Tower, and they addreſſed the king that he might be ſent to Derry, to be tried by a court-martial.

In the midſt of this ferment, George Walker arrived in London, with an addreſs to the king from the inhabitants of Derry. He was received with every mark of cordiality, and preſented with five thouſand pounds. The city of London invited him to an entertainment; the populace followed him every where with acclamations. When he petitioned the houſe of commons for ſome relief for the widows and orphans of thoſe who periſhed in the defence of Derry, and for the clergy of that city, they addreſſed the king to diſtribute ten thouſand pounds for this purpoſe. They conſulted him on the ſtate of affairs in Ireland; and being now more exaſperated by the event of Schomberg's expedition, they greedily received the information, that the duke's misfortunes aroſe entirely from the miſconduct of one Shales, purveyor to the army, by whoſe means the army was left in want of artillery horſes, carriages, bread, forage, and medicines. Upon this intelligence, the commons multiplied addreſſes to the throne. They firſt deſired, that perſons might be ſent into Ireland, to take account of the numbers and condition of the army; and then, that the king ſhould order Shales into cuſtody; but the latter of theſe requeſts had been previouſly carried into execution. The houſe farther deſired, that his majeſty would inform them by whoſe advice Shales had been employed. To this queſtion the king declared, that he could return no anſwer; but, at the ſame time, to allay the reſentment of the houſe, which pointed directly at his miniſters, he propoſed that the commons ſhould nominate commiſſioners to ſuperintend all preparations neceſſary for the defence of Ireland. Though their animoſity received a temporary abatement by the condeſcenſion of the king, it was not extinguiſhed. They ſoon remonſtrated with freſh violence againſt miſcarriages in the army, the fleet, and in Ireland; and reſolved that the king ſhould be addreſſed to take theſe into conſideration, to find out the authors, and to entruſt the management of affairs to perſons in whom the nation could place greater confidence.

William,

William, at laſt, reſolved to undertake the war of Ireland in perſon; and the firſt report of this deſign was a conſiderable encouragement to the Engliſh army in Ulſter.

In the mean time, cloaths, arms, ammunition, and proviſions, arrived from England; and ſeven thouſand well-appointed auxiliaries from Denmark landed at Belfaſt, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg. Schomberg, whoſe troops had now recovered ſome degree of vigour, was employed in furniſhing his frontier-garriſons with ſtores; nor was James leſs aſſiduous in forming magazines, and preparing for the campaign. He had formerly, it was ſaid, expreſſed a reſolution of truſting to his own ſubjects for ſucceſs; but he now accepted five thouſand French troops, under the conduct of count Lauzun, in exchange for an equal number of Iriſh tranſported to France. This meaſure, however, was not attended with the advantage which had been expected; and James had the mortification to find his new auxiliaries extremely refractory. They acknowledged no ſuperior but Lauzun, who, attending only to the intereſt of his troops, conſidered himſelf as in an enemy's country, and lived at free quarter.

Seven thouſand Danes arrive in Ireland.

James exchanges ſome Iriſh for French troops.

A trivial incident ſerved to increaſe the mortification of this unhappy prince. The only frigate he yet retained of the royal fleet lay in the bay of Dublin, ready to convey to France ſome ſmall veſſels laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his braſs coin on the proprietors. A firing being heard from ſea, James flattered himſelf that it was occaſioned by ſome of his Engliſh ſubjects returning to their allegiance. The ſtrand was quickly covered with a multitude of the citizens; while James himſelf rode to the ſhore, at the head of his guards, and, to his great diſappointment, became a ſpectator of the gallantry of ſir Coudeſly Shovel, who had ſailed with a few ſhips from Belfaſt, and now, after ſome reſiſtance, took the frigate, with the whole convoy.

But James, however mortified at this incident, was more ſenſibly afflicted with the loſs of Charlemont. This fort was eſteemed ſo ſtrong and ſo well provided, that Schomberg, in his progreſs, had not ventured to attack it. To harraſs and ſtraiten the garriſon, Caillemote, a brave French

French officer, had been poſted on the Black-water with a conſiderable force, in the ſpring. As the ſeaſon advanced, the caſtle was more cloſely inveſted, and the governor ſummoned to ſurrender. He refuſed however to capitulate; and a detachment of five hundred men, ſent to its relief, with a ſmall quantity of ammunition and proviſion, was ſuffered to march in after a ſlight reſiſtance. They ſoon found that their additional numbers would ſerve only to accelerate the diſtreſs with which the garriſon was threatened from a ſcarcity of proviſions; and they attempted to return, but were repulſed by the beſiegers. O'Regan, the governor, incenſed at the proſpect of a reinforcement which muſt prove the deſtruction of the garriſon, ſwore that they ſhould receive no entertainment in the place, and that, if they would not force their way through the enemy, they ſhould be obliged to lodge on the counterſcap and dry ditch within the paliſadoes. The diſtreſs both of the garriſon, and of the detachment thus excluded, ſoon becoming intolerable, the governor at laſt propoſed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

A.D. 1690. During theſe tranſactions, ſeveral new regiments, Engliſh, Dutch, and Brandenburgers, arrived in the northern province; and the army was every day encouraged with the aſſurance, that William was ſoon to join the army. At laſt, on the 14th day of June, he landed at Carricfergus, amidſt the acclamations of the people *. He was attended by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. Determined on a vigorous proſecution of the war, he advanced to Liſburn and Hillſborough, where he commenced the exerciſe of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the inhabitants of the northern province. The teachers of diſſenting congregations, which abounded in this province, had acted with zeal againſt the cauſe of popery, and the late king. William iſſued his warrant, granting them an annual penſion of twelve hundred pounds. His forces were ordered to take the field; and when ſome cautious counſels were ſuggeſted by his officers, he rejected them with indignation. "I came not to Ireland (ſaid he) to let graſs grow under my feet." At Loughbrickland,

William arrives in Ireland.

* Impartial Hiſtory, &c.

Loughbrickland, his whole forces aſſembled from their different quarters; and were joined by the king and his train. An army of thirty-ſix thouſand men, excellently appointed, now advanced ſouthward, to decide the fate of Ireland, while the fleet coaſted ſlowly in view, to ſupply them with all neceſſaries *.

James, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of William's landing, committed the guard of Dublin to a militia, under the command of Luttrel, the governor, and marched with ſix thouſand French infantry, to join the main body of his army, which now lay near Drogheda, on the banks of the river Boyne. His numbers were about thirty-three thouſand. His council of officers adviſed him not to hazard an engagement againſt ſuperior numbers, but to maintain a defenſive war, until the diſcontents in England ſhould begin to operate effectually in his favour. James, however, contended for the neceſſity of vigorous meaſures, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction that he had at laſt the opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. Yet, with an ominous precaution, he diſpatched ſir Patrick Trant, one of his commiſſioners of revenue, to Waterford, to prepare a ſhip for conveying him to France in caſe of any misfortune.

On the laſt day of June, at the firſt dawn of the morning, William's army moved towards the Boyne in three columns, himſelf marching at the head of his advanced guard, which ſoon appeared within a few miles of Drogheda. Here, from the ſummit of a hill, he took a view of the enemy. On their right was Drogheda, filled with Iriſh ſoldiers. Eaſtward of the town, on the farther banks of the river, their camp extended in two lines, with a moraſs on the left, difficult to be paſſed. In their front were the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by ſome breaſtwork, with huts and hedges, convenient to be lined with infantry. On their rear, at ſome diſtance, lay the church and village of Donore. Three miles farther was the paſs of Duleek, on which they depended for a retreat.

William's army was now marching into camp, when, anxious to gain a nearer and more diſtinct view of the enemy, he advanced, with ſome officers, within muſket-ſhot

* Burnet.

ſhot of a ford oppoſite to a village called Old Bridge. Here he conferred for ſome time on the methods of paſſing, and planting his batteries; and riding on ſtill weſtward, he alighted, and ſat down to refreſh himſelf on a riſing ground. Neither the motions of William, nor of his army, were unnoticed by the party of James. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and ſome other generals, rode ſlowly along the oppoſite banks, and diſcovered the preſent ſituation of the king. A party of about forty horſe immediately appeared in a plowed field, oppoſite to the place on which he ſat. In their centre they concealed two field-pieces, which they planted, unnoticed, under cover of a hedge, and retired. William mounted his horſe. At that moment the firſt diſcharge killed a man and two horſes, at a little diſtance from the king. Another ball, which inſtantly followed, grazed on the banks of the river, whence it roſe, and, ſlanting on his right ſhoulder, wounded him. The royal attendants crowded round in confuſion. A ſhout of joy rung through the Iriſh camp that Orange was no more. It was conveyed rapidly to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where it was received in tranſport by Lewis, his inveterate enemy.

In the evening, William aſſembled his principal officers, to whom he declared his reſolution of paſſing the river in front of the enemy. Duke Schomberg, with the caution natural to his years, endeavoured to diſſuade him from this hazardous enterprize; and when he could not prevail, inſiſted that part of the army ſhould be immediately detached to ſecure the bridge of Slane, about three miles weſtward of their camp, ſo as to flank the enemy, and to cut them off from Duleek, the paſs through which they might retreat. This counſel being alſo treated with indifference, the duke retired in diſguſt, and received the order of battle in his tent, declaring, "that it was the firſt ever ſent to him." James diſcovered the ſame inattention with William to this important paſs. In his council of war, Hamilton recommended that eight regiments might be ſent immediately to ſecure the bridge. James propoſed to employ fifty dragoons in this ſervice: the general, in aſtoniſhment, bowed, and was ſilent.

Battle of the Boyne.

At midnight William rode through his camp with torches, inſpecting every poſt, and iſſued his final orders.

Early

Early on the ſucceeding morning, count Schomberg, ſon of the duke, with the cavalry, and Douglas with the infantry, which compoſed the right wing, marched towards Slane with greater alacrity than the troops ſent from the other ſide to oppoſe them. They croſſed the river without any oppoſition, except from a regiment of dragoons ſtationed over night at the ford. Then advancing, they found their antagoniſts drawn up in two lines. In forming, they mixed their horſe and foot, ſquadron with battalion, until on the arrival of more infantry they changed their poſition, drawing the horſe to the right, by which they conſiderably out-flanked the enemy. But they were to force their way through fields incloſed by deep ditches, difficult to be ſurmounted, eſpecially by the horſe; who, in the face of an enemy, were obliged to advance in order; beyond theſe lay a moraſs ſtill more embarraſſing. The infantry was ordered to plunge in, and, while the horſe found a firm paſſage to the right, forced their way with fatigue and difficulty. The enemy, aſtoniſhed at their intrepidity, fled inſtantly towards Duleek, and were purſued with great ſlaughter.

When it was ſuppoſed that the right wing had made good its paſſage, the infantry in the centre, which was commanded by duke Schomberg, was put in motion. The Dutch guards firſt entered the river, on the right, oppoſite to Old-bridge. The French Proteſtants and Enniſkilliners, Brandenburghers and Engliſh, at their ſeveral paſſes to the left, plunged in with alacrity, while the water in ſome places roſe to their breaſts, and obliged the infantry to ſupport their arms above their heads. The Dutch, having gained the oppoſite banks, formed gradually, and drove the Iriſh from their poſts. As they continued to advance, the ſquadrons and battalions of the enemy ſuddenly appeared in view behind the eminences which had concealed them. Five of theſe battalions bore down upon the Dutch who had already paſſed, but were received firmly, and repulſed. The efforts of the Iriſh horſe were equally unſucceſsful. Two attacks were bravely repelled, when the French and Enniſkilliners arrived to the ſupport of the Dutch, and drove back a third body of horſe with conſiderable execution.

Meanwhile, general Hamilton led the Iriſh infantry

to

to the very margin of the river, to oppoſe the paſſage of the French and Engliſh; but the men ſhrunk from the danger. Their cavalry proved more ſpirited. A ſquadron of Danes was attacked with ſuch intrepidity, that they fled back through the river. The Iriſh horſe purſued; and, on their return, fell furiouſly on the French huguenots, who had no pikes to ſuſtain their ſhock, and were inſtantly broken. The duke of Schomberg, who had waited to ſupport his friends on any dangerous emergency, now ruſhed through the river, and placed himſelf at the head of the huguenot forces, who were deprived of their brave leader, Caillemote. The Iriſh horſe who had broken the French Proteſtants, wheeled through Old-bridge, in order to join their main body; but were here cut down by the Dutch and Enniſkilliners. About ſixteen of their ſquadron eſcaped, and returning furiouſly from the ſlaughter of their companions, were miſtaken by the huguenots for ſome of their own friends, and ſuffered to paſs: they wounded Schomberg in the head, and were hurrying him forward, when he was killed by a ſhot from his own men. About the ſame time, Walker of Londonderry, whoſe paſſion for military glory had impelled into this engagement, received a wound, of which he inſtantly expired.

Duke of Schomberg killed.

After an inceſſant firing of an hour, there enſued ſome reſpite on both ſides. The Iriſh retreated towards Donore, where James ſtood during the engagement, ſurrounded by his guards; and here, drawing up in good order, once more advanced. William, at the head of the Dutch, Daniſh, and Engliſh cavalry, which compoſed the right wing of his army, had now croſſed the river, through a dangerous and difficult paſs, where his horſe floundering in the mud, obliged him to diſmount, and accept the aſſiſtance of his attendants. When the enemy had advanced almoſt within muſket-ſhot of his infantry, he was ſeen with his ſword drawn, animating his ſquadrons, and preparing to fall on their flank. They halted, and again retreated to Donore; where, facing about vigorouſly, they charged with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Engliſh cavalry, though led on by their king, was forced from their ground. The battle, however, was ſtill maintained with ardour, and with variety of fortune. The king conſtantly mingled in the hotteſt part of the engagement, where his preſence

gave

gave double vigour to his ſoldiers. The Iriſh infantry was finally repulſed. Hamilton, at the head of his horſe, made one deſperate effort to turn the fortune of the day; but though their ſhock was furious, they were routed, and their general conveyed a priſoner to William *.

While the right wing of William's army, which had forced its way through difficult grounds, purſued the enemy cloſe to Dunleek, Lauzun rode up to James, who ſtill continued at Donore, and adviſed him to retreat immediately, as he was in danger of being ſurrounded. He marched to Duleek at the head of Sarsfield's regiment, and was followed by his army, which poured through the paſs not without ſome annoyance from a party of Engliſh dragoons. When they reached the open ground, they drew up, and cannonaded their purſuers. Their loſs in this engagement was computed at fifteen hundred; that of William's army ſcarcely amounted to one third of this number †.

James arrives at Dublin.

The conteſt for the crown was finally determined by this battle. James arrived at Dublin in great diſorder, and damped the joy of his friends, who, ſince the intelligence of William's death, were every hour in expectation of receiving him in triumph. He aſſembled the popiſh magiſtrates and council of the city; telling them that in England his army had deſerted him; in Ireland, they had meanly fled from the enemy; and that nothing, therefore, now remained, but that he and they ſhould ſhift for themſelves. It had been deliberated, whether, in caſe of ſuch a misfortune, Dublin ſhould not be ſet on fire? but he charged them, on their allegiance, to commit no ſuch deſperate act, the barbarity of which would not only reflect diſhonour on him, but exaſperate the conqueror. Though obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior power, he aſſured them he would never ceaſe to labour for their deliverance. Too much blood, he obſerved, had been already ſhed; and Providence ſeemed to declare againſt him: he therefore adviſed them to ſet their priſoners at liberty, and ſubmit to the prince of Orange, who was merciful. The reflexion on the courage of the Iriſh troops, provoked the officers to retort it on the king, who, they ſaid, while William ſhared the danger of his army, ſtood at ſecure

* Burnet. † Ibid. Harris's Life of William.

diſtance, an idle ſpectator of a conteſt, in which they, though not animated by his preſence, had maintained his cauſe with unimpeachable valour. In the warmth of reſentment, they exclaimed, "Exchange kings, and we will once more fight the battle." Their indignation was increaſed, when they ſaw him fly precipitately to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a purſuit, and inſtantly embark for France.

And embarks for France.

Though James had now abandoned the Iriſh, yet the intereſts of their religion were involved in his cauſe; nor had they any hopes either of recovering the poſſeſſions of their anceſtors, or ſecuring thoſe which they ſtill retained, but by contending againſt the new government. Moſt of his army marched through Dublin, bending their courſe to Limerick and Athlone. The metropolis was now threatened with all the evils of anarchy. The proteſtant priſoners, who were ſet free, breathed nothing but revenge againſt their perſecutors, and ſeemed ready for the moſt terrible outrage; when one Fitzgerald, a military officer, had the addreſs to diſſuade them from their violent deſigns. He aſſumed the government of the city, and ſent to king William, requeſting immediate aſſiſtance. At laſt, after ſome outrages had been committed in the city, he received nine troops of horſe, which were afterwards reinforced by the Dutch guards. William, in the meantime, continued to advance ſlowly, and encamped at Finglaſs, a village within two miles of the capital; which entering, to give thanks, in the cathedral church of St Patrick, for his victory, he returned immediately to his camp. He now publiſhed a declaration, calculated to detach the lower order of ſubjects from their leaders. He promiſed pardon and protection to all who remained at home, or ſhould return to their dwellings, and ſurrender their arms. He commanded all tenants of proteſtant ſubjects to pay their rents to their reſpective landlords, and that the tenants of thoſe who were concerned in rebellion ſhould detain their rents, until the commiſſioners of his revenue ſhould ſignify to whom they were to be paid. As to the leaders of the rebellion, he declared his reſolution of leaving them to the event of war. William's Engliſh adherents, being impatient for forfeitures, were gratified by a commiſſion iſſued for ſeizing all ſuch as accrued to the crown by the rebellion,

rebellion, though no courts of judicature were now opened for proceeding regularly in the buſineſs. This meaſure ſerved only to confirm the Iriſh in their averſion to the new government; and they therefore prepared to renew the war with the utmoſt animoſity. In eight days after his victory at the Boyne, William reſolved to divide his army; and, while himſelf marched ſouthward, he detached Douglas, one of his generals, to reduce Athlone. William, receiving intelligence of Tourville's ſucceſs over the united fleets of England and Holland, haſtened his march. Wexford had already declared for him, and now received his garriſon: Clonmel was abandoned by the Iriſh. Waterford was ſummoned; the garriſon, after ſome heſitation, demanded the enjoyment of their eſtates, the freedom of their religion, and liberty to march out with arms and baggage. The laſt article only was admitted; but upon this they ſurrendered. Duncannon, at firſt, threatened greater reſiſtance; but, on the appearance of ſir Cloudeſly Shovel with ſixteen frigates, the governor accepted the ſame conditions with Waterford.

Several forts ſurrender to William.

Douglas, in the mean time, proceeded in his expedition to Athlone. He marched as through an enemy's country; his men plundering, and even murdering with impunity, in defiance of the royal proclamation, and the expreſs orders of their general. The army, become odious by its outrages, at length appeared before Athlone. To the ſummons ſent by Douglas, the governor, whoſe name was Grace, returned a paſſionate defiance. Firing a piſtol at the meſſenger, "Theſe," ſaid he, "are my terms." His garriſon conſiſted of three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horſe, with a larger body encamped at a ſmall diſtance to ſupport them; all violently exaſperated againſt the beſiegers, and encouraged by falſe rumours of William's death, and of inſurrections and invaſions in England. The governor, deeming that part of Athlone which lay on the eaſtern ſide of the Shannon, to be indefenſible, ſet fire to it, and broke the bridge, reſolving to maintain the Iriſh diſtrict on the weſt. He alſo raiſed ſome fortifications, and mounted two batteries, beſide thoſe of the caſtle. Douglas commenced his operations by playing on the caſtle from a battery of ſix guns, but without any conſiderable

effect. At laſt after ſeveral diſaſters, he formed the reſolution of retiring. He decamped at midnight, unmoleſted; and, in his terror of the enemy, marched by difficult roads to join the royal army. The proteſtant inhabitants of the country near Athlone, who had enjoyed the benefit of Iriſh protections, were thus expoſed to the utmoſt ſeverities from the troops of the garriſon, by having, on the approach of the beſiegers, declared in favour of the Engliſh. Abandoning, therefore, their habitotions and their harveſts, they were forced to attend the retreating army, which made a prey of the miſerable pittance of proviſions the unfortunate emigrants had carried with them *.

Siege of Limerick.

Douglas found the king advancing to Limerick, the great ſeat of the Iriſh force, and of which he was determined, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter. On the 9th day of Auguſt, William began his approaches to the town, through grounds interſected with ditches, and hedges lined with Iriſh infantry, who retreated gradually as the pioneers levelled the incloſures, until they came to a narrow and encumbered paſs between two bogs, terminated by an old fort built by Ireton, and communicating with the town by three different lanes. Of theſe the broadeſt was occupied by the Iriſh horſe, while their muſketeers were drawn up under cover of the hedges on the right and left. As William's army advanced in order, two field-pieces were ſo planted as to bear upon the enemy's horſe; who, after ſome diſcharges, were forced from the ground, while the infantry were driven under the walls. Ireton's fort, and another advantageous poſt, were gained without reſiſtance, and immediately mounted with field-pieces to annoy the town and outworks. William, encouraged by this ſucceſs, encamped within cannon-ſhot of the walls, without the uſual precautions for ſecurity; and, before his artillery arrived, ſummoned the governor to ſurrender. Boileau, who would not give William the royal titles, addreſſed his anſwer not to the king, but to ſir Robert Southwell, the ſecretary. In it he expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the ſummons, and declared his reſolution of meriting the good opinion of the prince of Orange, by a vigorous defence of the place entruſted to him by his majeſty.

* Mem. of Ireland.

majeſty. William, in the mean time, was aſſured that this ſpirited anſwer by no means correſponded with the ſentiments of the garriſon, who were reſtrained from an immediate ſubmiſſion only by the remonſtrances of the governor, the duke of Berwick, and Sarsfield. The more to animate the king's hopes, Ginckle, his Dutch general, gained a ford about three miles from the town, which the enemy abandoned at his approach, and where a ſtrong detachment was now poſted on each ſide of the river.

In the meanwhile, the garriſon prepared for a vigorous defence; and learning from a French deſerter the ſituation of the king's tent, directed towards it all the fury of their artillery; ſo that William found it neceſſary to remove. Being likewiſe informed of the train which the enemy expected from Dublin, its route, and the number of its convoy, the enterpriſing ſpirit of Sarsfield was inflamed with the deſire of intercepting it; reſolved, if he ſhould fail in this laſt effort, to abandon the hopeleſs cauſe of his countrymen, and retire to France. With a party of choſen cavalry, he croſſed the Shannon at Killaloe, about twelve miles above the Engliſh camp, and waited in the mountains the approach of the artillery and its eſcort. The march of ſo diſtinguiſhed an officer on a ſecret expedition was ſoon communicated to the enemy, who received it at firſt with indifference; but coming to the knowledge of William, he ordered ſir John Lanier to march with five hundred horſe, and meet the train. Lanier executed his orders, but not with due alacrity. In the mean time, the artillery advanced within ſeven miles to the rear of the Engliſh camp. The officer who commanded the convoy, apprehending no danger at ſo ſmall a diſtance from the army, encamped looſely on a plain, without the neceſſary precaution. While the main body of the convoy lay in an unguarded ſituation, Sarsfield ruſhed furiouſly upon them, and ſlaughtered or diſperſed the whole party. He then collected the cannon, carriages, waggons, and ammunition. Filling the firſt with powder, he fixed their mouths in the ground, and laying a train to the heap, fired it on his retreat. Lanier and his party, alarmed, but too late, by the hideous exploſion, arrived in view of the enemy's rear, and made an attempt to intercept them; but the attempt proved as abortive as it was now unimportant,

important, and Sarsfield returned triumphantly to Limerick.

The news of this diſaſter was no ſooner known in the Engliſh camp than it excited univerſal commotion. By ſome it was imputed to the neglect of lord Portland and count Solmes; and by others to the ſecret diſaffection of Lanier, who had formerly been a favourite of king James. William alone maintained a compoſure, ſo unaccountable to his ſoldiers, that they ſuſpected him of having no real deſign to conclude the war, but only to keep the enemy cantoned about Limerick, and to preſerve the conqueſts he had already made. But it was obviouſly his intereſt to complete the reduction of Ireland without delay. With two of his cannon, which had eſcaped the late havock, and ſome others brought from Waterford, he furniſhed his batteries, and renewed his operations with vigour. The beſieged, on their part, defended themſelves like men whoſe intereſts were to be decided by one final effort. During the ſpace of a week, the aſſualt and the defence were maintained with equal ſpirit; and William, who took an active part in every operation, was frequently expoſed to danger. At laſt, on the 27th, a breach being made twelve yards in length, the king ordered the counterſcarp, and two towers on each ſide of the breach, to be aſſaulted. Five hundred of the grenadiers in the fartheſt angle of the trenches leaped over, and running towards the counterſcarp, were furiouſly oppoſed; but, in the midſt of a tremendous fire, diſlodged the enemy, and purſuing even to the breach, many were actually in the town, while the Iriſh ran from the walls in confuſion. The regiments appointed to ſecond them ſtopped at the counterſcarp, agreeably to their orders. Many of the troops whoſe ardour had hurried them within the walls, were now killed by the enemy, and almoſt all wounded. The Iriſh again marched to the breach, and defended it with redoubled valour. Even the women joined in the general enthuſiaſm, defied the beſiegers, and aſſailed them with ſtones. During three hours an inceſſant diſcharge of great and ſmall arms was maintained on each ſide. One regiment of Brandenburghers ſeized a battery; but the powder catching fire, they were almoſt all blown into the air. The breach was ſtill defended with obſtinacy:

where

where the walls were entire, the beſiegers, who had no ſcaling-ladders, waſted their fire to no purpoſe, and were expoſed defenceleſs to all the fury of the enemy. Five hundred of their number were ſlain, and more than one thouſand deſperately wounded, when Wiliam at length ordered a retreat. Next morning a drummer was ſent into the town, to demand a truce for the purpoſe of burying the dead; but it was haughtily refuſed by the governor. The Engliſh army, ſtill undiſmayed, was impatient for another aſſault; but the ſeaſon advancing, when heavy rains were expected, which might render the roads impaſſable to the artillery, the king determined to raiſe the ſiege. He therefore ordered the batteries to be diſarmed, and his forces retired without any moleſtation from the garriſon.

William embarks for England.

This terminated the period of William's perſonal enterprizes in Ireland. Leaving the command of his forces to count Solmes and Ginckle, and committing the civil government to lords-juſtices, he proceeded to Waterford, and, with prince George, the duke of Ormond, and other attendants, embarked at Duncannon-fort for England *.

Earl of Marlborough arrives in Ireland.

The earl of Marlborough, who ſeems to have become obnoxious to the king, by the part which he and his conſort had taken in the quarrel with the princeſs of Denmark, had continued ſome time unemployed; and, being impatient of his inactivity, formed a project for recovering the royal favour. He repreſented to William the importance of Cork and Kinſale, and engaged to reduce theſe towns, with five thouſand forces which lay in England ready for any ſervice, and ſuch reinforcements as might be ſpared in Ireland. The propoſal was accepted, and the embarkation prepared at Portſmouth, while William yet lay before Limerick. On the 29th day of September, the earl arrived in Cork road, where he drove the enemy from a battery, and landed without any farther oppoſition. Ginckle, on whom the chief command devolved by the departure of count Solmes, detached to his aſſiſtance nine hundred cavalry, which were ſoon followed by four thouſand foot under the prince of Wirtemberg, whoſe conduct threatened to defeat the whole enterprize. He claimed the chief command by virtue of his ſuperior rank;

* Memoirs of Ireland.

rank; while Marlborough, on the other hand, inſiſted on the priority of his commiſſion, and that the prince's troops were merely auxiliaries. The diſpute grew warm and alarming, but, by the interpoſition of la Mellionere, a prudent French officer, was at length accommodated; the earl being perſuaded to ſhare the command with his rival.

Siege of Cork,

The ſiege was now carried on, but not without ſome farther conteſt between theſe generals. The garriſon gradually abandoned their works; a breach was made in the wall, and the beſiegers prepared for an aſſault. When, for this purpoſe, they were on the point of croſſing a march at low water, the governor parleyed, and propoſed terms of capitulation. Marlborough, who had now the command, inſiſted that the garriſon ſhould become priſoners of war. Wirtemberg contended for granting more moderate terms. The diſpute continued until the tide returned; when the governor, imagining all danger was over, broke off the conference. The generals were provoked at this behaviour, and the breach was enlarged. The Dutch and Engliſh, encouraged by the duke of Grafton and other volunteers, bravely paſſed the river, wading to their ſhoulders, expoſed to the enemy's fire, and poſted themſelves under the bank of a marſh, which ſerved as a counterſcarp to the city-wall. The duke of Grafton, to the regret of the whole army, was borne away mortally wounded, while the troops prepared for a general aſſault.

which ſurrenders.

But now the garriſon, whoſe ammunition was exhauſted, renewed the parley, and conſented to become priſoners of war. The proteſtant priſoners were ſet at liberty; the proteſtant magiſtrates reſumed their offices, and proclaimed the king and queen. All papiſts were ordered, on pain of death, to ſurrender their arms.

Kinſale reduced.

Cork had no ſooner ſurrrendered than Marlborough ſent a detachment to ſummon Kinſale; but the governor returned a ſcornful anſwer, and threatened to put the meſſenger to death. The town itſelf, however, was ſcarcely tenable: he therefore ſet it on fire, and placed his reliance on the two forts, the old and the new. The former was taken after a brave reſiſtance, in which the governor, ſeveral officers, and half the garriſon, were ſlain; the other, in ten days, was alſo reduced to capitulate.

In the mean time, the French, who had come over to the

the aſſiſtance of James, were recalled to their own country; but not before their inſolence had rendered them extremely obnoxious to their Iriſh confederates. The latter, under the command of Sarsfield, now reſolved to exert their native ſtrength with double vigour. Tranſported by their defence of Limerick, they talked wildly of croſſing the Shannon, piercing through Leinſter, and ſetting fire to the capital. As their neceſſities might drive them to ſome deſperate excurſions, Ginckle ſtill kept his forces poſted in different parts about the Shannon, ready to oppoſe any ſudden attempts. But on the reduction of Cork and Kinſale, he ventured to draw his troops into winter-quarters.

Great diſorders in Ireland.

The ſecurity, however, with which he had flattered himſelf proved prejudicial. The Iriſh, inured to the ſeverity of the winter, acquainted with every road, and impelled both by neceſſity and revenge, made ſucceſsful excurſions, in which they ſurpriſed his ſmaller parties, and ſpread general conſternation by their ravages. The contending armies were equally diſtreſſed; and, to aggravate the miſeries occaſioned by a rapacious ſoldiery, the country ſwarmed with robbers and murderers, who lived in utter defiance of legal authority. For ſuppreſſing theſe outrages, the lords-juſtices laboured to give form to the civil government. All indictments of high-treaſon were removed to the ſuperior courts, now furniſhed with judges. Lords-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, were appointed to the ſeveral counties, ſubject to the Engliſh power. The commiſſion of forfeitures was ſuperſeded, and a variety of proclamations publiſhed, to regulate commerce, to reſtrain the turbulent, and to promote the public peace. It was ordained, that Papiſts of every county ſhould be reſponſible for the ravages committed by thoſe of their communion; and that where any number of Rapparees (a name given to the banditti, from that of the weapon which they uſed) were collected, no popiſh prieſt ſhould be ſuffered to reſide. Some attempts were alſo made to correct the diſorders of the army; but the officers treated the civil power with diſregard, and the ſoldiers acknowledged no ſuperiors but their officers. Several of theſe were ſuſpected of ſecret reluctance to a termination of the preſent war; an

an event which might call them to a ſeverer ſervice, and againſt a more dangerous enemy. Ginckle, however, appeared to be actuated with a ſincere deſire of putting an end to the public calamities by a vigorous proſecution of the war. He projected an incurſion into Kerry, a country over-run with the Iriſh, and which ſupplied their army with many neceſſaries. Great preparations were made for this expedition; and Shovel, now on the coaſt, was directed by the lords-juſtices to attend, with his fleet, the orders of Ginckle; but, on account of the broken roads, and dreary ſeaſon, the enterprize, in the end, was found impracticable *.

The Iriſh, in the mean time, made ſeveral efforts to penetrate the Engliſh frontier. They particularly meditated an attack on the Engliſh garriſon of Mullingar; for which purpoſe they were now employed in fortifying Ballymore, a little town between this garriſon and Athlone. The garriſon was reinforced; Ginckle arrived at Mullingar, and led about two thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, againſt a conſiderable body of the enemy, encamped near Ballymore. They drew up with an appearance of reſolution. The paſs which they occupied was defended by paliſadoes; but the Iriſh, in their precipitation, pointed the paliſadoes inwards, ſo as to favour the incurſion, inſtead of reſtraining the enemy. They were quickly put to flight, and purſued to a place called the Moat of Grenoge, from which the ſkirmiſh took its name. Here they attempted to make a ſtand, but were driven into the town, which they alſo were obliged to abandon, and fled in conſternation to Athlone. So great was the terror and confuſion at this place, that the gates were ſhut againſt the fugitives many of whom fled for ſhelter to the bogs, and many periſhed in the river.

This diſaſter greatly damped the ſpirits of the Iriſh, and increaſed the confuſion now ſubſiſting in their councils. Tyrconnel was returned from France, whither he had been ſent to ſolicit ſuccours, but could procure only the miſerable pittance of eight thouſand pounds, and ſome cloathing. The money was diſtributed as a donation among the ſoldiers, but proved inſufficient to allay their diſcontents. Tyrconnel himſelf appeared gloomy and deſpond-

* Impartial Hiſtory.

ſponding; nor could the unprincipled obſequiouſneſs with which he had endeavoured to ſecure the favour of his maſter, now ſave him from diſgrace. James committed the adminiſtration of his civil affairs to ſir Richard Nagle and ſir Stephen Rice; and as Tyrconnel declared for moderate meaſures, and was for ſecuring the remains of the nation by a ſubmiſſion, he was accuſed of treachery. The officers who declared for war reviled and inſulted him; and continued to flatter both themſelves and their followers with hopes of aſſiſtance from France. To favour theſe expectations, ſome French officers gradually arrived, and repeated the aſſurances of ſpeedy ſuccours. At length, Monſ. Saint-Ruth landed at Limerick with a commiſſion of chief commander. Sarsfield was juſtly diſcontented; nor could the title of earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to the indignity of being thus ſuperſeded. Saint-Ruth, reſolving on a defenſive war, ordered the towns on the Iriſh ſide of the Shannon to be ſtrengthened, and with the main army took his ſtation behind Athlone. A.D. 1691.

Ginckle, being now ſupplied with ſome reinforcements, and other neceſſaries from England, determined to open the campaign by the ſiege of Athlone. The firſt operation was that of reducing fort Ballymore, which the enemy had occupied with a thouſand of their beſt forces, who now ſurrendered as priſoners of war. This object being effected, the general advanced with a party of horſe within a few miles of Athlone, where, from an eminence, he ſurveyed the town and the ſituation of the Iriſh army, which lay encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at the diſtance of two miles from the Shannon. Next day putting his army in motion, he marched through lanes lined with Iriſh infantry, who gradually retired before them to the Engliſh diſtrict of Athlone. The walls of the place being repaired, the enemy reſolved on a defence; but a battery of ten guns ſoon made a conſiderable breach, and orders were given for the aſſault. For ſome time the enemy defended the breach, until being driven to the bridge, lately repaired, they ran with ſuch confuſion into the Iriſh town, that many were cruſhed to death, and many plunging from the battlements into the river, were inſtantly drowned. But ſtill the aſſailants found new

Reduction of fort Ballymore, and of Athlone.

new difficulties to encounter. The arch of the bridge neareſt to the Iriſh town was again broken. The enemy lay entrenched on the other ſide, and from their works fired furiouſly on the Engliſh diſtrict. The ford between the two towns was deep, narrow, and ſtony. At another place called Laneſborough, he formed a ſcheme for paſſing by a bridge of pontoons; but the enemy diſcovering his motion, defeated the purpoſe. Ginckle had now no means of forcing his way but by the bridge. Here, while his batteries and mortars continued to play inceſſantly, he carried on a wooden-work with the view of throwing planks over the broken arch. This deſign was almoſt completed, when a ſerjeant and ten men in armour ruſhed from the oppoſite ſide, and attempting to deſtroy their works, were all ſlain. Another party, however, unintimidated by this diſaſter, repeated the attack with more ſucceſs; they reſolutely caſt down the beams and planks into the river, and two ſurvivors returned in triumph to the town.

Ginckle, determined on the proſecution of the ſiege, made another effort to force a paſſage to the town, and carried on his works by a cloſe gallery on the broken arch, which was ſoon completed. Several breaches being now made in the walls and caſtle, it was reſolved in a council of war, to paſs the Shannon by three different ways. One party was appointed to force the bridge, another to croſs the ford below it, and a third to paſs by floats and pontoons about nine hundred feet farther. In the morning of the day appointed for this bold effort, and when the army ſtood ready to be put in motion, the Iriſh were informed by deſerters of the intended enterprize, and their troops were ſeen marching in great numbers from their camp into the town. The beſiegers, however, ſtill perſevered; and to animate the ſoldiers in an attempt of ſo much danger, money was diſtributed among them. On each ſide all was now anxiety and agitation, when on a ſudden the enemy's grenades ſet fire to ſome faſcines on the broken arch; the flames quickly reached the gallery; the fire and ſmoke were blown into the face of the beſiegers with inſupportable violence; nor could they prevent the entire demolition of that part of their gallery which extended towards the enemy. The attack was now

counter-

countermanded, and it was expected that the ſiege muſt be immediately raiſed, when Ginckle, without delay, convened another council, in which the plan of operations was warmly debated. To remain for any time in their preſent ſituation was impoſſible, as the forage was deſtroyed for ſeveral miles; to retire before an exulting army was not only diſpiriting, but might open the enemy a way to the very walls of Dublin: on the other hand, the conſequences of an unſucceſsful attack were evidently fatal. In this ſituation of affairs Ginckle ſeemed inclined to retire; but the duke of Wirtemberg, and other general officers, ſtrongly urged the proſecution of the enterprize. They repreſented, that the paſſage of the ford was not ſo dangerous as they had at firſt imagined, as three Daniſh criminals had ſucceſsfully tried it on a promiſe of their lives. Mackay, the Scottiſh general, alone, in the caution and poſitiveneſs of age, oppoſed the deſign, and from the beginning declared againſt attempting to paſs the river in the face of a town and an army. By the urgency, however, of Wirtemberg and others, who contended for the glory of the enterprize, it was finally reſolved to attempt the paſſage on the next morning. To encourage the Engliſh forces, they were aſſured by deſerters, that Saint-Ruth, in full confidence that the ſiege muſt be immediately raiſed, had detached three of his worſt regiments to man the works. In the rotation of duty, the command of the paſs devolved on Mackay; but Ginckle, unwilling to entruſt it to the officer who had declared againſt the attempt, conſigned it to Talmaſh. Mackay complaining of this indignity, the former modeſtly relinquiſhed his pretenſions, and entreated permiſſion to attend as a volunteer. That the enemy might not be alarmed by any extraordinary commotion in the camp, it was reſolved to make the attack at the uſual hour of relieving the guards. Two thouſand men were appointed for this ſervice; and, at the ſignal given, by tolling the church-bell, their advanced guards boldly entered the river, amidſt the acclamations of their companions. Mackay, their commander, waded by the ſide of his men. He was followed by la Mellionere, Tetteau, the prince of Heſſe, and other officers; while Talmaſh attended as volunteer, encouraging the men. Wirtemberg having his horſe ſhot under him,

was

was conveyed through the river on the ſhoulders of his grenadiers. During the enterprize, the Engliſh, from their works and batteries, fired furiouſly upon the enemy, who returned the diſcharge with equal violence on thoſe who were paſſing the ford. The detachment, however, advanced intrepidly through fire and ſmoak, and gaining the oppoſite banks, mounted the breach next the river. Some flew to the aſſiſtance of their friends, who were laying planks over the broken bridge; others ran to ſupport the pontoons, while the Iriſh fled with aſtoniſhment to their camp, and not without conſiderable ſlaughter. Thus by a ſurpriſing effort of valour, the Engliſh gained poſſeſſion of the town.

On this occaſion Saint-Ruth betrayed a careleſſneſs and confidence unworthy of a commander. On receiving the firſt intelligence that the enemy were paſſing the ford, he exclaimed that it was impoſſible; that they could not preſume to attempt the town while he and his army lay ſo near. Sarsfield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprize was not too difficult for Engliſh courage, and preſſed him to ſend ſpeedy ſuccours. The Frenchman was offended: Sarsfield retorted his diſdain; when, in the midſt of the altercation, they were informed that the enemy were in the town. Saint-Ruth, diſſembling his vexation, proudly commanded that they ſhould be driven out again; and ſome fruitleſs efforts were made for this purpoſe; but the Engliſh now poſſeſſed the works oppoſite to his camp, and pointed againſt the enemy their own cannon. The caſtle of Athlone followed the fate of the town; the governor and five hundred men were made priſoners of war; and twelve hundred more of the enemy's numbers were either ſlain or made priſoners during the courſe of the ſiege.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, the ſpirit of the Iriſh was ſtill unconquered. Thoſe among them who inclined to the French intereſt, continued to be amuſed with expectations of powerful ſuccours, and were ſtill implicitly obedient to Saint-Ruth; while they who knew the power of the Engliſh government, had no proſpect of ſubſiſting but by ſome deſperate exertion of valour. They alſo who had eſpouſed the cauſe of James from principle, and who had taken arms for the freedom of their religion, or the recovery

recovery of what they called their property, were willing to maintain a war, which alone could afford any poſſibility of ſucceſs. Thus the whole Iriſh party, with different views, and from various motives, concurred in the reſolution of bringing their long-protracted conteſt to a final deciſion in the field.

Ginckle, on his part, had experienced the inconvenience of a war in an exhauſted country, precariouſly ſupplied from England, and was no leſs impatient for a ſpeedy deciſion. While employed in repairing the fortifications of Athlone, and before he advanced in ſearch of the enemy, it was deemed neceſſary to publiſh ſuch a proclamation and encouragement to thoſe who ſhould ſubmit, as might break the force of the enemy, and poſſibly prevent the neceſſity of an engagement. But the great Engliſh ſubjects of Ireland, who had always been deſirous that the rebels ſhould be exterminated rather than reconciled, laboured to defeat any accommodation with the Iriſh. Ginckle, however, was ſo impreſſed with the neceſſity of a proclamation of pardon, that on the 5th day of July he publiſhed one, which the juſtices, in deference to the privy-counſellors, ſeemed inclined to diſavow; but the propriety of the meaſure was ſo evident, and the occaſion ſo preſſing, that, in two days after, a proclamation was formally publiſhed by the government, offering a free pardon to all ſoldiers and officers who ſhould ſurrender within three weeks, with a reaſonable payment for their horſes, arms, and furniture; to all governors of garriſons who ſhould ſurrender their poſts; to all officers who ſhould bring with them their regiments, troops, or companies, a free pardon, and full poſſeſſion of their eſtates; liberal rewards to thoſe who had no landed property; and to all a free exerciſe of religion, with ſuch ſecurity in this particular, as an Iriſh parliament might deviſe.

A proclamation.

This proclamation, however liberal, was publiſhed at too late a period to produce the deſired effect. Some of the Iriſh accepted the conditions; and even of the Rapparees, numbers laid down their arms; but the great body of Saint-Ruth's forces were, equally with their general, determined to make one deſperate effort. Ginckle, knowing their reſolution, ſtrengthened his army by drawing off every

every detachment that could be ſpared from the Engliſh poſts *.

The fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided, and the minds of all men were agitated with painful expectation of the event. On the 10th day of June, Ginckle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Sure, in the county of Roſcommon; while the Iriſh took their ſtation to greater advantage, about three miles farther to the ſouth-weſt. Their camp extended more than two miles along the heights of Kilcommeden, with a rivulet on their left running between hills and moraſſes, and theſe again ſkirted by a large bog, almoſt a mile in breadth. Along the front, about half a mile from their encampment, the bog extended to the right, where was another paſs, through a range of ſmall hills opening into wider ground. The ſlope of Kilcommeden, even to the edge of the bog, was interſected with hedges and ditches communicating with each other, and lined with Iriſh muſketeers. Ginckle, with eighteen thouſand men, was now to attack an enemy amounting to twenty-five thouſand, thus advantageouſly poſted. Saint-Ruth, from his eminence, ſeeing the Engliſh croſs the river, and prepare to give him battle, drew out his main army in front of his camp. He rode to every ſquadron and battalion, animating them to the moſt vigorous exertion of their valour. The prieſts ran through the ranks, labouring to inſpire the ſame ſentiments; and, it is ſaid, obliged the ſoldiers to ſwear on the ſacrament, that they would not deſert their ſtandards.

Battle of Kilcommeden.

On the 12th day of July at noon (the fogs of the morning having hitherto prevented them), the Engliſh army advanced in as good order as their uneven ground would admit. It was, in the firſt place, deemed neceſſary to gain the paſs on the right of the enemy; but a ſmall party of Danes ſent to force it, fled inſtantly at the appearance of an inferior body of the enemy. Some Engliſh dragoons were next employed, who, after an obſtinate conteſt of an hour, forced their way even beyond the bog. It was now debated, whether the battle ſhould not be deferred to the next morning; but the council, with difficulty, reſolved upon an immediate engagement. By the advice of general Mackay, it was determined to begin the attack on

* Impartial Hiſtory.

on the enemy's right wing. About the hour of five in the afternoon, the left wing of the Engliſh advanced boldly againſt the enemy, who obſtinately maintained their poſts; defending their ditches until the muſquets of each ſide cloſed with the other; when, retiring by their lines of communication, they flanked their aſſailants, and, charged them with double fury. The engagement was thus continued for an hour and a half, when Saint-Ruth found it neceſſary to draw a conſiderable part of the cavalry from his left to ſupport his right wing. Mackay ſeized the favourable moment, and, while the cavalry were in motion to gain the paſs by Aughrim caſtle, which ſtood on the ſide of the bog, ſeveral regiments of infantry in the center were ordered to march through the moraſs, extending along their front, and to poſt themſelves on the loweſt ditches, until the horſe ſhould gain the paſſage, and wheel from the right to ſupport their charge. The infantry plunged into the bog, where they inſtantly ſunk to the middle; and no ſooner had they with difficulty gained the oppoſite ſide, than they received a furious fire from the hedges and trenches occupied by the enemy. They advanced, however, with intrepidity, the enemy, in the mean time, retiring to draw them forward; until, tranſported with ardour, and forgetting their orders, they purſued almoſt to the main battle of the Iriſh. Both horſe and foot now poured down upon them, both in front and flank, forced them from their ground with great ſlaughter, drove ſome of them back into the bog, and made ſeveral priſoners, of note; while Saint-Ruth exclaimed in rapture, that he would now drive the Engliſh to the very walls of Dublin*.

His attention, however, was ſoon diverted to the Engliſh cavalry on his left, commanded by Talmaſh, who, ſeeing the alarming diſorder of the centre, puſhed with incredible ardour cloſe by the walls of the caſtle, through all the fire of the enemy, to the amazement of whom they forced their way through a narrow and dangerous path. Mackay, Talmaſh, and Rouvigny, now gradually preſſed forward from the right, bearing down all oppoſition. The infantry of the center rallied, advanced, and regained their former ground: the left wing fought with great

* Secret Conſults.

great valour, and was oppoſed with equal intrepidity. Saint-Ruth, now finding it indiſpenſable to make an impreſſion on the enemy's cavalry in their rapid progreſs from the right, rode down from his ſtation on the hill of Kilcommeden, and, having directed one of his batteries where to point their fire, led a body of horſe againſt them. While he was conducting this enterprize, a cannon-ball deprived him of life. The intelligence of this event ran quickly through the lines; his cavalry halted, and, being now without their commander, returned towards their former ſtation. The whole Iriſh army was diſmayed. Sarsfield, on whom the command devolved, had been neglected by Saint-Ruth ever ſince their altercation at Athlone; and, as the order of battle had not been communicated to him, he could not ſupport the diſpoſitions of the late general. The Engliſh, in the mean time, preſſed forwards, and drove the enemy to their camp; whence the latter, being ſtill purſued, fled precipitately, the foot to a bog, and the horſe towards Loughrea.

In this battle, and in a bloody purſuit of three miles, ſeven thouſand of the Iriſh army were ſlain; while, on the ſide of the conquerors, only ſeven hundred fell, and about a thouſand were wounded.

Ginckle, after refreſhing his troops a few days, led them through a deſolated country to Galway, which he deemed neceſſary to be reduced, before he ſhould attempt Limerick, the great and final refuge of the Iriſh. The garriſon of Galway conſiſted of ſeven weak regiments; but they expected conſiderable reinforcements. After their hopes, however, had been fruſtrated, the townſmen and magiſtrates declared warmly for ſurrendering; and though they were at firſt impriſoned for their preſumption, yet the garriſon ſoon adopted the ſame ſentiments. A treaty of capitulation accordingly commenced; the garriſon was allowed to march out with all the honours of war; and a free pardon was granted to the inhabitants, with full poſſeſſion of their eſtates and liberties under the act of ſettlement and explanation. The Romiſh clergy and laity were allowed the private exerciſe of their religion, their lawyers permitted to practiſe, and ſuch Catholics as had eſtates to bear arms. This moderation was productive of good effects. Several conſiderable

Surrender of Galway.

parties

parties daily revolted from the Iriſh, and were either entertained in the army on taking the oaths of fidelity to the king and queen, or diſmiſſed peaceably to their habitations, at their own option*.

Notwithſtanding the capitulation of Galway was conſidered by many as an event immediately to be followed by the final reduction of Ireland; yet the Iriſh, under the command of Sarsfield, ſpoke with confidence of meeting the enemy, and once more trying their fortune in the field. Ginckle in the mean time, proceeded cautiouſly; and, as the time limited for the ſubmiſſion of the Iriſh was expired, he enlarged the term by a new declaration, promiſing pardon and protection to all who ſhould accept of the indulgence offered by the government. Limerick, to which he now approached, was, notwithſtanding the apparent reſolution of the garriſon, a ſcene of diſcord and jealouſy. The French and Iriſh parties, thoſe who were for fighting to the laſt, and thoſe who wiſhed to ſave the remains of their country by ſubmitting, all contended with an acrimony increaſed by their misfortunes. Tyrconnel, who had during ſome time declared for moderate counſels, expired in the bitterneſs of vexation. Three new lords-juſtices, Fitton, Nagle, and Plowden, now aſſumed the government in the name of the abdicated king, and declared for ſubmiſſion; but Sarsfield, being brave, violent and enterpriſing, was averſe to all accommodation. The French generals expected ſuccours from abroad, and declared for war. Some of the Iriſh officers had already engaged in a private correſpondence with the Engliſh, and were ſolicitous to ſecure their own particular intereſts; while others, actuated by more generous ſentiments, declined any compoſition which ſhould not include the whole party of Iriſh Catholics.

Diſtracted ſtate of Limerick.

In the mean time Ginckle ſtrengthened his army by withdrawing every garriſon that could be ſpared; he ſecured the paſſes of the Shannon; ſome Iriſh garriſons, which threatened to interrupt the communication between the camp and Kerry, were reduced; and his artillery was brought up under a ſtrong eſcort, with every poſſible precaution. On the 25th day of Auguſt he advanced to the town, hi approaches to which were made in the ſame

Siege of Limerick.

* Secret Conſults.

manner as in the former ſiege. Perceiving that the only effectual means of reducing the town was to inveſt it on all parts, he reſolved to gain, if poſſible, the oppoſite ſide of the river,; and to conceal the deſign, gave ſuch orders as indicated a purpoſe of raiſing the ſiege. The Iriſh ſaw with exultation his batteries diſmounted, and, lulled into ſecurity, never ſuſpected any danger, until a bridge of tin boats was almoſt completed in the night. A conſiderable body of forces was thus conveyed into an iſland, between which and the main land the river was fordable. Near this paſſage was poſted four regiments of Iriſh dragoons, commanded by an officer of the name of Clifford, who was of the number of thoſe who contended for a timely ſubmiſſion, and not diſpleaſed that the garriſon ſhould be ſo preſſed as to force them into ſuch a meaſure. To theſe ſentiments it is imputed, that he ſuffered the Engliſh troops to paſs over, almoſt without the ſhow of any reſiſtance. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, it was debated whether the ſiege ſhould be carried on, or converted into a blockade; ſo great were the difficulties which ſtill remained of reducing the town. In this ſituation Ginckle, who probably held a ſecret intelligence with ſome officers of the garriſon, and hoped to prevent the effuſſion of blood by offers of grace, iſſued a declaration, promiſing pardon, and the reſtitution of their eſtates, to thoſe of the garriſon and inhabitants of Limerick, who ſhould ſubmit within eight days from that time. This declaration not being attended by any immediate effects, Ginckle was under difficulties how to proceed. It was dangerous for the beſiegers either to continue in the preſent ſtation on the approach of winter, or to divide an army ſufficient only for aſſailing the town on one ſide. At length, however, it was reſolved to lead another body of troops acroſs the river. On the 22d day of September, Ginckle with a conſiderable body of cavalry and infantry, animated with the intelligence of the reduction of Sligo by the earl of Granard, marched over the bridge of boats. Their advanced guards were at firſt repulſed, but in the end repelled the enemy. The grenadiers, ſupported by the four regiments, were ordered to aſſault the works which covered Thomond-bridge. Here the conteſt was for ſome time deſperately maintained, until, at length, the

Engliſh

Engliſh, by the moſt obſtinate efforts of valour, broke, routed, and purſued the enemy. A French major, who commanded at Thomond-bridge, fearing the grenadiers would cloſe with his own party, ordered the draw-bridge to be raiſed, and thus left the fugitives to the mercy of their purſuers. Before the carnage could be ſtopped, ſix hundred lay dead on the bridge, which their bodies filled up even to the battlements; about a hundred and fifty were forced into the river and periſhed; and one hundred and twenty-ſix officers and ſoldiers were made priſoners, with an inconſiderable loſs on the part of the aſſailants *.

On the 23d of September, after the garriſon had for many hours fired from their batteries with unuſual fury, they at length beat a parley. The beſiegers granted a truce, which continued for three days, to give time for the horſe, now encamped at ſome diſtance, to take advantage of the projected capitulation. On the laſt day of the truce the Iriſh leaders propoſed the terms on which they offered to capitulate. They required an act of indemnity for all paſt offences, with full enjoyment of the eſtates they had formerly poſſeſſed; beſide freedom for the Roman catholic worſhip, and an eſtabliſhment of one Romiſh eccleſiaſtic in each pariſh. They demanded, that Roman Catholics ſhould be declared fully qualified for every office civil and military; that they ſhould be admitted into all corporations; and that the Iriſh army ſhould be kept up, and paid in the ſame manner with the king's other troops, if they ſhould be willing to ſerve. Ginckle replied, that ſuch demands were inconſiſtent not only with the laws of England, but his own honour; and gave orders for new batteries, as if reſolved to continue the ſiege. By a ſecond deputation, he was deſired to propoſe ſuch terms on his part as he could grant. He conſented that all Iriſh Roman Catholics ſhould enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II. and promiſed that their majeſties would endeavour to procure them farther ſecurity in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. He engaged, that all included in the capitulation ſhould enjoy their eſtates, and purſue their employments freely, as in the reign of the ſame king Charles; that their gentry ſhould be allowed the uſe of arms, and that no oath

* Memoirs of Ireland.

oath ſhould be required of any except that of allegiance. The garriſon readily accepted theſe conceſſions as the baſis of a treaty. On the 1ſt day of October the lords-juſtices arrived in the camp. On the 3d the capitulation was adjuſted and ſigned; the civil articles by the chief governors, Porter and Coningſby, and the military by the general.

Limerick capitulates.

Thus ended a war which had involved the whole kingdom in great calamity. Since this period Ireland has known no other diſturbance than what has occaſionally ariſen from the depredations of lawleſs banditti, who have always, in the end, been reduced to obedience, either by the civil or military power. Henceforth the Iriſh hiſtory records only a ſucceſſion of governors, whoſe adminiſtrations have differed from each other only in reſpect of popularity. The ſupreme juriſdiction of the country had long been aſſerted by the Britiſh parliament, which impoſed many reſtrictions on its commerce; but, by the liberality of this legiſlature, thoſe ſeveral acts have lately been repealed, and Ireland now begins to enjoy a degree of proſperity which ſhe never before had experienced.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The Civil and Military Articles of Limerick, exactly printed from the Letters Patents; wherein they are ratified and exemplified by their Majeſties, under the Great Seal of England.

GULIELMUS et Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defenſores, &c. Omnibus ad quos preſentes literæ noſtræ pervenerint, ſalutem: inſpeximus irrotulament. quarund. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Weſtmonaſterium viceſimo quarto die Februarii, ultimi præteriti in cancellar. noſtr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles, bearing date the 3d day of October laſt paſt, made and agreed on between our juſtices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there, on the one part; and ſeveral officers there, commanding within the city of Limerick, in our ſaid kingdom, on the other part: whereby our ſaid juſtices and general did undertake that we ſhould ratify thoſe articles, within the ſpace of eight months, or ſooner; and uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhould be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The tenour of which ſaid articles is as follows, viz.

Articles agreed upon the 3d day of October, 1691.

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter Knight, and Thomas Coningſby, Eſq. Lords Juſtices of

of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander in chief of the Engliſh army, on the one part:

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viſcount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cuſack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part:

In the Behalf of the Iriſh Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo:

In conſideration of the Surrender of the City of Limerick, and other agreements made between the ſaid Lieutenant-general Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the Iriſh Army, bearing date with theſe Preſents, for the Surrender of the ſaid City, and Submiſſion of the ſaid Army: it is agreed, That,

I. THE Roman Catholics of this kingdom ſhall enjoy ſuch privileges in the exerciſe of their religion, as are conſiſtent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second: and their majeſties, as ſoon as their affairs will permit them to ſummon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the ſaid Roman Catholics ſuch farther ſecurity in that particular, as may preſerve them from any diſturbance upon the account of their ſaid religion.

II. All the inhabitants or reſidents of Limerick, or any other garriſon now in the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, and all officers and ſoldiers now in arms under any commiſſion of king James, or thoſe authoriſed by him to grant the ſame, in the ſeveral counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commiſſioned officers in their majeſties quarters, that belong to the Iriſh regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not priſoners of war, or have taken protection, and who ſhall return and ſubmit to their majeſties obedience; and their and every of their heirs, ſhall hold, poſſeſs, and enjoy, all and every their eſtates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges, and immunities, which they, and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of king Charles II. or at any time ſince, by the laws and ſta-

tutes

tutes that were in force in the ſaid reign of king Charles II. and ſhall be put in poſſeſſion, by order of the government, of ſuch of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any ſuit or trouble therein; and all ſuch eſtates ſhall be freed and diſcharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges, incurred and become due ſince Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: and all perſons comprehended in this article, ſhall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattles, real and perſonal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any perſons whatſoever, in truſt for, or for the uſe of them, or any of them: and all and every the ſaid perſons, of what profeſſion, trade, or calling ſoever they be, ſhall and may uſe, exerciſe, and practice their ſeveral and reſpective profeſſions, trades, and callings, as freely as they did uſe, exerciſe, and enjoy the ſame in the reign of king Charles II. provided that nothing in this article contained to be conſtrued to extend to, or reſtore any forfeiting perſon now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter compriſed: provided alſo, that no perſon whatſoever ſhall have or enjoy the benefit of this article, that ſhall neglect or refuſe to take the oath of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the firſt year of the reign of their preſent majeſties when thereunto required.

III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garriſon now poſſeſſed by the Iriſh, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are abſent beyond the ſeas, that have not born arms ſince their majeſties declaration in February, 1688, ſhall have the benefit of the ſecond article, in the ſame manner as if they were preſent; provided ſuch merchants, and reputed merchants, do repair into this kingdom within the ſpace of eight months from the date hereof.

IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterel, captain Rowland White, Maurice Euſtace of Yermanſtown, Chievers of Mayſtown, commonly called Mount Leinſter, now belonging to the regiments in the aforeſaid garriſons and quarters of the Iriſh army, who were be-

yond

yond the ſeas, and ſent thither upon affairs of their reſpective regiments, or the army in general, ſhall have the benefit and advantage of the ſecond article, provided they return hither within the ſpace of eight months from the date of theſe preſents, and ſubmit to their majeſties government, and take the above mentioned oath.

V. That all and ſingular the ſaid perſons compriſed in the ſecond and third articles, ſhall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treaſons, miſpriſons of treaſon, premunires, felonies, treſpaſſes, and other crimes and miſdemeanours whatſoever, by them, or any of them, committed ſince the begining of the reign of king James II. and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords-juſtices, and general, will uſe their beſt endeavours to get the ſame repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reverſed gratis, all but writing-clerks fees.

VI. And whereas theſe preſent wars have drawn on great violences on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing all ſorts of private actions, the animoſities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public diſturbances laſt: for the quieting and ſettling, therefore, of this kingdom, and avoiding thoſe inconveniences which would be the neceſſary conſequence of the contrary, no perſon or perſons whatſoever, compriſed in the foregoing articles, ſhall be ſued, moleſted, or impleaded at the ſuit of any party or parties whatſoever, for any treſpaſſes by them committed, or for any arms, horſes, money, goods, chattles, merchandizes, or proviſions whatſoever, by them ſeized or taken during the time of the war. And no perſon or perſons whatſoever, in the ſecond or third articles compriſed, ſhall be ſued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houſes, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this kingdom, ſince the beginning of the preſent war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waſte or treſpaſs by him or them committed in ſuch lands, tenements, or houſes: and it is alſo agreed, that this article ſhall be mutual and reciprocal on both ſides.

VII. Every nobleman and gentleman compriſed in the ſaid ſecond and third article ſhall have liberty to ride with a ſword,

a ſword, and caſe of piſtols, if they think fit; and keep a gun in their houſes, for the defence of the ſame, or for fowling.

VIII. The inhabitants and reſidents in the city of Limerick, and other garriſons, ſhall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and proviſions, out of the ſame, without being viewed and ſearched, or paying any manner of duties; and ſhall not be compelled to leave the houſes or lodgings they now have, for the ſpace of ſix weeks next enſuing the date hereof.

IX. The oath to be adminiſtered to ſuch Roman Catholics as ſubmit to their majeſties government, ſhall be the oath above ſaid, and no other.

X. No perſon or perſons who ſhall at any time hereafter break theſe articles, or any of them, ſhall thereby make, or cauſe any other perſon or perſons to forfeit or loſe the benefit of the ſame.

XI. The lords-juſtices and general do promiſe to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, that all the perſons comprehended in the above mentioned articles, ſhall be protected and defended from all arreſts and executions for debt or damage, for the ſpace of eight months next enſuing the date hereof.

XII. Laſtly, the lords- juſtices and general do undertake, that their majeſties will ratify theſe articles within the ſpace of eight months, or ſooner, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

XIII. And whereas colonel John Brown ſtood indebted to ſeveral Proteſtants, by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel, and lord Lucan, took away the effects the ſaid John Brown had to anſwer the ſaid debts, and promiſed to clear the ſaid John Brown of the ſaid debts; which effects were taken for the public uſe of the Iriſh, and their army: for freeing the ſaid lord Lucan of his ſaid engagement, paſt on their public account, for payment of the ſaid Proteſtants, and for preventing the ruin of the ſaid John Brown, and for ſatisfaction of his creditors, at the inſtance of the lord Lucan, and the reſt of the perſons aforeſaid, it is agreed, that the ſaid lords-juſtices, and the ſaid baron de Ginckle, ſhall interceed with the king and parliament, to have

have the eſtates ſecured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of ſo much of the ſaid debts, as the ſaid lord Lucan, upon ſtating accompts with the ſaid John Brown, ſhall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the ſaid Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be ſtated, and the balance certified by the ſaid lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto ſet our hands,

Preſent, CHAR. PORTER.
SCRAVEMORE. THO. CONINGSBY.
H. MACCAY. Bar. de GINCKLE.
T. TALMASH.

And whereas the ſaid city of Limerick hath been ſince, in purſuance of the ſaid articles, ſurrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having conſidered of the ſaid articles, are graciouſly pleaſed hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the ſame, and every clauſe, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to ſuch parts thereof, for which an act of parliament ſhall be found to be neceſſary, we ſhall recommend the ſame to be made good by parliament, and ſhall give our royal aſſent to any bill or bills that ſhall be paſſed by our two houſes of parliament to that purpoſe. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the ſaid articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the ſecond of the ſaid articles, the words following, viz. "And all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid counties," ſhould be inſerted, and be part of the ſaid articles. Which words having been caſually omitted by the writer, the omiſſion was not diſcovered till after the ſaid articles were ſigned, but was taken notice of before the ſecond town was ſurrendered: and that our ſaid juſtices, and general, or one of them, did promiſe that the ſaid clauſe ſhould be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inſerted in the foul draught thereof. Our farther will and pleaſure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the ſaid omitted words, viz. "And all ſuch as are under their protection in the ſaid counties," hereby for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, ordaining and declaring, that all and every perſon and

perſons

perſons therein concerned, ſhall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in ſuch and the ſame manner as if the ſaid words had been inſerted in the proper place, in the ſaid ſecond article; any omiſſion, defect, or miſtake in the ſaid ſecond article, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. Provided always, and our will and pleaſure is, that theſe our letters-patent ſhall be enrolled in our court of chancery in our ſaid kingdom of Ireland, within the ſpace of one year next enſuing. In witneſs, &c. witneſs our ſelf at Weſtminſter, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Mariæ quarto, per breve de privato ſigillo. Nos autem tenorem premiſſor. predict. Ad requiſitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. Duximus exemplificand. per preſentes. In cujus rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſtibus nobis ipſis apud Weſtmon. quinto die Aprilis adnoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos { S. KECK. / LACON WM. CHILDE. } In Cancel. Magiſtros.

Military Articles agreed upon between the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant-general, and Commander in Chief of the Engliſh Army on the one ſide,

And the Lieutenant-generals de Uſſoon and de Teſſe, Commanders in Chief of the Iriſh Army, on the other; and the General Officers hereunto ſubſcribing.

I. THAT all perſons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition ſoever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, ſhall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the ſeas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, houſhold-ſtuff, plate, and jewels.

II. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horſe, dragoons, and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, ſoldiers of all kinds that are in any garriſon, place, or poſt, now in the hands of the Iriſh, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, and Kerry, as alſo thoſe called Rapparees, or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond ſeas as aforeſaid, ſhall have free leave to embark themſelves wherever the ſhips are that are appointed

pointed to tranſport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now compoſed, or in parties, companies, or otherwiſe, without having any impediment, directly or indirectly.

III. That all perſons above mentioned, that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, ſhall have leave to declare it at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick, on Tueſday next in Limerick; the horſe, at their camp on Wedneſday; and the other forces that are diſperſed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th inſtant, and on none other, before monſieur Tameron, the French intendant, and colonel Withers; and after ſuch declaration is made, the troops that will go into France muſt remain under the command and diſcipline of their officers that are to conduct them thither: and deſerters of each ſide ſhall be given up, and puniſhed accordingly.

IV. That all Engliſh and Scotch officers that ſerve now in Ireland, ſhall be included in this capitulation, as well for the ſecurity of their eſtates and goods in England, Scotland, and Ireland (if they are willing to remain here), as for paſſing freely into France, or any other country to ſerve.

V. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commiſſaries at war, and of the artillery, the treaſurer, and other French officers, ſtrangers, and all others whatſoever, that are in Sligo, Roſs, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherways employed in any kind of ſtation or condition, ſhall have free leave to paſs into France, or any other country, and ſhall have leave to ſhip themſelves, with all their horſes, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that general Ginckle will order paſſports for them, convoys, and carriages by land and water, to carry them ſafe from Limerick to the ſhips where they ſhall be embarked, without paying any thing for the ſaid carriages, or to thoſe that are employed therein, with their horſes, cars, boats, and ſhallops.

VI. That if any of the aforeſaid equipages, merchandize, horſes, money, plate, or other moveables, or houſhold-ſtuff belonging to the ſaid Iriſh troops, or to the French

French officers, or other particular perſons whatſoever, be robbed, deſtroyed, or taken away by the troops of the ſaid general, the ſaid general will order it to be reſtored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the perſon ſo robbed or plundered: and the ſaid Iriſh troops to be tranſported as aforeſaid; and all other perſons belonging to them, are to obſerve good order in their march and quarters, and ſhall reſtore whatever they ſhall take from the country, or make reſtitution for the ſame.

VII. That to facilitate the tranſporting the ſaid troops, the general will furniſh fifty ſhips, each ſhip's burden two hundred tons; for which, the perſons to be tranſported ſhall not be obliged to pay, and twenty more, if there ſhall be occaſion, without their paying for them; and if any of the ſaid ſhips ſhall be of leſſer burden, he will furniſh more in number to countervail; and alſo give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and ſerve for a convoy to the veſſels of burden.

VIII. That a commiſſary ſhall be immediately ſent to Cork to viſit the tranſport ſhips, and what condition they are in for ſailing; and that, as ſoon as they are ready, the troops to be tranſported ſhall march with all convenient ſpeed, the neareſt way, in order to embark there: and if there ſhall be any more men to be tranſported than can be carried off in the ſaid fifty ſhips, the reſt ſhall quit the Engliſh town of Limerick, and march to ſuch quarters as ſhall be appointed for them, convenient for their tranſportation, where they ſhall remain till the other twenty ſhips be ready, which are to be in a month; and may embark on any French ſhip that may come in the mean time.

IX. That the ſaid ſhips ſhall be furniſhed with forage for horſe, and all neceſſary proviſions to ſubſiſt the officers, troops, dragoons, and ſoldiers, and all other perſons that are ſhipped to be tranſported into France; which proviſions ſhall be paid for as ſoon as all are diſembarked at Breſt or Nants, upon the coaſt of Brittany, or any other port of France they can make.

X. And to ſecure the return of the ſaid ſhips (the danger of the ſeas excepted) and payment for the ſaid proviſions, ſufficient hoſtages ſhall be given.

XI. That

XI. That the garriſons of Clare caſtle, Roſs, and all other foot that are in garrriſons in the counties of Clare, Cork, and Kerry, ſhall have the advantage of this preſent capitulation; and ſuch part of thoſe garriſons as deſign to go beyond ſeas, ſhall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the proviſions, and half the ammunition that is in the ſaid garriſons; and join the horſe that march to be tranſported; or if then there is not ſhipping enough for the body of foot that is to be next tranſported after the horſe, general Ginckle will order that they be furniſhed with carriages for that purpoſe, and what proviſions they ſhall want in their march, they paying for the ſaid proviſions, or elſe that they may take it out of their own magazines.

XII. That all the troops of horſe and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork, Kerry, and Clare, ſhall alſo have the benefit of this capitulation; and that ſuch as will paſs into France, ſhall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by general Ginckle, until they can be ſhipped; and within their quarters they ſhall pay for every thing, except forage and paſture for their horſes, which ſhall be furniſhed gratis.

XIII. Thoſe of the garriſon of Sligo that are joined to the Iriſh army, ſhall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders ſhall be ſent to them that are to convey them up, to bring them hither to Limerick the ſhorteſt way.

XIV. The Iriſh may have liberty to tranſport nine hundred horſe, including horſes for the officers, which ſhall be tranſported gratis: and as for the troopers that ſtay behind, they ſhall diſpoſe of themſelves as they ſhall think fit, giving up their horſes and arms to ſuch perſons as the general ſhall appoint.

XV. It ſhall be permitted to thoſe that are appointed to take care for the ſubſiſtence of the horſe, that are willing to go into France, to buy hay and corn at the king's rates wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are aſſigned for them, without any let or moleſtation, and to carry all neceſſary proviſions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpoſe the general will furniſh convenient carriages

carriages for them to the places where they ſhall be embarked.

XVI. It ſhall be lawful to make uſe of the hay preſerved in the ſtores of the county of Kerry, for the horſes that ſhall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it ſhall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it ſhall be found, at the king's rates.

XVII. That all priſoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th of September, ſhall be ſet at liberty on both ſides; and the general promiſes to uſe his endeavours, that thoſe that are in England and Flanders ſhall be ſet at liberty alſo.

XVIII. The general will cauſe proviſions and medicines to be furniſhed to the ſick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and ſoldiers, of the Iriſh army that cannot paſs into France at the firſt embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ſhips to paſs into France, if they are willing to go.

XIX. That, at the ſigning hereof, the general will ſend a ſhip expreſs to France; and that beſides, he will furniſh two ſmall ſhips of thoſe that are now in the river of Limerick, to tranſport two perſons into France that are to be ſent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the ſaid ſhips ſhall have orders to put aſhore at the next port of France where they ſhall make.

XX. That all thoſe of the ſaid troops, officers, and others, of what character ſoever, that would paſs into France, ſhall not be ſtopped upon the account of debt, or any other pretext.

XXI. If after ſigning this preſent treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet-boat, or other tranſport-ſhip, ſhall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a paſſport, not only for ſuch as muſt go on board the ſaid ſhips, but to the ſhips to come to the neareſt port, to the place where the troops to be tranſported ſhall be quartered.

XXII. That after the arrival of the ſaid fleet, there ſhall be free communication and paſſage between it and the quarters of the aboveſaid troops; and eſpecially, for all thoſe that have paſſes from the chief commanders of the ſaid fleet, or from monſieur Tameron, the intendant.

XXIII. In conſideration of the preſent capitulation, the two towns of Limerick ſhall be delivered and put into the

hands of the general, or any other perſon he ſhall appoint, at the time and days hereafter ſpecified, viz. the Iriſh town, except the magazines and hoſpital, on the day of the ſigning of theſe preſent articles; and as for the Engliſh town, it ſhall remain, together with the iſland, and the free paſſage of Thomond-bridge, in the hands of thoſe of the Iriſh army that are now in the garriſon, or that ſhall hereafter come from the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there ſhall be convenience found for their tranſportation.

XXIV. And to prevent all diſorders that may happen between the garriſon that the general ſhall place in the Iriſh-town, which ſhall be delivered to him, and the Iriſh troopers that ſhall remain in the Engliſh-town and the iſland, which they may do until the troops to be embarked on the firſt fifty ſhips ſhall be gone for France, and no longer; they ſhall intrench themſelves on both ſides, to hinder the communication of the ſaid garriſons: and it ſhall be prohibited on both ſides, to offer any thing that is offenſive; and the parties offending ſhall be puniſhed on either ſide.

XXV. That it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid garriſon to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, ſix braſs guns, ſuch as the beſieged will chuſe, two mortar-pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the ſaid place: and for this purpoſe, an inventory of all the ammunition in the garriſon ſhall be made in the preſence of any perſon that the general ſhall appoint, the next day after theſe preſent articles ſhall be ſigned.

XXVI. All the magazines of proviſions ſhall remain in the hands of thoſe that are now employed to take care of the ſame, for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe of the Iriſh army that will paſs into France: and if there ſhall not be ſufficient in the ſtores, for the ſupport of the ſaid troops, whilſt they ſtay in this kingdom, and are croſſing the ſeas, that, upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furniſh them with ſufficient proviſions at the king's rates; and that there ſhall be a free market at Limerick, and other quarters, where the ſaid troops ſhall be; and in caſe

caſe any proviſion ſhall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town ſhall be given up, it ſhall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the proviſions to be furniſhed to the troops on ſhip-board.

XXVII. That there ſhall be a ceſſation of arms at land, as alſo at ſea, with reſpect to the ſhips, whether Engliſh, Dutch, or French, deſigned for the tranſportation of the ſaid troops, until they ſhall be returned to their reſpective harbours; and that on both ſides, they ſhall be furniſhed with ſufficient paſſports both for ſhips and men; and if any ſea commander, or captain of a ſhip, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, ſoldier, or any other perſon, ſhall act contrary to this ceſſation, the perſons ſo acting, ſhall be puniſhed on either ſide, and ſatisfaction ſhall be made for the wrong that is done; and officers ſhall be ſent to the mouth of the river of Limerick, to give notice to the commanders of the Engliſh and French fleets of the preſent conjuncture, that they may obſerve the ceſſation of arms accordingly.

XXVIII. That for the ſecurity of the execution of this preſent capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the beſieged ſhall give the following hoſtages —— And the general ſhall give ——.

XXIX. If before this capitulation is fully executed, there happens any change in the government, or command of the army, which is now commanded by general Ginckle; all thoſe that ſhall be appointed to command the ſame, ſhall be obliged to obſerve and execute what is ſpecified in theſe articles, or cauſe it to be executed punctually, and ſhall not act contrary on any account.

Octob. 91.

Baron De Ginckle.

31 JA 50

INDEX.

A

AUGHRIM, or Kilcommeden battle, desperately fought between king William's forces and the Irish, page 449.
Alan, archbishop of Dublin, fate of, 124.
Fitz-Andelm, William, sent to govern Ireland after the death of Strongbow, 17. His character, and state of Ireland under him, 18. Removed, 19.
Mac-Arthies, contest of, gives superiority to the Irish, 45.
Antrim, marquis, defeat of, 339.

B

BALE, a violent inpugner of popery in Ireland, 142.
Bagnal exhibits articles of treason against Tyrone, 172. Accuses him to the lord deputy Russel, with the approbation of the queen's English ministers, 174. Complaints against him by Tyrone, 177. Is defeated by Tyrone, and shot dead in battle, 188.
Bard, Irish, instance of the influence of his country-rhimes, 122.
Basilia, sister to Srongbow, and wife of Raymond, art of, in conveying to him an account of Strongbow's death. 16.
Bellingham's administration of Ireland, 138.
Berkeley's administration of Ireland, 387.
Berminghams, old English, settled in Ireland, give hostages to the earl of Ormond, 88. Some of the most obnoxious of their sept seized, condemned, and executed, 91.
Bill of explanation, 380.
Bingham, sir Richard, complaints against the oppressions of, 181. Is acquitted and restored to the queen's favour, ib.
Black-rent, an annual stipend paid by the English to the Irish chieftains, to purchase their protection, 83. Ordered afterwards to be paid for the support of the king's army, 98.
Boyne, battle of the, which decides the contest for the crown of England, &c. between James II. and William III. 433.
Braosa, William de, lord of Brecknock, affair of, 35. King John goes to Ireland to reduce him and other outlaws, ib. Flies into France, 36.
Brereton, sir William, prudent and conciliatory methods of, when lord lieutenant of Ireland, to unite all parties, 137.
O'Brien of Thomond cuts off a considerable party of Ostmen, coming to reinforce Strongbow, 11. Reduces Strongbow to act on the defensive, ib. Lays siege to Limerick, but, on the advancing of Raymond against him, abandons the siege, and strongly intrenches himself in a defile, from which he is driven with considerable slaughter, 16. Sues for peace, and takes the oaths

oaths of fealty before Raymond, ib. His ſignal perfidy in burning Limerick, 17.
O'Brien of Thomond, inſurrection headed by him, 59.
Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, his aſſiſtance intreated by the chieftains of Ulſter, to execute vengeance upon their common enemy, the Engliſh, 52. He propoſes his brother Edward to them for their king which Edward conſents to, 53. See next article.
Bruce, Edward, his operations and alliances among the Iriſh, 54. Is at length crowned king, of Ireland, 55. His brother Robert, to ſupport him, lands a conſiderable army, ib. Edward makes a deſtructive progreſs to the very walls of Dublin, thence penetrates into Munſter, but is obliged to lead back his harraſſed army to Ulſter, 56. Is excommunicated with his brother by the pope, 57. Numbers of his unhappy followers periſh by diſeaſe and famine, 58. At laſt, in a violent conflict, his troops receive a total defeat, and he is ſlain, ib.
Bull for ſubduing Ireland, granted by Adrian III. an Engliſhman, to Henry II. ſubſtance of, 3.
Bulls of two popes, promulged in an aſſembly of the clergy, conſtituting Henry II. rightful lord of Ireland, 18.
Burgh, lord-deputy of Ireland, attacks with ſucceſs Tyrone in his entrenchments, 185. His death, ib.
Burgo, Willian de, a baron of the family of Fitz-Andelm, riſe of, in Ireland, 31.
Butler, ſir Edmund, his rebellion in the South of Ireland, quelled, 150.
O'Byrnes, the turbulent and powerful ſept of, defeat and ſlay Mortimer, left by Richard II. his vicegerent in Ireland, 78.

C.

CADE, the inſurrection of, imputed to the contrivance of Richard, duke of York, 92.
Caſhel, the rock of, ſtormed, 330.
Caſtlehaven, lord, one of the generals of the Iriſh catholic confederacy, ſucceſs of, in conjunction with Owen O'Neal, and Preſton, 285. He overruns the ſouthern provinces, 297.
Cathal, among the ſurvivors of Rodèric O'Connor, ſtands higheſt in the eſteem of his countrymen, 26. His character and alliances, ib.
Clanricarde, treaty of, with the nuncio, and his council, 320. His propoſals to Ormond, 321. Appointed by Ormond his deputy in Ireland, 360. Surrenders to the republicans, 368.
Clergy, Romiſh, commotions excited by them in Ireland on the acceſſion of James I. 212.
Code, regular, of Engliſh laws, is drawn up at the deſire of the Iriſh, and depoſited in the exchequer of Dublin, 36.
Commiſſioners, twelve, of truſt, appointed to act conjointly with the lord lieutenant, 343.
Committees, Iriſh, in London, conceſſions of the king to the, which they demand ſecurity for, 252.
Conceſſions, of king Charles I. to the popiſh party for ſeconding his meaſures, 229.
Confederates, Iriſh catholic, hold an aſſembly at Kilkenny on the plan of a parliament, 281. They gain ſtrength and ſign, a treaty with Ormond, 286.

Conceſ-

Conceſſions of the king to their agents in England, 294. They attack the abettors of the Engliſh parliament, ib. Take umbrage at Ormond's conduct, 302. And conclude a treaty with Glamorgan, ibid. And afterwards another with Ormond, 310. Proteſted againſt, 314. Iſſue of a general aſſembly held by them, 323.

Coinage, ſpurious, introduced into England and its inconveniencies, 201.

O'Connor, Roderic, king of Connaught, and monarch of Ireland, aſſiſts O'Roric, prince of Breſſiny, againſt Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, for the rape of his wife, 3. They expel him his kingdom, ib. Roderic is defeated in ſeveral actions by the firſt Engliſh adventurers, who came to the aſſiſtance of Dermot, 5. Cuts off the head of Dermot's natural ſon, who had been left as a hoſtage in his hands, ib. Combined with other Iriſh princes, beſieges Dublin, but his army is routed with great ſlaughter by Stongbow, 6. Great devaſtations made by him, 12. Convinced at length of the fickleneſs and perfidy of his ſubordinate chieftains, makes his peace by ambaſſadors who attend Henry at Windſor, 13. His death, 31.

O'Connor, Phedlim, in ſupport of the pretenſions of Robert Bruce, fights a deſperate battle, in which he is ſlain, with a great number of his troops, 56.

——— the turbulent Iriſh chieftain of O'Fally, routed, 92. Conteſt of affection between him and his ſon, ib.

Coote, his ſucceſs againſt the Iriſh, 269. His commiſſion, how executed, 273. His operations, 364.

Cork ſurrenders to the prince of Deſmond, 30.

Covenants, Scottiſh, the abjuration of, enforced in Ireland, 243.

Courcey, John de, his excellent conduct in the northern parts of Ireland, 21. Made governor of that kingdom, 24. His vigorous exertions, together with the diſſenſions of the Iriſh among themſelves, retrieve the face of affairs for England, ib. Is ſupplanted by Hugh de Lacy the Younger, who obtains his government, 26. His ſituation afterwards, 27. He acts independent of the Engliſh government in his province, 30. Enters into treaties with the neighbouring lords, and treats king John's mandate to do him homage with contempt, 32. He at length ſurrenders to John, and is condemned to perpetual impriſonment, 33. Romantic ſtory, concerning the reaſon of his being ſet at liberty, ib.

Cromer, primate and chancellor of Ireland, ſpeech of, to lord Thomas of Kildare, exhorting him to deſiſt from the rebellion he had engaged in, 122. Effects of this ſpeech on lord Thomas's Iriſh followers, 123. He vigorouſly oppoſes Henry VIII.'s ſupremacy, 130, 134.

Cromwell arrives in Ireland, and takes Drogheda at the third aſſault, being twice repulſed, and cruelly butchers the garriſon, though he had promiſed quarters, 349. The garriſons of ſeveral forts in Ulſter ſurrender to him, as do thoſe of Wexford and Roſs, 352. Is obliged by Ormond to raiſe the ſiege of Waterford, yet all the chief garriſons in Munſter

ſter, declare for him, 354. Reduces Kilkenny and Clonmel, 355. Returns to England, ib. The news of his being declared lord protector, how received in Ireland, 370. Situation of Ireland after his death, 372.

Crucifix, agonizing, the miracle of a, deviſed to affect the minds of the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, on the invading of eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions in Ireland, 31.

D.

DEBATES, on Iriſh affairs, the great ſcene of, London, in the reign of Charles II. 377.

Declaration of Charles II. for the ſettlement of Ireland, 375.

Derry, reſolute conduct of the people of, 406. See Londonderry.

Deſmond, prince of, ill-treated by his ſon, is re-inſtated by Raymond, 16.

——— the young earl of, ſucceeds the duke of Clarence as governor of Ireland; but is ſlain and his army receives a total defeat from the Iriſh chieftains, O'Brien and O'Connor, 71, 72.

——— ſtory of the heir of, 88.

——— James, earl of, ſo dangerouſly aggrandized as to bid defiance to government, 90.

——— the young earl of, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 95. Various ravages committed by the enemies of his houſe, 96. Defeated in battle, made priſoner, and ſet at liberty by young O Connor of O'Fally, he treats with his enemies, ib. Proſperous ſtate of his government, which his enemies endeavour to ſubvert, 97. Is brought to the ſcaffold, and beheaded, 98.

——— earl of, enters into a treaty with the French king, for which Henry VIII. orders him to be ſeized, but the order is evaded, 118. The whole kingdom ſhortly after on the point of conſummate anarchy, 119.

——— earl of, killed, and extinction of his family, 160.

Devereux, Walter, earl of Eſſex, ſcheme of, to ſettle a colony in Ireland, how defeated, 151.

O'Donnel totally defeats the Engliſh troops detached to the relief of Enniſkillen, 175. Outrages committed by him in Connaught, ib. Marches to join the Spaniſh invaſion, 205.

Mac Donnel, remarkable bravery of, at the head of a gallant body of Highlanders, in the battle of Knockoneſs, 330.

Dovergilda, wife of O'Roric, prince of Breſſiny, is carried off, in her huſband's abſence, by Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, 3. Conſequence of this rape, ib.

Drogheda, ſiege of, how carried on by the Ulſter rebels, 272. Beſieged and taken at the third aſſault by Cromwell, and the garriſon put to the ſword, 350.

Drury, ſir William, his adventure in Kerry, 153.

Dunboy, ſee Sullivan.

E.

EDMUND, earl of Marche and Ulſter, appointed to the government of Ireland, diſputes ariſe upon the nomination of a deputy to, 86.

Engliſh power in Ireland, the whole fabric of, how prevented

ed from being demoliſhed, 67.

———, old, and thoſe newly arrived in Ireland, animoſity between, 68. Reduced to a mortifying ſituation, 84. Blended with the original natives, and enemies to the Engliſh power, the earl of Ormond excepted, 88.

Enniſkillen men defeat their enemies, 416.

Eſſex, earl of, the queen's favourite, ſent lord-lieutenant to Ireland, 190. Acts contrary to his inſtructions, 191. Baffled in moſt of his encounters with the Iriſh, and his numerous army conſiderably reduced, 193. Makes a ſhameful accommodation with the rebel Tyrone, to the queen's great mortification, 194. Scheme entertained by him to be put in execution when he ſhould return to England, 195. Returns, and his reception by the queen, ib.

Euſtace, Fitz, ſir Edward, his adminiſtration of Ireland, active and vigorous, 92. Removed, 93.

F.

FAULKLAND, lord, uneaſy in his government of Ireland, 226. His attempts to ſupply the deficiency of the revenue unſucceſsful, 227.

Fedlim, prince of Connaught, pleads his grievances at the court of England, 42.

Ferns, conduct of the turbulent prelate of, 363.

Fines for eſtates, pronounced to be defective in title, not carried into effect in Ireland, by the death of James I. 228.

Fitz-Gerald, Maurice, appointed governor of Ireland, 38. See Richard, brother to William Mariſhall.

Fleetwood, regulations by him, during his government of Ireland, 369.

Fleming, Richard, depredations of, on the Iriſh, how revenged, 18.

G.

GAVESTON, appointed governor of Ireland, entirely diſperſes the turbulent ſepts, 51.

Gerald, Fitz-Maurice, one of the firſt adventurers for the reduction of Ireland, 4. His joint operations, with Fitz Stephens and Pendergaſt, ſucceſsful, 5.

——— ſucceeds his father, the earl of Kildare, in the government of Ireland, 115. His marrying Elizabeth Grey, daughter to the marquis of Dorſet in England, increaſes his conſequence, 116. Supplants Pierce, earl of Ormond, who had ſucceeded the earl of Surry as governor; but not long after is involved in diſgrace and danger, by the ambition of his kinſman, Deſmond, 117. On the death of Wolſey, is again entruſted with the reins of government, 120. His over-bearing conduct cauſes complaints againſt him, and being cited to England, is committed to the Tower, 121. Dies of grief, on hearing of the rebellion of his ſon, the lord Thomas, 128. See lord Thomas.

Geraldines, the, keep the ſtate of an independent ſept in the South, 44. Irritated againſt Edward III. 64. Some of them join in the rebellion of Tyrone, 189.

Ginckle, a general of conſiderable note in the war of Ireland, 444.

Glamorgan, earl of, a zealous Catholic,

Catholic, arrives in Ireland, to treat with the Iriſh confederates, 301. Treaty concluded with him, 302. He explains to the pope's nuncio the nature of his commiſſion, 303. Farther conceſſions made by him, 304. He is ſeduced to Dublin, and ſecured on a ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, 306. Diſmiſſed, 307. The nuncio yields to his propoſals, 309.

Grant, the queen's chaplain, offers propoſitions to Ormond, which he rejects, 325.

Grey, John de, biſhop of Norwich, conducts the government of Ireland with prudence and vigour, 36.

H.

O'HANLON, an Iriſh chieftain, his turbulent proceedings at firſt impede Poynings' plan of a general reformation in Ireland, 112.

Henry II. of England lands in Ireland, and ſettles the government of that country, 6. But notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſions received by him from all parts, he leaves not in the country one true ſubject more than he found on coming over, ib.

I.

JAMES II. king, his conduct in Ireland from his landing to his quitting that country, 409 to 434.

Inchiquin, lord, a parliamentarian regards Ormond as his friend, and ſends him ſome forces, 324. Takes Cahir, an ancient caſtle of great ſtrength, 330. Storms the rock of Caſhel, ib. Obtains a complete victory over lord Taafe at Knockoneſs, ib.

Inſtrument of government for Ireland in Cromwell's protectorſhip, 370.

Invaſions, two, of Ireland, by the Spaniards, prove abortive, 157.

John, prince, appointed by his father Henry II. lord of Ireland, 19. He arrives in Ireland, 21. Indiſcretion of his attendants in the indignities they put upon, and their ridicule and oppreſſion of the Iriſh, which produce a ſolemn league among them to free their country from ſuch imperious maſters, 23. Scene of havock during eight months, and John recalled, 24. John takes upon him, after the death of his father to appoint governors for Ireland, 26. His expedition, when king, to Ireland, to reduce the outlaws, 35.

St. John, ſir Oliver, ſucceeds Chicheſter, in the government of Ireland, 225. Is diſturbed by the clamours of the recuſants, and forced out of his government by the rapacious invaders of eccleſiaſtical domains, 226.

Jones, the commander of the parliament forces in Leinſter, obtains a complete yet bloody victory over Preſton, 329. Accommodation between him and O'Nial, 338. He defeats Ormond, 349.

Ireland, hiſtory of, from the earlieſt accounts to the acceſſion of Edward III. 1. Whence originally peopled, ib. Iriſh Hiſtory before the reign of Henry II. of England, involved in fable and perplexity, ib. Ancient ſtate of Ireland, 2. Five principal ſovereigns in Ireland in the age of Henry II. but one took the lead as monarch of Ireland, ib.

The pope grants Henry II. a bull for ſubduing Ireland, 3. Dermot Macmorrogh, king of Leinſter, for his licentious tyranny, and particularly for the rape of Dovergilda, wife of O'Roric, prince of Breſſiny, expelled, ib. Has recourſe to Henry, then in France, for reſtoring him, offering to hold his kingdom in vaſſalage under the crown of England, 4. Henry for the preſent could relieve him no otherwiſe than by letters patent, empowering all his ſubjects to aid him, ib. In conſequence of theſe, Dermot forms a treaty with Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, and engages, in Wales, two other adventurers, Robert Fitz-Stephens, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, ib. Succeſſes attending their operations when arrived in Ireland, 5. Henry lands in Ireland, and ſettles the government of the country, 6. But notwithſtanding the ſubmiſſions he received from all parts, he left not in the country one true ſubject more than he found on coming over, ib. The Engliſh ſettlers are frequently diſturbed, and the Iriſh chieftains form a powerful confederacy againſt Henry, 7. Strongbow commiſſioned by Henry to have the ſole direction of the affairs of Ireland, 8. The ſoldiers require Raymond le Groſs to be their chief, which Strongbow aſſents to, 9. Exploits of Raymond, who, elated with the opinion of his ſervices, demands Strongbow's ſiſter, Baſilia, in marriage, but on a cool reception, abruptly retires to Wales, 10. Hervey of Mountmorres appointed to his command, ib. Strongbow with Hervey marches againſt the inſurgents of Munſter, ib. Conſiderable party of the garriſon of Dublin, conſiſting of Oſtmen, coming to reinforce them, cut off by O'Brien of Thomond, ib. This ſerved as a ſignal to the diſaffected Iriſh to riſe up in arms, and Strongbow, reduced to act on the defenſive, intreats Raymond to return, offering to gratify his late demand, 11. Raymond's arrival at Waterford extremely critical, as having ſuſpended an intended maſſacre of the Engliſh inhabitants, ib. He ſolemnly eſpouſes Baſilia at Wexford, but the very day after his nuptials, was obliged to march for repreſſing the devaſtations making by Roderic, king of Connaught, 12. Gallant behaviour of Raymond at the ſiege of Limerick, 13. Roderic, convinced by the fickleneſs and perfidy of his ſubordinate chieftains, makes his peace by ambaſſadors, who attended Henry at Windſor, ib. State of the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, upon this ſubmiſſion of Roderic, 14. Strongbow, now labouring under infirmity, is perplexed at the news of Limerick's being beſieged by O'Brien of Thomond, becauſe Raymond was cited to appear before Henry upon ſome evil inſinuations thrown out againſt him, 15. The commiſſioners for his departure, conſent to his going upon the expedition, ib. Thomond abandons the ſiege and ſtrongly intrenches himſelf in a defile; but is driven with conſiderable ſlaughter from his intrenchments, ib. Wearied by an unſucceſsful conteſt, he ſues for peace, and takes the oaths of

of fealty before Raymond, who afterwards reinſtates the prince of Deſmond, ill-treated by his ſon, 16. Death of Strongbow, ibid. Raymond elected to act as chief governor in his room till the king's pleaſure was known, 17. Henry's jealouſies not allayed by the moſt favourable repreſentations of Raymond's conduct, he ſends William Fitz-Andelm, as governor, ib. Bulls of two popes, promulged in an aſſembly of the clergy, conſtituting Henry rightful lord of Ireland, 18. Depredations of Richard Fleming, commandant of the caſtle of Slany, how revenged by the Iriſh, ib. Character of the governor Fitz-Andelm, ib. State under him of this unhappy country, 19. He is removed, and Hugh de Lacy eminently qualified for the ſtation, is appointed to ſucceed ib. Henry appoints his ſon John, lord of Ireland, ib. De Lacy marries the daughter of Roderic O'Connor, 20. His popularity becomes an object of ſuſpicion to Henry, who therefore recalls him, and ſends two others little qualified for ſo important a truſt, ib. Henry's ſuſpicions in regard to Lacy, diſſipated, who thereupon reſumes his government, ib. John de Courcey's excellent conduct in the Northern Provinces, 21. Lacy again recalled, ib. Philip of Worceſter appointed his ſucceſſor, whoſe ſole object was to enrich himſelf by plunder and oppreſſion, ib. His power of ſhort duration by the arrival of prince John in Ireland, ib. Indiſcretion of John's attendants in the indignities they put upon, and their ridicule and oppreſſion of the natives, 22. Theſe produced a ſolemn league of the Iriſh chieftains to free their country from ſuch imperious maſters, 23. A ſcene of havock and confuſion continued for eight months before Henry was apprized of the dangerous ſituation of his Iriſh intereſts, 24. Hugh de Lacy murdered, ib. Prince John is recalled, and de Courcey made governor, ib. His vigorous exertions aided by the diſſenſions of the Iriſh among themſelves, retrieve the face of affairs for England, ib. Henry dies at this period, and his ſucceſſor, Richard I. engaged by more brilliant objects, gives little attention to the affairs of Ireland, 25. But his brother John, aſſuming the ſtyle of earl of Moreton, and lord of Ireland, takes upon him to appoint governors, 26. Hugh de Lacy, the younger, ſupplants de Courcey, and obtains his government, ib. Cathal, among the ſurvivors of Roderic O'Connor, now ſtands higheſt in the eſteem of his countrymen, ib. His character and alliances, ib. Situation of de Courcey, 27. Heroic ſpirit of his friend Armoric of St. Lawrence; and of a ſmall corps commanded by him, ib. Want of abilities and vigour ſuſpected in de Lacy's adminiſtration, William Petit was ſubſtituted in his place, and he was ſucceeded by William, earl marſhal of England, who had married the daughter of earl Strongbow, 28. Defeats of the Engliſh in different parts, and Cork ſurrendered to the prince of Deſmond, 30. Hamo de Valois ſucceeds the earl-marſhal, a period of the utmoſt public confuſion and diſtreſs,

diſtreſs, ib. John de Courcey, and Hugh de Lacy, act independent of the Engliſh government in their reſpective provinces, ib. Hamo invades the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions to ſupply the neceſſities of enfeebled government, ib. A miracle deviſed to affect the minds of the ignorant and ſuperſtitious on this occaſion, 31. Death of Roderic O'Connor, the laſt of the Iriſh monarchs, ib. Hamo de Valois diſplaced at the acceſſion of John to the throne of England, and Meiler Fitz-Henry, natural ſon of Henry I. appointed to ſucceed him, ib. Riſe of William de Burgo, a baron of the family of Fitz-Andelm, ibid. De Courcey and de Lacy enter into treaties with the neighbouring lords, and the former treating John's mandate with contempt to do him homage, the latter is ordered to ſend him priſoner to John, 32. Lacy, failing in this attempt, de Courcey at length ſurrenders to John, and is condemned to perpetual inpriſonment, 33. Romantic ſtory concerning the reaſon of his being ſet at liberty, ib. Walter de Lacy ſucceeds Meiler Fitz-Henry in the government of Ireland, 34. The Engliſh gain ſtrength, ib. A plague in Leinſter, 35. Orders iſſued for puniſhing all robbers and plunderers, ib. The great power of the Lacys tempts them to relax their attention and deference to John, ib. Affairs of William de Braoſa, lord of Brecknock, ib. John's expedition to Ireland to reduce the out-laws, ib. The Lacys and Braoſa, fly to France, 36. A regular code of Engliſh laws is drawn up at the deſire of the Iriſh, and depoſited in the exchequer of Dublin, ib. The Laceys are reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, ib. John de Grey, biſhop of Norwich, conducts the government of Ireland with prudence and vigour, ib. At the acceſſion of Henry III. the gradual progreſs of the Engliſh power had conſiderably weakened that of the old Iriſh chieftains, ib. Other governors, ib. O'Nial, a turbulent chieftain of the North, 37. and others excite a ſort of civil war in Ireland, in ſupport of theſe different claims and pretenſions, ib. Maurice Fitz-Gerald appointed governor of Ireland, 38. Proceedings of Richard, brother to William Mariſhall, ſon of the protector, 39. Henry apprehenſive of his dangerous ſpirit, orders him to be ſecured and his eſtates forfeited, 40. Geoffry de Mauriſco, aſſuming the maſk of friendſhip for him, and commiſerating his wrongs, puſhes him into open rebellion, ib. He is deſerted and murdered, and the ſpoil of his lands divided with the moſt rapacious violence, 41. Fedlim, prince of Connaught, pleads his grievances at the court of England, 42. New commotions in Ireland, 43. Brien O'Nial, of Tirowen, ſpreads confuſion through all the North, 44. In the South the Geraldines keep the ſtate of an independent ſept, ib. Conteſt of the Mac-Arthies, which at length gives ſuperiority to the Iriſh, 45. Aſſembly convened at Kilkenny to conſider of remedies for the diſorders of the kingdom, 46. Demands for the king and the ſee of Rome, ib. Inordinate abuſe of ſpiritual authority, ib.

ib. Edward I. makes no eſſential improvements in the political ſtate of Ireland, 48. And the governor Maurice Fitz-Maurice's authority was far from enforcing the obedience of the turbulent chieftains, ib. The free enjoyment of the laws of England are required by the whole body of the Iriſh inhabitants, 49. Ill conſequences of the refuſal of their requeſt, 50. Demands of Edward upon the Iriſh clergy, 51. Not complied with, ib. Acceſſion of Edward II. proves of ſome momentary ſervice to Ireland, ib. Gaveſton appointed governor, entirely diſperſes the turbulent ſepts, ib. Under the adminiſtration of ſir John Wogan, his ſucceſſor, the great lords contemn the royal authority, and carry on their private wars without fear or controul, 52. The chieftains of Ulſter, intreat the aſſiſtance of Robert Bruce to execute their vengeance upon the common enemy, the Engliſh, ib. He propoſes his brother Edward to them for their king, ib. Which he conſents to, ib. Edward's operations and alliances, 53. Is at length crowned king of Ireland, 55. His brother Robert, to enable him to maintain his dignity, lands a powerful army in Ireland, ib. The Engliſh lords endeavour to repel the invaſion, 56. An army detached into Connaught againſt Fedlim O'Connor, fight a deſperate battle, in which Fedlim, with a great number of his troops, is ſlain, ib. Edward Bruce, notwithſtanding the loſs of this confederate, continues his deſtructive progreſs to the very walls of Dublin, and thence penetrates into Munſter, ib. But is obliged to lead his harraſſed army back to Ulſter, 57. The proud and rebellious family, de Lacy, are driven to take ſhelter in Connaught, ib. The Engliſh intereſt revives, and Robert and Edward Bruce, are both excommunicated by the pope, ib. Numbers of the unhappy followers of Edward Bruce periſh by diſeaſe and famine, 58. At laſt, in a violent conflict, his troops receive a total defeat, and himſelf falls by the arms of Maupas, a brave Engliſh knight, ib. The unhappy people, ſtill groaning under the oppreſſion of a proud and rapacious ariſtocrary, petition again to be admitted to the ſtate and privileges of Engliſh ſubjects, 59. This petition proves abortive, ib. The reſentment of the Iriſh breaks out into an inſurrection, headed by O'Brien, the chieftain of Thomond, ib. Terror excited by their terrible outrages, 60. Reſumption of all Iriſh grants made in the former reign, 61. Ireland no otherwiſe regulated than by the impolitic ſtep of treating with the diſturbers of government, ib. The kingdom ſoon after involved in freſh commotions by the aſſaſſination of the earl of Ulſter, 62. The northern ſept of O'Nial, recover their ancient power, and nearly extirpate the Engliſh ſettlers, ib. Edward reſolves on the moſt violent and oppreſſive meaſures againſt his Iriſh ſubjects, ib. The old Engliſh inhabitants too ſpirited to endure ſuch indignities with an abject reſignation, 63. The ſpirited Geraldines particularly irritated, 64. An independent aſſembly at Kilkenny oppoſed to the parliament

parliament met at Dublin, ib. The king's anſwer, gracious and condeſcending, ib. The Iriſh ſepts in Leinſter, harraſs that province, 65. The earls of Deſmond and Kildare, attacked and reduced by the governor Ufford, ib. Sudden death puts an end to his ſpirited and ſucceſsful adminiſtration, 66. Deſmond and Kildare received into favour with the king, ib. Mutual animoſity between the old Engliſh and thoſe newly arrived in Ireland, ib. O'Nial from the North, and O'Brien from the South, make dreadful inroads on the Engliſh ſettlements, 67. Yet the Iriſh in general, from a want of concert and union, are prevented from demoliſhing the whole fabric of Engliſh power, ib. Lionel, the king's ſecond ſon comes to Ireland as governor, ib. Gives umbrage to all of Iriſh birth, 68. Bends his force againſt the chieftain of Thomond, but is baffled, and partly defeated, ib. The old Engliſh invited to attend his ſtandard, and by their aſſiſtance he gains conſiderable advantages, 69. He, now duke of Clarence, is recalled, but ſent over again, to ſtem the torrent of diſorder, ib. A parliament is held by him at Kilkenny, and of note for producing a ſtatute, named from that place, 70. The purport of it quite illiberal, ib. After his departure, the young earl of Deſmond ſucceeds as governor; but is ſlain, and his army receives a total defeat from the Iriſh chieftains O'Brien and O'Connor, 71, 72. The king obliged to exonerate from ſcutage the lands the natives had ſeized, ſo extenſive were the tracts they had recovered, ib. A peace precarious, and the king obliged to relax in the ſeverity of the ſtatutes of Kilkenny, 73. Under Richard II. the entire dominion of Ireland, is veſted in his minion, Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, 74. The government of Ireland committed to his deputies, ib. How he came to forfeit all his grants, 75. Preparations for an expedition of Richard into Ireland, 76. He lands at Waterford with a conſiderable army, ib. The Iriſh chiefs ſue for peace, and the king treats them with particular condeſcenſion, ib. After a three months reſidence, he embarks for England, leaving Mortimer, earl of Marche, his vicegerent, 77. The flame of war breaks out at once in different quarters, and Mortimer is defeated and ſlain by the turbulent and powerful ſept of the O'Byrnes, 78. Richard's ſecond expedition to Ireland, ſerves only to demonſtrate the weakneſs of the leader, ib. He marches againſt Mac Murchard, ib. Who harraſſes continually the Engliſh forces, 79. Some of the Iriſh lords ſubmit, yet Mac Murchard continues to aſſail the king's forces, who is compelled to retire, ib. An accommodation ſet on foot by Mac Murchard, breaks off by his refuſing to ſubmit to conditions, 80. Richard, preparing to return to England, is apprized of his being dethroned, and when arrived, is betrayed into the hands of his rival, Henry IV. 81. The Scots in this reign invade the north of Ireland, and aſſiſt the Iriſh to over-run that province, ib. Mac Murchard, after a deſperate and well

well diſputed battle, is defeated, but not reduced to ſubjection, 82. An annual ſtipend, known by the name of Black Rent, paid to the Iriſh chieftains to purchaſe their protection, 83. Adminiſtration of ſir John Talbot in the reign of Henry V. whoſe objects of ambition bring him into a total diſregard of Ireland, ib. Mac Murchard, however, is obliged to renew his homage, and give his ſon a hoſtage for his peaceable behaviour, 84. Engliſh ſubjects ſettled in Ireland reduced to a mortifying ſituation, ib. Redreſſed in ſome meaſure, 85. But the ſucceſſion of Henry VI. an infant prince, impedes the reformation of Ireland, and even increaſes its diſorders, 86. Diſputes upon the nomination of a deputy to Edmund, earl of Marche and Ulſter, appointed to the government of Ireland, ib. The Iriſh chieftains aſſiſt the Scots in ravaging the Engliſh ſettlements of Ulſter, 87. Interval of public tranquillity, 88. Interrupted by enemies and rebels conquering and making tributary almoſt the whole of Munſter, ib. The old Engliſh ſettlers, now completely blended with the original natives, and enemies to the Engliſh power, ib. The earl of Ormond excepted, ib. Story of the heir of Deſmond, ib. Ormond, unable to put an end to the depredations of the earl of Deſmond, ſo dangerouſly aggrandized, as to bid defiance to government, 90. His enemies indefatigable in miſrepreſenting him, and he is ſuperſeded as governor by Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, ib. Public peace reſtored by Talbot, but he ſoon makes room for Richard, duke of York, vicegerent of Ireland, 91. The inſurrection of Cade currently imputed to the contrivance of Richard, 92. Adminiſtration of ſir Edward Fitz-Euſtace, active and vigorous, ib. O'Connor, the turbulent Iriſh chieftain of O' Fally, routed, ib. Conteſt of affection between him and his ſon, ib. Total defeat of the northern Iriſh, 93. Fitz-Euſtace removed, and the earl of Kildare appointed in his place, ib. Duke Richard, after his defeat at Bloreheath, flies for ſhelter into Ireland, where he is received as chief governor, ib. But the victory of the Yorkiſts at Northampton once more calling him back, he is attended by numbers from Ireland, 94. His fall in the battle at Wakefield, is conſidered by the old natives of Ireland as an end to the Engliſh intereſt in that country, ib. Meath, therefore, is deſolated by incurſions from Leinſter and the North, ib. The face of affairs changed by the acceſſion of Edward IV. 95. The earl of Ormond falls a victim to the triumphant Yorkiſts, and his brother is defeated by the young earl of Deſmond, who is ſoon appointed lord-deputy, ib. Various ravages committed by the enemies of his houſe, 96. The earl himſelf is defeated in battle and made priſoner, ib. Being ſet at liberty by young O'Connor, above mentioned, he enters into a treaty with his enemies, ib. Proſperous ſtate of his government, which his enemies endeavour to ſubvert, 97. Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter,

ceſter, made lord-deputy of Ireland, ib. The tallage called Black Rent, ordered, for the future, to be paid for the better ſupport of the king's army, 98. The enemies of the Geraldines give free ſcope to their reſentments, ib. Deſmond brought to the ſcaffold, and beheaded, ib. Kildare receives his pardon in England, 99. And ſhortly after is appointed deputy in the room of Tiptoft, who is called away and beheaded, ib. The houſe of Ormond, from obſcurity, riſes into credit, and Kildare is removed from his government, 100. The animoſities of the families of Kildare and Ormond allayed for a while by Ormond's going a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and by the death of Kildare, ib. The adminiſtration once more reverts to the family of Kildare, but the king alters his reſolution, and ſends lord Grey deputy to the duke of Clarence, ib. Some pretended informality in his commiſſion keeps him out, till he is appointed by a new one, 101. This too was rendered ineffectual, and Kildare is reinſtated, ib. Means adopted by him to increaſe his influence, 102. The acceſſion of Henry VII. is unfavourably received in Ireland, the far greater number of the noble families being zealous Yorkiſts, 103. The ſame adminiſtration is however continued, ib Affair of Keating, prior of Kilmainham, ib. The firſt ſcene of the impoſture of Lambert Simnel, determined by the contrivers to be opened in Ireland, 104. The adventurer received there with every mark of reſpect and attachment, ib. Fame artfully ſpreads abroad the arrival at Dublin of the earl of Warwick, ſon of Clarence, yet forgetful of the preferable claim of Edward IVth's female iſſue, ib. In a few days he is publicly proclaimed king by the name of Edward VI. ib. Henry ſatisfies the people of England, that the real earl of Warwick is ſtill in his poſſeſſion in the Tower; but in Ireland he is alledged to be a ſubſtituted prince, 105. Precautions of Henry to defeat the deſigns of his enemies, ib. Troops arrive from Flanders to ſupport the impoſtor, ib. He is ſolemnly crowned, and England invaded, 106. A battle at Stoke in the county of Nottingham is deciſive of the fate of the impoſtor and his adherents, 107. And the Iriſh begin to have a ſenſe of their temerity, ib. Kildare the governor, and other principal men, ſue for pardon, which is granted in conſequence of their future dutiful conduct, ib. Oaths of allegiance are ſoon after required alſo from them, which they take at length, and Kildare is continued lord-deputy, 108. Keating, the prior of Kilmainham, is only excluded the royal pardon, 109. The affairs of England again afford new occaſion for the revival of faction in another pretender, ib. This was Perkin Warbeck, who, patronized by the reſtleſs ducheſs of Burgundy, aſſumed the name of Richard, duke of York, ib. Revolution in the adminiſtration of Ireland, 110. Act paſſed for the reſumption of all grants, from

the firſt of Henry VI. ib. Perkin appears in the city of Cork, and thence diſpatches letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, intreating their aſſiſtance, ib. Deſmond, without reſerve, declares in his favour; but his ſudden call into France by the application of king Charles, ſuſpends any farther effects, 111. The Engliſh Pale, viſited by the ſweating ſickneſs; but the calamity does not ſuſpend the faction and rivalſhip of the great lords, ib. King Henry, prepoſſeſſed againſt the earl of Kildare, refers him for the deciſion of his complaints to the deciſion of ſir Edward Poynings, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 112. Poynings plans a general reformation; but he is at firſt impeded by the turbulent proceedings in the North of the Iriſh chieftain O'Hanlon, ib. Kildare arreſted and confined, and a treaty haſtily concluded with the Iriſh inſurgents, 113. The ſtatutes enacted by Poynings' parliament produce a permanent and remarkable effect on the political conſtitution of Ireland, ib. Kildare ſent priſoner to England, acquitted, reinſtated in his eſtate and honours, and made governor of Ireland under the king's ſon, Henry, ib. Revival of the Engliſh power in Ireland during his adminiſtration, till his death in the reign of Henry VIII. 114. Is ſucceeded by his ſon Gerald, 115. The Iriſh extremely tumultuous in conſequence of belief in a prophecy, puniſhed, ib. Piers Butler oppoſes the preſent greatneſs of the Geraldines, ib. His efforts in the main ineffectual, 116. Kildare, in England, by marrying Elizabeth Grey, daughter to the marquis of Dorſet, increaſes his conſequence, ib. Cardinal Wolſey adviſes the king to ſend none but lords of England to govern Ireland, and the earl of Surrey is ſent, ib. His government ſpirited and vigorous; but he is ſucceeded by Pierce, earl of Ormond, the known rival and inveterate enemy of Kildare, 117. By whom he is ſupplanted, though not long after likely to be involved in diſgrace and danger from the ambition of his kinſman, Deſmond, 118. Deſmond's treaty with the French king, ib. Ordered to be ſeized by Henry, but the order evaded, ib. The whole kingdom ſhortly after on the point of conſummate anarchy. 119. Upon the diſgrace and death of Wolſey, the reins of government are again entruſted to Kildare, 120. His arbitrary and overbearing conduct cauſes complaints againſt him, and being cited to England, is committed to the Tower, 121. Character of his ſon, lord Thomas, whom he left behind him in the adminiſtration, ib. Upon vague reports of his father's being put to death, he embarks in a deſperate rebellion, 122. Speech of the primate and chancellor Cromer, exhorting them to deliſt, ib. Effects of this ſpeech on lord Thomas's Iriſh followers, though they did not underſtand it, 123. Devaſtation committed by them, ib. Fate of Alan, archbiſhop of Dublin, 124. Lord Thomas's propoſal to the earl of Oſſory to join him in rebellion, received with indignation,

dignation, ib. Conſequenees of the earl's refuſal, ib. Lord Thomas's cauſe becomes every day more deſperate, 125. He totally defeats, however, the firſt detachment of troops landed from England, 126. Conduct of Skeffington, appointed lord-deputy, ib. Overtures of a treaty accepted by Lord Thomas, who is ſent into England, 128. Death of his father through grief, ib. Lord Thomas and five of his uncles ſuffer in London for high treaſon, ib. Adventures of lord Thomas's brother, ib. Henry VIII's ſchemes of reformation ill reliſhed, and upon what account, in Ireland, 129. Cromer, primate of Armagh, an Engliſhman, vigorouſly oppoſes his ſupremacy, 130. Proceedings of the Iriſh parliament in favour of the king, 131. But both lords and commons join in expreſſing their abhorrence of the ſpiritual authority aſſumed by him, 132. Browne, archbiſhop of Dublin, endeavours to ſupport it, ib. How counteracted by the friends of Rome on account of the ſuſpenſion of Poynings' law, 133. Farther oppoſition to the king's ſupremacy by Cromer and his aſſociates, 134. Confederacy headed by O' Nial for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy, ib. His troops defeated, diſperſe, 135. Lord Grey, the deputy, recalled to England, and beheaded, ib. The Iriſh northern chieftains recover from their conſternation, and are joined by O' Brien of Thomond to oppoſe the abetters of hereſy, 136. Sir William Brereton, lord Grey's ſucceſſor in power, marches againſt them, but their tumultuary bands diſperſe, ib. Several leaders make their peace, and acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, whoſe title is now changed from lord of Ireland to that of king, ib. Prudent and conciliatory methods to unite the ſubjects of Ireland, 137. Civil affairs of Ireland, under Edward VI. afford only a catalogue of petty incidents, 138. Bellingham's adminiſtration of Ireland, ib. The reformed liturgy of Ireland oppoſed in Ireland as inadmiſſible, though accepted by ſome biſhops, 139. Prejudice of the native Iriſh againſt the reformation, how increaſed, 140. Theological diſpute for and againſt the reformed mode of worſhip, 141. Queſtion of precedence between the ſees of Armagh and Dublin, ib. Armagh, by the king's patent, deprived of the ſuperior titles, ib. Bale, a violent impugner of popery, 142. Death of Edward confounds all the efforts hitherto made for introducing the reformation into Ireland, 143. Alterations in church and ſtate at the acceſſion of Mary, ib. The family of Kildare reſtored to its honours and eſtates, and O'Connor, chieftain of O Fally, ſet at liberty ib. Fitz Walter, earl of Suſſex, ſummons a parliament in Ireland for re-eſtabliſhing the ancient faith, &c. 145. Law of this parliament for explaining the memorable act of Poynings', ib. Mary's whole ſyſtem is reverſed by her ſucceſſor Elizabeth, and in a ſeſſion of a few weeks under the ſame deputy Fitz-Walter, 146. But oppoſition

ſo alarms him, that he returns to England, 147. Invectives againſt the heretical queen and her impious miniſters, are cloſe followed by inſurrections in different parts, particularly in the North by the turbulent O'Nial, ib. The moſt ſanguine hopes are entertained from the adminiſtration of ſir Henry Sidney, ib. Still the progreſs of O'Nial is alarming, who acts in the ſtyle of ſovereignty. ib. Deſperate ſituation of O'Nial, who is aſſaſſinated by the Scots, 148. Suſpenſion of Poynings' law in a parliament held by Sydney, and other regulations made, 149. Rebellion in the South by ſir Edmund Butler, quelled, 150. Perrot's vigorous proceedings effect the complete pacification of Munſter, 151. Scheme of Walter Devereux, earl of Eſſex, to ſettle a colony in Ireland, how defeated, ib. Sir Henry Sydney again governor, with extenſive powers, 153. Is ſucceſsful in his meaſures, ib. Adventure of ſir William Drury in Kerry, ib. Oppoſition to Sydney's ſcheme of inſtituting a regular and permanent revenue in Ireland, 154. Severity of the queen on this emergency, yet her prerogative is ſtill ſet at defiance, 155. How this affair ended, 156. Two petty invaſions of the Spaniards prove abortive, 157. The earl of Kildare, &c. ſuſpected of a plot, but acquitted, 159. Death of the earl of Deſmond, ſuſpected of having co-operated with the Spaniards, and extinction of his family, 160. General amneſty, the firſt act of ſir John Perrot's adminiſtration, a man univerſally eſteemed, 161. His ſalutary regulations in Connaught and Ulſter, 162. Proceedings of a parliament, convened by him at Dublin, 163. Commotions in the North require again his preſence there, 164. Spaniſh invaſion expected, and meaſures taken by Perrot on that account for the ſecurity of Ireland, 165. His ſucceſſor in office, ſir William Fitz-William, is not poſſeſſed with the ſame liberal principles of policy, 166. Fate of O'Ruarc, chieftain of Breſſney, for correſponding with the Spaniards, caſt away on the coaſt of Ireland, after the defeat of their armada, 167. Rebellion of the earl of Tyrone, to what owing, ib. Intemperate conduct of Fitz-William inflames the animoſity brooding in the northern province, 169. Fate of the injured Mac Mahon, 170. Univerſity founded at Dublin, 171. Several articles of treaſon exhibited againſt Tyrone, from which he finds means to extricate himſelf, 172. His politic conduct to gain time for his views, 173. Aſſumes the important title of the O'Nial, 174. Appears before the new governor, ſir William Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, and is diſmiſſed by him, though accuſed by Bagnal, with the approbation of the queen's Engliſh miniſters, ib. The Engliſh troops, detached to the relief of Enniſkillen, totally defeated by O'Donnel, and the garriſon butchered, 175. Like outrages, committed by him in Connaught, ib. Conſiderable body of troops ſent to Ireland under the command of ſir John Norris, an officer of diſtinguiſhed character,

racter, ib. Tyrone begins hoſtilities, by attacking the Engliſh fort at Blackwater, and expelling the garriſon, 176. His encounter with Sedgrave, an Engliſh officer, whom he ſlays, ib. Treaty with Tyrone and his aſſociates, 177. Complaints againſt Bagnal and their demands, ib. The government's overtures rejected, and the congreſs breaks up, 178. Inſurrections threatened from the other provinces of Ireland, ib. State of the Engliſh army, ib. Tyrone and his aſſociates proclaimed traitors, 179. Another treaty ſet on foot, and their ſubmiſſion accepted, 180. Upon encouragement from the king of Spain, they repent of their engagements, and are again ripe for revolt, ib. Progreſs of the Engliſh army in Connaught, 181. Complaints againſt the oppreſſions of ſir Richard Bingham, ib. Is acquitted, and reſtored to the Queen's favour, ib. Tyrone complains of freſh injuries, and renews hoſtilities, ib. A commiſſion arrives from England for treating once more with him, 182. He propoſes a time, and ſcene of conference, which he well knew could not be accepted, 183. Sir John Norris ſuperſeded in his command by a new deputy, lord Burgh, a man of ſufficient abilities in war, ib. Death of ſir John Norris, ib. Commencement of hoſtilities preſages a favourable iſſue to the Iriſh, 184. Succeſs of the Engliſh forces in attacking Tyrone in his entrenchments, 185. Death of lord Burgh, and his ſucceſſor in command, the earl of Kildare, ib. Overtures on the part of Tyrone for peace, and conference held thereon, ib. His terms accepted, and his pardon receives the great ſeal, bet he omits to plead it, 187. And re-commences hoſtilities, 188. Obtains a complete victory over his enemy, Bagnal, who is ſhot dead in battle, ib. The importance of this victory induces the Iriſh in all parts to bid defiance to Engliſh government, 189. Some of the Geraldines join in the rebellion, ib. Freſh forces ſent from England, and the earl of Eſſex, the queen's favourite, appointed governor, with extenſive powers, and the title of lord-lieutenant, 190. The Iriſh remain ſteady and undiſmayed at the formidable preparations againſt them, 191. Eſſex's meaſures contrary to his inſtructions, ib. Eſſex, baffled, and for the moſt part worſted in the encounters of his forces in different parts with the enemy, 192. His numerous army conſiderably reduced by conſtant loſſes, 193. His private interview with Tyrone ſucceeded by a conference in due form, ib. His accommodation with him completes the Queen's mortification, and becomes a ſecret triumph to his enemies, 194. Supplies of money and ammunition arrive from Spain to Tyrone, with compliments from the pope, whereupon he re-commences hoſtilities, 196. Reſult of his parly with the earl of Ormond, ib. Manifeſto publiſhed by him, ib. Lord Mountjoy arrives lord-deputy of Ireland, with inſtructions the ſame as thoſe of Eſſex, 197. Narrow eſcape of Tyrone from Munſter, 198.

Treachery

Treachery ſuſpected, which falls upon the earl of Ormond, ib. Mountjoy attacks the Northerns, and drives them into their woods, 199. Defection of ſome of Tyrone's aſſociates, 200. Further ſucceſsful meaſures of Mountjoy, ib. Melancholy expedient to deprive the rebel Iriſh of ſubſiſtence, ib. Tyrone again driven from his entrenchments, ib. His followers ſue to government for pardon and protection, 201. Expence to England of maintaining the Iriſh war, ib. Spurious coinage introduced into Ireland, and its inconveniencies, ib. The ſouthern province becomes the principal ſeat of war, 202. News of a Spaniſh invaſion ſpirits up the Iriſh, 203. Thoſe, however, in Munſter at firſt ſhew reluctance to join the Spaniards on their landing, 204. But Tyrone from Ulſter, and O'Donnel from Connaught, march to their aſſiſtance, ib. On the landing of two thouſand Spaniards at Caſtlehaven, beſides thoſe at Kingſale, all the Iriſh, and ſeveral of the Engliſh race, throw off the maſk of ſubmiſſion, 205. Tyrone declares loudly againſt the chance of battle with the Engliſh, but impelled by the united counſels of others, advances reluctantly againſt the Engliſh camp, 207. The Engliſh prove victorious with aſtoniſhing eaſe, and the Iriſh diſperſe, ib. Kinſale and other forts ſurrender to them, 208. But Dunboy, the fort of Berehaven, ſurpriſed and defended by O'Sullivan and Tyrrel, makes for ſome time a ſtout reſiſtance, ib. Munſter at length brought to a ſtate of compoſure, 209. Tyrone, vigorouſly purſued, makes ſincere overtures of accommodation, ib. The accommodation concluded, 210. Tyrone's tears on hearing of the queen's death, to what attributed, 211. Ireland now pacified, ib. After a perpetual conteſt of four hundred and forty years, 212. Commotions excited by the Romiſh clergy, on the acceſſion of James I. ib. Tranquillity reſtored, and the whole body of the Iriſh yeomanry received into his majeſty's immediate protection, to the utter extinction of the juriſdiction of chieftains, 213. The laws extended, and public juſtice eſtabliſhed, 214. Security of property and other ſalutary regulations, ib. Progreſs of reformation unhappily interrupted by the virulence of religious faction, 215. Remonſtrance and petition for the free exerciſe of religion, 216. Scheme of rebellion intimated, upon which the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel fly to the continent, and are attainted, ib. A vaſt tract of land, by conſpiracies and rebellion, eſcheates to the crown, 217. Colonized chiefly by Scots, ib. Proviſion made for the inferior clergy, and free ſchools eſtabliſhed, 218. Creation of boroughs petitioned againſt, yet the electing of members for forming a parliament is carried on, and the popiſh party ſeem confident of a ſuperiority in the commons, 219, 220. Their turbulence is exaſperated by diſappointment. ib. Scene of tumult upon chuſing a ſpeaker, 221. The parliament prorogued to give room to animoſities to ſubſide,

ſide, 222. The recuſant lords and commoners diſpatch agents to England to lay their complaints before the king, ib. The king declares againſt them, 224. Proceedings in the parliament, ib. Sir Oliver St. John ſucceeds Chicheſter in the government, 225. His adminiſtration diſturbed by various clamours of the recuſants, ib. And at length he is forced out of his government by the complaints againſt him of the rapacious invaders of the eccleſiaſtical domains, 226. The new deputy, lord Falkland, finds his ſituation not more eaſy than that of his predeceſſor, ib. Attempts to ſupply the deficiency of the revenue of Ireland, 227. Prove unſucceſsful, ib. A fine for eſtates pronounced to be defective in title, agreed to be paid, 228. But the death of the king prevents its being carried into effect, ib. State of Ireland on the acceſſion of Charles I. ib. Bull of pope Urban VIII. encouraging the Iriſh not to take the wicked and peſtilent oath of ſupremacy, ib. King Charles has recourſe to prerogative to augment his army in Ireland, ib. The popiſh party ſecond his meaſures, 229. Conceſſions made to them, ib. Yet Charles is not ſincerely diſpoſed to give effectual relief to his Iriſh ſubjects, 230. Proceedings of the recuſants to eſtabliſh the celebration of their religious worſhip, 231. Proclamation iſſued againſt them, but diſregarded, 232. They are treated with ſeverity by the two lords juſtices, that ſucceeded Falkland in the adminiſtration, but their rigour was not acceptable to the king, ib. A reſolution, however, is formed in England to adopt more rigorous meaſures againſt them, ib. Lord viſcount Wentworth is appointed deputy, 233. He agrees with the king in the expediency of alarming the recuſants, to induce them to a new contribution, ib. The odium of this meaſure caſt on the lords juſtices, ib. Policy and inſolence of Wentworth on the occaſion, ib. The contribution renewed for a year longer by hopes of the ſitting of parliament, 234. Wentworth's great object in holding a parliament inſidious, 235. His political addreſs mingled with pride and ſeverity, ib. The parliament aſſembles with great pomp, 236. Sir Robert Talbot expelled for ſome unguarded reflections on Wentworth's conduct, ib. Affair of the earl of Ormond's wearing his ſword in the houſe, how ſettled, 237. The peers and commons complain of public grievances, and preſs for the confirmation of the royal graces, ib. How eluded by Wentworth, ib. His conduct in reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs, 238. His plan of union diſagreeable to the clergy of the puritanic caſt, 239. His project to annihilate the title to every eſtate in Connaught, ib. Some counties acknowledge the king's title, on being aſſured of eaſy compoſitions, 240. Severe treatment of the inhabitants of the county of Galway for oppoſing the deputy, 241. Complaints againſt him

him in England, ib. His arbitrary proceedings againſt lord Mountmorres, ib. The king approves of his conduct, yet the clamours againſt the attempt in Connaught cauſe it to be laid aſide, 242. Abjuration of all Scottiſh covenants, and inforced by him on the inhabitants of Ulſter, 243. Meaſures taken by him to guard againſt the deſigns of the Scottiſh covenanters, ib. He is directed to quit Ireland, but confirmed as governor, with the title of lord lieutenant, advanced to the dignity of earl, and created a knight of the Garter, 244. The popiſh party affect the moſt zealous attachment to the king, ib. An army raiſed in Ireland, conſiſting chiefly of Roman Catholics, occaſions in England violent clamours againſt the king and Strafford, 245. But the ſubſidies for ſupporting this army, produce a general combination againſt them throughout the kingdom, ib. Temper of the Iriſh parliament on its ſecond meeting, ib. Strafford, to check their riſing ſpirit, reſumes the reins of government, in the place of his ſubſtitute, Wandesford, but the death of the earl of Northumberland detains him in England, 247. His ruin projected by the Engliſh Parliament, ſeconded by a committee from that of Ireland, ib. The government of Ireland, upon the death of Wandesford, abandoned to two puritan lords-juſtices, full fraught with the illiberal prejudices of party, 249. The Iriſh parliament aſpires, in imitation of their neighbours in England, to new privileges and new ſecurities, 250. Several perſons of note, attached to the earl of Strafford, charged with high treaſon, and an act of attainder paſſed againſt him, ib. Unnatural coalition of Puritans and Papiſts, 252. Conceſſions of the king to the Iriſh Committees in London, ib. Which they demand ſecurity for, and their parliament in Ireland ſhews a firm reſolution to make no abatement in, 253. Deſperate conſpiracy, ſet on foot by Roger Moore, to what principally owing, 254. Some account of his aſſociates, 255. Their ſpirit inflamed by the fanatic fury of the Scottiſh Puritans, ready to perſecute the Catholics of Ireland with ſword and devaſtation, ib. Project to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, 256. Deſign of the conſpiracy, 257. The firſt intimations of it diſregarded by the lords juſtices, ib. But an accident obtrudes on them a diſcovery of it, ib. Some of the conſpirators ſeized, and the capital thrown into the utmoſt terror, 258. Progreſs of the northern rebels, though their ſcheme had failed in Dublin, 259. The Engliſh ill treated, but the Scottiſh planters left unmoleſted, 260. The Iriſh leader O'Nial, profeſſes he had the king's authority for taking up arms, 261. This nation, tho' credited by the puritan party, ſtands refuted upon evidence of the ſtrongeſt kind, ib. The Engliſh of Ulſter recover from their conſternation, and ſtand on their defence, 262. The king, then in

in Scotland, ſends them ſuch aſſiſtance as he was able to collect, ib. The rebels are routed in different parts, ib. But their defeats ſerve only to exaſperate them to carry on hoſtilities without faith or humanity, 263. Horrible maſſacres of various ſorts committed, ib. Retaliated by the Britiſh ſettlers, and particularly by the Scottiſh ſoldiers, with the ſame outrageous cruelty, 264. Reflections on the conduct of the lords-juſtices in not quelling the inſurrections, 265. Which ſpread to other parts, but the miſchiefs not ſo great, ib. The conduct of the government of a very ſuſpicious nature, 266. Complaints againſt the lords-juſtices, and recommendation of the earl of Ormond to be ſubſtituted in their place, 268. By what means defeated, ib. Roger Moore rejects the terms of the Engliſh parliament, adviſing his people to inſiſt on the civil and religious rights of the king's ſubjects of Ireland, 269. Succeſs of ſir Charles Coote, a ſoldier of fortune, againſt the Iriſh, ib. The rebellion becomes more formidable by the defection of the Engliſh Pale, brought about chiefly by the repreſentations of Roger Moore, 270. Lord Gormanſton, declared their general in chief, and the earl of Fingal general of horſe, 271. The contagion ſpreads, and many forts and caſtles are in a ſhort time reduced, ib. Happily for the Engliſh, the leaders of the inſurgents are ſeized on a ſudden with a ſpirit of diſcontent of each other, 272. Siege of Drogheda, how carried on by the Ulſter rebels, ib. Commiſſions of Ormond and Coote, how executed, 273. Extenſive forfeitures now become the favourite object of the chief governors of Ireland and their friends, 274. Their fury falls principally upon the gentlemen of the pale, 275. Whoſe accommodation with government was grounded chiefly on the expectation of the king's preſence in Ireland, refuſed peremptorily by the Engliſh parliament, 277. Battle of Kilruſh, gained by Ormond againſt the rebels, 278. Their power, however, ſtill conſiderable in the Northern province, ib. Some forces from Scotland ſent againſt them, upon which they diſperſe and ſeek refuge in different retreats, 279. Owen O'Nial arrives from Dunkirk to their aſſiſtance, with a number of officers, and a conſiderable ſupply of arms and ammunition, 280. The Scottiſh army reinforced with ten thouſand men, and making with the Engliſh, upwards of twenty thouſand, is thought irreſiſtible, ib. Other embarkations from France, arrive at Wexford, to increaſe the confidence of the rebels, 281. Aſſembly on the plan of a parliament held by the Catholics at Kilkenny, ib. This confederacy gains ſtrength, whilſt faction tends to annihilate any proper government on the breaking out of the civil war in England, 282. Sir Henry Titchburne, however devoted to the king's ſervice, is appointed a governor on the removing of Parſons, 283.

283. The marquis of Ormond, by the king's orders, treats with the Iriſh confederates, about a ceſſation of arms, which they agree to for twelve months, 284. The negociation is, however, ſuſpended by the marquis, thinking to humble their pride by fighting Preſton, who had over-run the province of Leinſter, 285. Succeſſes of lord Caſtlehaven, Owen O'Nial, and Preſton, ib. Diſtreſs every where of the king's troops, 286. Which at length compel them to ſign the treaty, ib. Clamours againſt it, ib. Troops ſent to the king's aſſiſtance from Ireland, and their adventures in England, 287. Ormond appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, enters upon his government with a variety of difficulties, 288. He attempts to break the union of the confederates, but his greateſt embarraſſment was the malevolence of the Scots in Ulſter, ib. Four miniſters of the kirk arrive from Scotland to enforce and tender the covenant, 289. Proclamation publiſhed againſt their adherents, at firſt ineffectual, till a ſeaſonable ſtipulation brought the contending parties to agree, ib. This union of the Ulſter forces extremely diſagreeable to the confederate Iriſh, induces them to apply to Ormond to take upon him the command of their forces, and cut off the Scots, 290. The propoſal declined, and the Iriſh otherwiſe amuſed, 291. Iriſh negociation of great importance opened at Oxford, ib. The terms of it not complied with by the king, 293. Equally embarraſſed by the contention of the popiſh and proteſtant parties, 294. The agents, however, of the confederate Iriſh are treated with particular attention, ib. The king's conceſſions to them, 295. Ormond accordingly commiſſioned to make a definitive peace with the Catholics of Ireland. ib. His reaſons for retarding the treaty, and begs to be removed from his government, 296. Order in regard to Catholics reſcinded, for taking the oath of ſupremacy in the Iriſh parliament, 297. Their confederacy gathers ſtrength, and they attack the abettors of the Engliſh parliament, ib. The earl of Caſtlehaven overruns the ſouthern provinces, ib. Treaty between Ormond and the Iriſh confederates renewed, 298. Views of the Iriſh of Ulſter, 299. Expectations of the confederacy from the ſending of the earl of Glamorgan, a zealous Catholic, into Ireland, ib. Repeal of the penal ſtatutes demanded as the chief obſtacle to peace, 300. And after the battle of Naſeby, farther and more exorbitant demands are made, ib. The Iriſh take umbrage at Ormond's conduct, and conſider him as ſecretly diſaffected to the king, and upon what account, 302. Conclude, therefore, a treaty with Glamorgan, ib. Its ſtipulations, ib. Ormond oppoſes the demands reſpecting religion, 303. Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, arrives in Ireland, and Glamorgan explains to him the nature of his commiſſion to treat with the Iriſh, ib. Objections of the nuncio

to

to him, ib. Secret council held, and farther conceſſions made by Glamorgan, 304. All theſe negociations ſuddenly diſconcerted by a particular incident, ib. Detail of this affair, 305. Glamorgan ſeduced to Dublin, and ſecured on a ſuſpicion of high-treaſon, 306. His defence on his examination, ib. Diſmiſſed, 307. The king diſavows his inſtructions to Glamorgan, yet ſecretly gives him aſſurances of his confidence and friendſhip, 308. Schemes of the nuncio to oppoſe peace on the terms of toleration, ib. Yields to the propoſals of Glamorgan, 309. The ceſſation continued, ib. But the ſupreme council of the confederates conclude notwithſtanding their treaty with Ormond, 310. The attempt now reckoned deſperate to aſſiſt the king in England, as not having an army exiſting there, the confederates choſe to employ their forces againſt the parliamentarians in Munſter, 311. Situation of the king, held captive by the Scots, and the conſequences it produced, 312. Inſtruments of the pacification exchanged, 313. Lord Liſle, appointed chief governor of Ireland by the parliament, ib. The nuncio proteſts againſt the treaty with Ormond, and induces O'Nial in the North to concur with his views, 314. Battle between O'Nial and Monro, in which the Britiſh forces are totally defeated, ib. Ulſter ſaved from being entirely reduced, by his being ſuddenly called by the nuncio into Leinſter to oppoſe the peace at the head of ten thouſand ravagers, 315. The peace diſclaimed alſo in other parts, ib. Diſtreſs of Ormond, and his danger, 316. Eſcapes it, and prepares for a ſiege in Dublin, 317. His deſperate ſituation obliges him to ſeek relief from the Engliſh parliament, 318. Commiſſioners ſent to treat with him, ib. Indiſcretion of the nuncio, ib. Ormond diſdains an anſwer to the inſolent propoſitions of the Iriſh generals, Owen O'Nial and Preſton, 319. Diſſenſion of theſe generals alarms the nuncio, ib. Clanricarde's treaty with the nuncio and his council, 320. In the midſt of the debates upon it, the parliament forces land, and different meaſures are concerted, ib. Another embarraſſment of Ormond, from the propoſals of Clanricarde, 321. The negociation diſconcerted by Preſton's defection, terrified by the threats of an excommunication from the nuncio, 323. Iſſue of a general aſſembly held hereupon at Kilkenny, 324. All hope of Iriſh ſuccours for the king now extinguiſhed, Ormond offers to reſign his government and garriſons to the parliament-commiſſioners on their own conditions, ib. Inchiquin regards him as a friend, and ſends him ſome ſupplies, ib. O'Nial, on the other hand, affects independency, and the other confederates are on the point of declaring war againſt each other, 325. Propoſitions of the Iriſh again offered by Grant, the queen's chaplain, to Ormond, rejected, ib. Conditions of his ſubmiſſion to the commiſſioners of the parlia-

parliament, who thereupon make themſelves complete maſters of Dublin, 327. State of the different armies in Ireland after his departure, 328. Jones, the commander of the parliament's forces in Leinſter, obtains a complete and bloody victory over Preſton, 329. Cahir, an ancient caſtle of great ſtrength, taken by lord Inchiquin in Munſter, 330. The rock of Caſhel ſtormed by him, ib. Battle of Knockoneſs, in which he obtains a complete victory over lord Taafe, ib. Remarkable bravery of Mac Donnel, at the head of a gallant body of Highlanders, in this battle, ib. The more temperate of the confederates declare for peace in the general aſſembly at Kilkenny, but are oppoſed by the nuncio, 331. Deputations, however, are reſolved upon to be ſent to Rome, Madrid, and France, 332. Reception of the agents in France by the queen and prince of Wales, 333. Ormond, ſuſpected of ſecret negociations in the king's favour, eſcapes from England to France, 334. Anſwer given by the queen and prince to the Iriſh agents, ib. Project of a powerful conjunction of the confederates with the proteſtant royaliſts, Ormond and lord Inchiquin, 335. Intemperate conduct of the nuncio on his emergency, 336. His excommunication diſregarded, 337. Accommodation between Owen O'Nial and Jones, 338. Deſign of the former to ſurpriſe Kilkenny and the whole ſupreme council how fruſtrated, ib. Defeat of the marquis of Antrim, 339. Owen O'Nial declared a traitor in the aſſembly at Kilkenny, and the nuncio exhorted to depart the kingdom, ib. Ormond returns to Ireland, 340. His notification to the general aſſembly, ib. Treaty with them, by what means ſuſpended, 341. The Iriſh agents return from Rome with no other injunction than to act according to diſcretion, 342. Treaty concluded in the general aſſembly, and peace proclaimed, ib. Twelve commiſſioners of truſt nominated by that aſſembly, to be joint-ſharers in the authority of the lord-lieutenant, 343. Before the news of the treaty arrived in London, the king had received the fatal ſtroke, but the long-expected fleet had arrived at Kinſale, under prince Rupert, ib. Charles II. inſtantly proclaimed king, ib. The nuncio quits the kingdom, ib. State of the military at this juncture in Ireland, 344. Prince Rupert's backwardneſs to ſecond the intentions of Ormond, 345. Who urges the king to repair to Ireland, ib. But various accidents prevented his coming, 346. Ormond advances, however, notwithſtanding his embarraſſments, to Dublin, ibid. Of which he forms the blockade, 348. His troops defeated by Jones, 349. Owen O'Nial renews his treaty with Ormond, ib. Cromwell arrives at Dublin, and takes the field with ten thouſand men, ibid. He lays ſiege to Drogheda, which he takes at the third aſſault, being twice repulſed, and cruelly butchers the garriſon, though he had promiſed

promiſed quarter, 350. The garriſons of ſeveral forts in Ulſter ſurrender to him, 351. As do alſo thoſe of Wexford and of Roſs, 352. Ormond, reinforced by O'Nial's forces, who had juſt died of a grievous malady, now reſolved to meet the enemy in the field, 353. He obliges Cromwell, to raiſe the ſiege of Waterford, yet all the chief garriſons in Munſter declare for Cromwell, 354. Reduction of Kilkenny and Clonmel, 355. Cromwell returns to England, reſigning his command to Ireton, ib. State of Ireland at his departure, ib. Ormond forms a ſcheme for proſecuting the war with vigour and effect, 356. He draws his forces towards Limerick, 358. But is refuſed entrance there and at Galway, ib. Operations of Ireton, 359. Ormond quits Ireland, and appoints Clanricarde his deputy, who accepts the government, 360. The Iriſh ſolicit the protection of the duke of Lorrain, 361. Progreſs of this affair, 362. Conduct of the turbulent prelate of Ferns, 363. The duke of Lorrain publickly declared protector of the nation in the ſynods of the clergy, 364. During theſe tranſactions, Ireton makes preparations for beſieging Limerick, ib. Operations of Coote, ib. Limerick beſieged, 365. Bravery of O'Nial in defending Limerick, ib. Limerick capitulates, 366. Ludlow aſſumes the command, 367. Galway ſurrenders, ib. Clanricarde, the lord-deputy, ſurrenders to the republicans, 368. Fleetwood appointed to the government of Ireland, ibid. Regulations made by him, 369. The news of Cromwell's being declared lord-protector, how received in Ireland, 370. Inſtrument of government, ib. Situation of Ireland after the death of Cromwell, 372. Charles II. proclaimed in Ireland, 373. Great diſorders, whence occaſioned, 374. The king's declaration for the ſettlement of Ireland, 375. Parliament called to meet in Ireland, 376. Its proceedings; but ſoon after London became the great ſcene of debate upon Iriſh affairs, 377. Generoſity of the Iriſh parliament to the duke of Ormond, ib. Complaints of the Iriſh Catholics, 378. Scheme of an inſurrection which is ſuppreſſed, 379. Bill of explanation, 380. Diſintereſted conduct of Ormond, 381. Seven members expelled the Iriſh parliament, 382. Impolitic meaſures of the Engliſh parliament reſpecting Ireland, ib. Diſcontents on that account, 383. Some remedy for the ſtagnation of Iriſh commerce found by Ormond in the reſource of encouraging a linen manufacture, 384. Intrigues againſt him, 385. Is diſmiſſed, and Berkley appointed to the government of Ireland, 386, 387. The Iriſh catholic clergy addreſs the king for the benefits of the peace made with Ormond in the year 1648, 387. The remonſtance cenſured in the pope's name, 388. Conduct of the anti-remonſtrants, ib. Petition from the Roman Catholics to the king, 389. Effects produced by it, 391. Ormond again appointed lieutenant,

tenant, ib. He diſarms the Papiſts, 392. The country, now infeſted by a number of vagabond robbers, called Tories, ib. The Proteſtants under apprehenſions from the Papiſts, 393. Ormond called to England, 394. Rocheſter appointed govenor of Ireland, 395. Scenes of new politics opened in Ireland, on the account of the acceſſion of James II. ib. The proteſtant militia, embodied and diſciplined by the duke of Ormond, is diſarmed, 397. And the earl of Clarendon, the king's brother-in law, is appointed lord-lieutenant, ib. The Iriſh prepare a petition for the relief of thoſe, who had ſuffered by the acts of ſettlements, 398. And the earl of Tyrconnel at the court of England repreſents their affairs in ſuch manner as beſt ſuited their intereſts, ib. The Proteſtants every where alarmed, 399. The earl of Tyrconnel arrives with a commiſſion to command and regulate the army, independently of the lord-lieutenant, ibid. His violence and preſumption remonſtrated againſt by Clarendon, 400. Is appointed lord-deputy, 401. Quo warrantos iſſued, 402. Attacks on the univerſity of Dublin, ibid. Great diſorder in Ireland, 403. Tyrconnel and his adherents ſunk into conſternation on advice of the landing of the prince of Orange, and deſertion of king James by his ſubjects, 404. Rumour of a general maſſacre ſpreads univerſal conſternation among the proteſtants, ibid. Reſolute conduct of the people of Derry, 406. The example of Derry excites a generous emulation among the northern Proteſtants, 407. They are commanded by proclamation to lay down their arms, and general Hamilton marches againſt them, 408. King James lands in Ireland, 409. Marches for Londonderry, 410 Murray, a brave and popular officer, ſaves Londonderry from ſurrendering, 411. Siege of Londonderry, 412. Affair of Kirk's arrival with a fleet of thirty ſhips, ib. Great diſtreſs of Derry, 413. Walker, a diſtinguiſhed character in this ſiege, 414. The garriſon at length relieved by Kirk, and the ſiege raiſed, 415. Oppoſition of the Enniſkillenmen, ibid. They and their confederates become ſo formidable, that three different armies march to attack them, 416. Battle of Newton-Butler, in which James's adherents are defeated, ib. He aſſembles a parliament in Dublin, ib. His declavation, 417. Bills paſſed, ib. His arbitrary conduct, 419. Inſtances of it, 420. Conteſt between him and the popiſh prieſts, 421. Schomberg arrives in Ireland with an army, 422. Carricfergus ſurrenders to him, ib. James entertains little hopes of oppoſing him, 423. Great diſtreſs of Schomberg's army, 424. Situation of affairs in England, 425. Seven thouſand Danes arrive in Ireland, under the command of the prince of Wirtemberg, 427. James exchanges ſome Iriſh for French troops, ibid. William arrives in Ireland, 428. James is for vigorous meaſures, and hazarding all in one battle,

tle, though adviſed to maintain a defenſive war, 429. Yet with an ominous precaution has a ſhip prepared at Waterford for conveying him to France, ib. Danger of William in reconnoitring the poſition of the enemy, 430. Battle of the Boyne, ib. Duke of Schomberg killed, 432. Conteſt for the crown finally decided by this battle, 433. James arrives at Dublin in great diſorder, ib. And embarks for France, 434. Several forts ſurrender to William, 435. Siege of Limerick, 436. The garriſon prepares for a vigorous defence, 437. Enterpriſing ſpirit of Sarsfield ſucceſsful, ib. Enthuſiaſm of the women, with farther occurrences of the ſiege, 438. The ſiege raiſed, 439. William embarks for England, ib. Earl of Marlborough arrives in Ireland, ib. Siege of Cork, 440. Which ſurrenders, ib. Kinſale reduced, ib. Great diſorders in Ireland, 441. Reduction of fort Ballymore, and of Athlone. 443. Operations of Ginckle, 444. Who, with the duke of Wirtemberg, Mackay, and Talmaſh, are oppoſed to St. Ruth, 445. Careleſſneſs and confidence of St. Ruth, unworthy of a commander, 446. The ſpirit of the Iriſh ſtill unconquered, 447. Ginckle's proclamation, ib. Battle of Kilcommeden, or Aughrim, 448. Fought deſperately on both ſides, 449. St. Ruth killed, and the Iriſh at length defeated, 450. Surrender of Galway, ib. Diſtracted ſtate of Limerick, 451. Limerick again beſieged, ib. Gallant feats on both ſides, 452. Limerick capitulates, 454. End of the war and its effects, ib. Articles of the capitulation of Limerick, 455, & ſeq.

Ireton, his operations in Ireland, 359. Makes preparations for beſieging Limerick, which capitulates to him, 364.

K.

KILDARE, earl of, his adminiſtration of Ireland continued under Henry VII. though a ſuppoſed enemy to him, 103. Sues for pardon for the part he had taken in ſupporting the impoſture of Lambert Simnel, 107. Referred for the deciſion of his complaints to ſir Edward Poynings, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 112. Arreſted and confined, 113. Sent priſoner to England, acquitted, reinſtated in his eſtate and honours, and made governor of Ireland, under the king's ſon Henry, 114. Revival of the Engliſh power during his adminiſtration till his death, ib.

Kildare family reſtored to its honours and titles by queen Mary, 143.

Kilkenny, aſſembly convened at, to conſider of remedies for the diſorders of the kingdom, 46. Statutes of parliament in Kilkenny, quite illiberal, 70. Relaxed, 73. See Confederates.

Kinſale, fort of, defended by the Spaniards, ſurrenders, 208.

Kirk, four miniſters of the, arrive from Scotland to enforce and tender the covenant in Ireland,

Ireland, 289. Conſequences of this affair, 290.
Kirk's arrival with a fleet to relieve Derry, affair of, 412.
Knockoneſs, battle of, 330.

L.

LACY, Hugh de, as eminently qnalified, is appointed by Henry II. to ſucceed Fitz-Andelm in the government of Ireland, 19. He marries the daughter of Roderic O'Connor, monarch of Ireland, 20. His popularity becomes an object of ſuſpicion to Henry, who ſends two others little qualified for ſo important a truſt, ib. He reſumes his government, Henry's ſuſpicions in regard to him being diſſipated, ib. Is again recalled, 21. Murdered, 24.
——, Hugh de, the younger, ſupplants de Courcey, and obtains his government of Ireland, 26. But want of abilities and vigour being ſuſpected in his adminiſtration, William Petit is ſubſtituted in his place, 28. He acts however independent of the Engliſh government, 30. Enters, in conjunction with de Courcey, into treaties with the neighbouring lords, and is ordered by king John to ſend de Courcey to him priſoner, for treating his mandate with contempt, 32. He fails in the attempt of making de Courcey priſoner, ib. The earldom of Ulſter granted to him, 34. Is called into England to the aſſiſtance of king John, ib.
——, Walter de, ſucceeds Meiler Fitz-Henry in the government of Ireland, 34. The Engliſh gather ſtrength during his adminiſtration, ib.
Lacys, the great power of, in Ireland, tempts them to relax their attention and deference to king John, 34. Who proceeds to Ireland to reduce them and other out-laws, ib. The Lacys fly to France, but ſome time after are reinſtated in their poſſeſſions, 36.
Law of Poynings, enjoining that no bill ſhall be introduced into the Iriſh parliament, unleſs it previouſly receive the ſanction of the council in England, 113.
Laws of England, the free enjoyment of, required by the whole body of the inhabitants of Ireland, 49. Ill conſequence of the refuſal of their requeſt, 50.
St. Lawrence Armoric, heroic ſpirit of, and of a ſmall corps commanded by him, 27.
League, ſolemn, of the Iriſh chieftains to free their country from ſuch imperious maſters as prince, afterwards king, John, and his attendants, 23.
Limerick beſieged, 14. Burnt, 17. Beſieged by Ireton, ſurrenders by capitulation, 366. Beſieged by William III. ineffectually, 439. Again beſieged, 451. Capitulates, 454. Articles of the capitulation, 455, & ſeq.
Lionel, ſecond ſon to Edward II. comes to Ireland as governor, 67. Gives umbrage to all of Iriſh birth, 68. Bends his force againſt the chieftain of Thomond, but is baffled, and partly defeated, ib. The old Engliſh invited to aſſiſt him, and he gains conſiderable advantages, 69. Is again ſent over as duke of Clarence, and holds a parliament at Kilkenny,

ny, noted for the illiberality of its ſtatutes, 70. Which the king is afterwards obliged to relax in, 73.
Liſle, lord, appointed chief governor of Ireland, by the Engliſh parliament, 313.
Liturgy, reformed, of England, oppoſed in Ireland, though accepted by ſome biſhops, 139.
Londonderry, famous ſiege of, 412. How at length relieved, and the ſiege raiſed, 415.
Lorrain, duke of, his protection ſolicited by the Iriſh, 362. Progreſs of this affair, 363. He is publicly declared protector of the nation in the ſynods of the clergy, 364.

M.

MAC MAHON, injured, fate of, 170.
Macmorrogh, Dermot, king of Leinſter, for his licentious tyranny, and particularly for the rape of Dovergilda, wife of O'Roric, prince of Breſſiny, is expelled his dominions, 3. He has recourſe to Henry II. of England, then in France, for reſtoring him, offering to hold his kingdom in vaſſalage under the crown of England, 4. Is relieved by Henry no otherwiſe for the preſent than by letters-patent, empowering all his ſubjects to aid him, ib. His treaty, in conſequence hereof with Strongbow, and other adventurers, ib. Is reſtored to his kingdom of Leinſter, and aſpires to ſole dominion over the Iriſh, 5. Dies, and leaves Strongbow, who had married his daughter Eva, maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, and prepared to extend his authority over Ireland, ib.
Maſſacre, general, rumour of in Ireland, 404.
Maſſacres, horrible, of various ſorts, committed by the Iriſh rebels, and retaliated upon them by the Engliſh ſettlers and Scottiſh ſoldiers, 263, 264.
Maupas, a brave Engliſh knight, ſingles out Edward Bruce in battle, and both fall by each other's might, 58.
Mauriſco, Geoffry de. See Richard, brother to William Mariſhall.
Monro, the Scots general in the North of Ireland, totally defeated by Owen O Nial, 314.
Moore, Roger, ſets on foot in Ireland a deſperate conſpiracy, and to what owing, 254. Some account of his aſſociates, 255. Their project to ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin, of which an accident leads to the diſcovery, 256, 257. Moore rejects the terms of the Engliſh parliament, 269. Brings about the defection of the Engliſh Pale, 270.
Mortimer, earl of Marche, left by Richard II. his vicegerant in Ireland, is defeated and ſlain by the turbulent ſept of the O Byrnes, 77.
Mountjoy, lord, his adminiſtration of Ireland vigorous, though not expected from him, 197. His inſtructions perfectly complied with, and his meaſures ſucceſsful, 200. Defeats the Spaniſh invaſion of Ireland, and gains an eaſy victory over Tyrone and his aſſociates, 207. Settles Ireland in peace after a long conteſt, 211.
Mountmorres, Hervey, appointed to the command of Ray-

mond, on his withdrawing in diſguſt to Wales, 10.
Mountmorres, lord, arbitrary proceedings againſt, by Wentworth, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 241.
Mac Murchard, oppoſes Richard II. in Ireland, and harraſſes continually his forces, ſo as to compel him to retire, 79. An accommodation ſet on foot with him, which breaks off on his refuſing to ſubmit to conditions, 80. After a deſperate and well diſputed battle, is defeated, but not reduced to ſubjection, 82. Is obliged to renew his homage to Henry V. and give his ſon a hoſtage for his peaceable behaviour, 84.

N.

NEGOCIATION, Iriſh, of great importance, opened at Oxford, equally embarraſſed by the contention of the popiſh and proteſtant parties, 294.
Newton-Butler, battle of, 416.
O'Nial, a turbulent chieftain of the North, excites with others a civil war in Ireland, in ſupport of their different claims and pretenſions, 38.
——, Brian, of Tirowen, ſpreads confuſion through all the orth, 44.
——, the northern ſept of, recover their ancient power, and nearly extirpate the Engliſh ſettlers, 62.
——, heads an inſurrection in the North of Ireland againſt the meaſures of queen Elizabeth and her miniſters, 147. His progreſs alarming, and he acts in the ſtyle of ſovereignty, 148. His ſituation becomes deſperate, and he is aſſaſſinated by the Scots, ib.
O'Nial, ſir Phelim, the leader of the Northern Iriſh rebels in the reign of Charles I. profeſſes having the king's authority for taking up arms, 261. This notion, though credited by the puritan party, ſtands refuted upon evidence of the ſtrongeſt kind, ib.
——, Owen, another northern Iriſh rebel in the reign of Charles I. arrives from Dunkirk to the aſſiſtance of his aſſociates, with a conſiderable ſupply of arms and ammunition, 280. His ſucceſs in conjunction with lord Caſtlehaven and Preſton, 285. He totally defeats the Britiſh forces in the North under the command of Monro, 314. Would have entirely reduced Ulſter, had he not been ſuddenly called into Leinſter to oppoſe the peace the confederacy had entered into with Ormond, 315. His inſolent propoſitions to Ormond, 319. He affects independency, 325. His accommodation with Jones. 337. His deſign to ſurpriſe the whole ſupreme council at Kilkenny, fruſtrated, ib. Is declared a traitor, 338. Renews a treaty with Ormond, 349. Dies, but his forces join Ormond, 353.
Norris, ſir John, an officer of diſtinguiſhed character, commands the Engliſh troops againſt the rebel Tyrone, 182. Is ſuperſeded in his command, 183. Dies, ib.
North of Ireland, colonized chiefly by Scots, 217.

O.

ORMOND, earl of, deputy-governor of Ireland, 87. Is unable to ſuppreſs the depredations of the earl of Deſmond, 89. Superſeded by Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, 91. Falls a victim to the triumphant Yorkiſts, and his brother is defeated by the young earl of Deſmond, 95.

———, the houſe of, riſes from obſcurity into credit, 99. Its animoſities with that of Kildare, 100.

———, earl of, his parley with Tyrone, 196. Treachery ſuſpected, which falls upon him, 198.

———, earl of (afterwards marquis and duke), affair of his wearing his ſword in parliament, how decided, 237. Recommended to be ſubſtituted in the place of the puritan lords-juſtices, but the recommendation defeated, 268. His commiſſion, how executed, 273. Battle of Kilruſh, gained by him againſt the rebels, 278. He treats, by the king's orders, with the Iriſh confederates about a ceſſation of arms, 284. Signs the treaty, 286. Is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland and meets with a variety of difficulties, 288. Is commiſſioned to make a definitive treaty of peace with the Catholics of Ireland, which, for certain reaſons, he retards, 296. The Iriſh take umbrage at his conduct, and conſider him as diſaffected to the king, 302. He oppoſes their demands reſpecting religion, 303. Concludes a treaty with the ſupreme council of the confederates, 310. Its being diſclaimed, obliges him to ſeek relief from the Engliſh parliament, 318. Clanricarde's propoſals to him being made ineffectual, he reſigns his government and garriſons to the parliament, 324. Suſpected in England of ſecret negociations in the king's favour, eſcapes to France, 334. Returns to Ireland, 340. His treaty, as lord-lieutenant, with the general aſſembly concluded, and peace proclaimed, 342. Is defeated by Jones, 349. Renews a treaty with O'Nial, ib. His operations againſt Cromwell, 354. Quits Ireland, and appoints Clanricarde his deputy, 360. Is again appointed lieutenant, 391. Diſarms the Papiſts, 392. Is called to England, 394.

O'Roric, prince of Beſſiny, by the aſſiſtance of Roderic, king of Connaught, invades the dominions of Dermot Mac-Morrogh, and expels him his kingdom, for the rape of his wife Dovergilda, 3.

P.

PAPISTS and Puritans, unnatural coalition of, 252.

Parliament, Engliſh, impolitic meaſures of, reſpecting Ireland, 382.

Parſons, ſir William, and ſir John Borlaſe, two puritan lords-juſtices, without abilities or character, appointed to the government of Ireland, 250. They diſregard the firſt intimations of the Iriſh

conſpiracy, which at length an accident obtrudes on them the diſcovery of, 257. By taking no meaſures to quell inſurrections, their conduct becomes of a very ſuſpicious nature, 266. Defeat the recommendations of Ormond to be ſubſtituted in their place, 268. Extenſive forfeitures become their favourite object and that of their friends, 274. Parſons removed, and ſir Henry Tichburne appointed in his place, 283.

Pendergaſt, Maurice de, one of the firſt adventurers for the reduction of Ireland, 5.

Perrot, ſir John, his vigorous proceedings effect the complete pacification of Munſter, 151. General amneſty, the firſt act of his adminiſtration, 161. His ſalutary regulations, for which he is univerſally eſteemed, 163.

Petit, William, ſubſtituted as governor of Ireland to Hugh de Lacy, the younger, 28.

Petition of the Iriſh for being admitted to the privileges of Engliſh ſubjects, not attended to, cauſes terrible outrages, 59.

Piers, earl of Ormond, oppoſes the greatneſs of the Geraldines; but his endeavours in the main prove ineffectual, 115. Succeeds the earl of Surry in the adminiſtration of Ireland, 117. Is ſupplanted by Kildare, ib.

Politics, new ſcene of, opens in Ireland on the acceſſion of James II. 397.

Pope, his preſent to Tyrone, 196.

Poynings, ſir Edward, appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 112. His plan, a general reformation, the ſtatutes of his parliament producing a permanent and remarkable effect on the political conſtitution of Ireland, 113. See Law.

Preſton, one of the generals of the Iriſh catholic confederacy, over-runs the province of Leinſter, 285. His diſſenſion with O'Nial, 319. His defection, 323. Is defeated by Jones, 329.

Prophecy, belief of the Iriſh in a, makes them extremely tumultuous, for which they are puniſhed, 115.

R.

RAYMOND, of the retinue of Strongbow, ſent over before him to Ireland, defeats near Waterford a body of three thouſand Iriſh, 5. The ſoldiers require him to be their chief in preference to Hervey Mountmorres, which Strongbow aſſents to, 9. Exploits of Raymond, who elated with the opinion of his ſervices, demands Strongbow's ſiſter, Baſilia, in marriage, but, on a cool reception, abruptly retires to Wales, 10. Is intreated by Strongbow to return, who offers to gratify his demand, 11. His arrival at Waterford extremely critical, as having ſuſpended an intended maſſacre of the Engliſh inhabitants, ibid. He ſolemnly eſpouſes Baſilia at Wexford, but the very day after is obliged to march for repreſſing the devaſtations of Roderick, king of Connaught, 12. His gallant behaviour at the ſiege of Limerick, 13. He drives O'Brien of Thomond from

from his entrenchments with conſiderable ſlaughter, 16. Reinſtates the prince of Deſmond, ill treated by his ſon, ib. On the death of Strongbow, is elected to act as chief governor in his room till the king's pleaſure is known, 17.

Recuſants, proceedings of, to eſtabliſh their religious worſhip, notwithſtanding the proclamation iſſued againſt them, 231. How dealt with by the earl of Strafford, 233.

Revenue, regular and permanent in Ireland, ſcheme of inſtituting a, 154. Queen Elizabeth's prerogative herein ſet at defiance by the Iriſh, 155. How this affair ended, 156.

Richard, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul, forms a treaty with Dermot, king of Leinſter, for reſtoring him to his dominions, 4. Attends in Normandy Henry II. and having obtained from him a cold, or ambiguous permiſſion for an expedition to Ireland, prepares to execute his deſigns, 5. Lands in Ireland, makes himſelf maſter of Waterford, and proceeds to Dublin, which he takes by aſſault, ib. Marries king Dermot's daughter, Eva, and ſoon after, by his death, becomes maſter of the kingdom of Leinſter, ib. Puts the numerous army of Roderic, monarch of Ireland, to the rout, 6. Is commiſſioned by king Henry to have the ſole direction of the affairs of Ireland, 8. He marches againſt the inſurgents of Munſter, 10. Is reduced to act on the defenſive, ib. Labouring under infirmity, commits the care of the army to Raymond, 15. Death of Strongbow, 16.

Richard, brother to William Mariſhall, ſon of the protector, proceedings of, 39. Henry III. apprehenſive of his dangerous ſpirit, orders him to be ſecured, and his eſtates forfeited, 40. Geoffry de Mauriſco, aſſuming the maſk of friendſhip for him, and commiſerating his wrongs, puſhes him into open rebellion, 41. He is deſerted and murdered, and the ſpoil of his lands divided with the moſt rapacious violence, ibid.

———II. his firſt expedition to Ireland, 76. His ſecond expedition, 78. Is compelled to retire by Mac-Murchard, 80. See Mac-Murchard.

——— duke of York, after his defeat at Blore-heath, flies for ſhelter into Ireland, where he is received as chief governor, 94. But the victory of the Yorkiſts at Northampton once more calling him back, he is attended by numbers from Ireland, ib. His fall in battle at Wakefield is conſidered by the old natives of Ireland, as an end to the Engliſh intereſt in that country, ibid.

Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, arrives in Ireland, 303. Objects to Glamorgan's commiſſion, ib. His ſchemes to oppoſe peace on the terms of toleration, 308. Yields to the propoſals of Glamorgan, 309. Proteſts againſt the treaty with Ormond, and induces O'Nial to concur in his views, 314. His indiſcretion, 318. Is alarmed at the diſſenſion between the generals O'Nial and Preſton,

Preſton, 319. Treats with Clanricarde, 320. Oppoſes, in the general aſſembly at Kilkenny, the deſire of the more temperate of the confederates for peace, 331. His intemperate conduct in regard to the project of a conjunction of the confederates with the proteſtant royaliſts, 336. His excommunication diſregarded, 337. Is exhorted to depart the kingdom, 339. Which at length he quits, 343.

Rocheſter's adminiſtration of Ireland, 395.

O'Ruarc, chieftain of Breffiny, fate of, 167.

Rupert, prince, backwardneſs of, to ſecond the intentions of Ormond, 345.

Ruth, St. commands the Iriſh army againſt king William's forces, and is killed in the battle of Aughrim, 448.

S.

SARSFIELD, a ſpirited general of ſignal renown in Ireland, 437.

Schomberg, duke of, arrives in Ireland with an army, 422. Great diſtreſs of this army before the battle of the Boyne, in which he is killed, 432.

Scots, in the reign of Henry IV. invade the North of Ireland, and aſſiſt the Iriſh to over-run that province, 81.

Scutage, lands exonerated from, in Ireland, and upon what account, 72.

Sedgrave, an Engliſh officer, encounter of, with Tyrone, 176.

Sees of Armagh and Dublin, queſtion of precedence between the, 141. Armagh, by letters patent of Edward VI. deprived of the ſuperior title, ib.

Skeffington, conduct of, in his adminiſtration as lord-deputy of Ireland, 126.

Spaniſh invaſion of Ireland, 203. Defeated, 207.

Spiritual authority, inordinate abuſe of, 47.

State, ancient, of Ireland, 2.

—— of the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland, upon the ſubmiſſion of Roderic, monarch of that country, 14.

Stephens, Fitz-Robert, the firſt adventurer for the reduction of Ireland, takes in conjunction with Pendergaſt, Wexford, a town inhabited by the Danes, 5.

Story, romantic, concerning the reaſon of de Courcey's being ſet at liberty, 33.

O'Sullivan and Tyrrel, ſurpriſe, and afterwards vigorouſly defend, for ſome time, Dunboy, the fort of Berehaven, 208.

Supremacy of Henry VIII. vigorouſly oppoſed in Ireland, 130, & ſeq.

Surrey, earl of, his government of Ireland ſpirited and vigorous, 116.

Sweating-ſickneſs viſits the Engliſh Pale in Ireland, 111.

Sydney, ſir Henry, his adminiſtration of Ireland, remarkable for its ſpirit and vigour, 147, 153.

T.

TAAFE, lord, defeated in the battle of Knockoneſs 330.

Talbot, ſir John, his adminiſtration of Ireland, in the reign of Henry V. 83.

Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, deputy-governor of Ireland, reſtores the peace of that country, 91.

Talbot,

Talbot, ſir Robert, expelled the Iriſh parliament for ſome unguarded reflections on Wentworth's conduct, 236.

Thomas, lord, ſon to Gerald, earl of Kildare, his character, 121. He embarks in a deſperate rebellion upon vague reports of his father's being put to death in England, 122. Notwithſtanding ſome advantages gained by him, his cauſe becomes very unpromiſing, 125. Overtures of a treaty accepted by him, and he is ſent into England, 128. He ſuffers for high treaſon in London, with five of his uncles, 128. Adventures of his brother, 129.

Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, lord deputy of Ireland, has the young earl of Deſmond beheaded, and himſelf called away, ſuffers the ſame fate, 99.

Title, from lord of Ireland, to that of king, changed in the reign of Henry VIII. 136.

Tories, Ireland infeſted by a number of vagabond robbers, ſo called, 392.

Tyrconnel, earl, his tranſactions in Ireland, 399, & ſeq.

Tyrone, earl of, rebellion of the, to what owing, 167. Several articles of treaſon exhibited againſt him, from which he find means to extricate himſelf, 172. His politic conduct to gain time for his views, 173. Aſſumes the important title of the O'Nial, 174. Begins hoſtilities, and is perſonally encountered by Sedgrave an Engliſh officer, whom he ſlays, 176. Breaks different treaties made with him, and as often renews hoſtilities, 183. Obtains a complete victory over his enemy Bagnal, 188. Has an interview with the earl of Eſſex, who enters into an accommodation with him, 194. Upon receiving ſupplies of money and ammunition from Spain, re-commences hoſtilities, 196. His parly with the earl of Ormond, and manifeſto publiſhed by him, ib. His narrow eſcape from Munſter, 198. Is driven to take ſhelter in his woods, 199. Driven from his entrenchments, 200. Marches to join the Spaniards, who had landed in Munſter, 204. Declares againſt the chance of battle with the Engliſh, who obtain an eaſy victory over him and his aſſociates, 207. Makes ſincere overtures of accommodation, and is pardoned by James I. 212. Flies to the continent, and is attainted for ſcheming another rebellion, 216.

U.

UFFORD, governor of Ireland under Edward III. attacks and reduces the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, 65. Sudden death puts an end to his ſpirited and ſucceſsful adminiſtration, 66.

Univerſity, founded at Dublin, 171.

Urban VIII. pope, bull of, encouraging the Iriſh not to take the oath of ſupremacy, 228.

V.

Valois, Hamo de, ſucceeds the earl marſhall in the government of Ireland, a period of the utmoſt public confuſion and diſtreſs, 30. He invades the eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions to ſupply

ſupply the neceſſities of enfeebled government, ib. A miracle deviſed on this occaſion to affect the minds of the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, 31. Is diſplaced, ib.

Vere, Robert, earl of Oxford, minion of Richard II. forfeits all his grants in Ireland, 75.

W.

WALKER, a diſtinguiſhed character in the ſiege of Londonderry, 414.

Fitz-Walter, earl of Suſſex, lord-deputy of Ireland, re-eſtabliſhes the ancient faith under queen Mary, 145. Law of his parliament for explaining the memorable act of Poynings, ib. And reverſes that ſyſtem under queen Elizabeth, 146. Oppoſition ſo alarms him, that he returns to England, 147.

Wandesford, the government of Ireland, upon his death, abandoned to two puritan lords-juſtices, full fraught with the illiberal prejudices of their party, 249.

War, Iriſh, expence to England in maintaining, 201.

Wentworth, lord viſcount, afterwards earl of Strafford and lieutenant-governor of Ireland, policy and inſolence of, 233. His great object in holding a parliament inſidious, 234. His political addreſs, mingled with pride and ſeverity, 235. Complaints of grievances, &c. how eluded by him, 237. His conduct in eccleſiaſtical affairs, 238. His project to annihilate the titles to every eſtate in Connaught, ib. He enforces the abjuration of all Scottiſh covenants, 243. Violent clamours againſt him and the king, 245. His ruin projected by the Engliſh parliament, ſeconded by a committee from that of Ireland, 247.

William, earl marſhal of England, who had married the daughter of earl Strongbow, is made governor of Ireland, 28. The Engliſh meet with defeats in different parts, during his adminiſtration, 30.

Fitz William, ſir William, not poſſeſſed as his predeceſſor in office, Perrot, with the ſame liberal principles of policy, 166.

William III. his adventures and operations in Ireland from his landing to his raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, 428 to 439.

Wogan, ſir John, under his adminiſtration of Ireland, the great lords contemn the royal authority in England, and carry on their private wars without fear on controul, 52.

Women, Iriſh, their enthuſiaſm at the ſiege of Limerick, 438.

Wolſey, cardinal, adviſes Henry VIII. to ſend none but lords of England to govern Ireland, and the earl of Surry is ſent, 116.

Worceſter, Philip of, ſucceeds Hugh de Lacy in the government of Ireland, 21. His ſole object is to enrich himſelf by plunder and oppreſſion, ib. His power of ſhort duration by the arrival of prince John in Ireland, ib.

31 JA 50

Y.

YEomanry, Iriſh, the whole body of, received into the immediate protection of James I. to the utter extinction of the juriſdiction of chieftains, 213.